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AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF THE INTERSECTION OF ORGANIZED CRIME AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN THE UNITED STATES

VANESSA BOUCHÉ, PH.D.
TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
BOX 297021
FORT WORTH, TX 76129
VANESSA.BOUCHE@TCU.EDU
(817) 297-4218

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this research is threefold:
1) to examine the extent to which human trafficking in the United States is perpetrated by organized criminal groups;
2) to better understand the groups, individuals, and operations of the organized crime groups engaged in human trafficking; and
3) to make available the full corpus of federally prosecuted human trafficking cases in a dynamic, open-source, searchable online database at ***HumanTraffickingData.org***.

BACKGROUND & RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Since at least 2000, when the United Nations adopted the Palermo protocols, scholars have espoused the idea that transnational organized crime is behind global trafficking in persons. However, a lack of empirical testing led to criticism of the claim that human trafficking is an organized crime issue. The aim of this research is to fill that empirical gap by answering the following questions:

1) To what extent is human trafficking in the United States perpetrated by organized crime groups?
2) What types of organized crime groups are engaged in human trafficking in the United States?
3) Who are the individuals that comprise the organized crime groups engaged in human trafficking in the United States?
4) Where do these organized crime groups operate?
5) How do these organized crime groups operate?

METHODS

This study answers these questions using a mixed-methods approach. The quantitative methods includes collecting a comprehensive dataset of federally-prosecuted human trafficking cases, coding the cases, and using a variety of methodological approaches, including geospatial analysis, to analyze the data.

The qualitative approach includes semi-structured interviews with 11 offenders in these cases. The interview transcripts were analyzed using grounded theory to understand models for how the groups are structured and operate, as well as motivations for engaging in the criminal enterprise.

To what extent is human trafficking in the United States perpetrated by organized crime groups?

- **Searches of federally-prosecuted human trafficking cases in the United States yielded a total of 862 cases between 2000 and 2015 with a total of 2,096 defendants.**
  - 58% (1227) of all defendants in human trafficking cases operated as part of an organized criminal group.
- **The type of human trafficking in which organized crime groups engaged varied.**
  - 34% engaged in both adult *and* minor sex trafficking
  - 24% engaged only in minor sex trafficking
  - 18% engaged in labor trafficking not involving any trafficking for commercial sex
  - 17% engaged only in adult sex trafficking
- **Victims in the organized crime cases vary by type of human trafficking.**
  - In cases involving only adult sex trafficking, 55% of the victims are foreign nationals
  - In cases involving only minor sex trafficking, just 92% of victims were U.S. nationals.
  - 93% of victims in labor trafficking cases are foreign nationals.

What types of organized crime groups are engaged in human trafficking in the United States?

- This research develops the *5-S typology of organized crime*, which is named for five different characteristics of organized crime groups: size, scope, structure, sophistication, and self-identification.
- The five characteristics combine to generate five types of organized crime groups. As applied to human trafficking cases in the United States, the groups break down as follows:
  - **Mom & Pop (35% of organized crime cases)**
    - A combined 71% of Mom & Pop groups engage only in sex trafficking (either minor only, adult only, or both minor & adult). The sex trafficking venues for Mom & Pop groups are varied, but the plurality is brothels/massage parlors (33%) and Internet prostitution (25%).
    - 21% percent of Mom & Pop groups engage only in labor trafficking, with no sex trafficking in their operations. The plurality of Mom & Pop labor trafficking is in domestic servitude (41%), with another 24% of cases in agriculture.
    - The average number of victims exploited by a Mom & Pop group is 17.6, and the average number of defendants per case is 5.30.

- o **Crime Ring (33% of organized crime cases)**
  - Ninety-five percent of the trafficking among Crime Rings has no labor trafficking at all and is only for the purpose of commercial sex. Almost half (47%) of all the sex trafficking cases by Crime Rings are Internet prostitution cases.
  - The average number of victims exploited by a Crime Ring is 7, and the average number of defendants per case is 5.30.
- o **Gang (6% of organized crime cases)**
  - 100% of the Gang cases involved trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation. Gang cases involve only street prostitution and Internet prostitution, and the vast majority of victims in these cases are minors.
  - The average number of victims exploited in a Gang case is 8.8, and there are 14.5 defendants on average per case.
- o **Cartel/Mafia/Syndicate (0%)**
  - Although Cartels/Mafias/Syndicates are not represented at all among the federally prosecuted human trafficking cases involving organized crime, there is evidence that they are involved in facilitating the human trafficking operations of other types of organized criminals (facilitating transportation, providing false documentation, etc.).
  - Moreover, there are ten cases that trace back to Tenancingo, Mexico, a city known for sex trafficking, pimping, and prostitution. While they have been classified as Mom & Pop in this report, an argument can be made that these ten cases represent Cartel/Mafia/Syndicate activity.
- o **Illegal Enterprise (26% of organized crime cases)**
  - Illegal enterprises are the only organized crime type that has cases across every combination of human trafficking.
  - The plurality (36%) of the Illegal Enterprise cases is for labor trafficking only. 52% of the Illegal Enterprise labor cases are in the hotel & hospitality sector.
  - Illegal Enterprises have the most adult sex trafficking cases of any other type. 50% of Illegal Enterprise sex trafficking cases are in brothels/massage parlors, with another 19% in strip clubs.
  - The average number of victims in cases involving Illegal Enterprises is 65.7 and the average number of defendants per case is 7.02.

Who are the individuals that comprise the organized crime groups engaged in human trafficking?

- **Data on age at arrest was collected for 86% of defendants.**
  - o The average age at arrest across all defendants in organized crime cases, regardless of type of organized crime group or type of trafficking, is 33 years old.

- o Those prosecuted for minor sex trafficking are significantly younger than those prosecuted for other forms of trafficking.
  - o Defendants in Gang cases are significantly younger than those in other organized crime types, with an average age of 25.
  - o Those involved in Illegal Enterprises have an average age of 38, which is significantly older than defendants in other typologies.
- **Defendant gender data was collected for 99% of defendants in human trafficking cases involving organized crime.**
  - o Overall, defendants are 69% male and 31% female.
  - o Minor sex trafficking cases and cases that involve both minor and adult sex trafficking are most disproportionately male at roughly 73%.
  - o Women are more likely to engage in labor trafficking than sex trafficking as compared to men.
  - o There is a statistically significant difference in the gender makeup of Gangs (80% male) vis-à-vis all other organized crime group types.
- **Country of origin data was collected for 84% of defendants**.
  - o Defendants who trafficked minors for commercial sex come from 13 different countries of origin. The vast majority is from United States.
  - o Those engaged in adult sex trafficking come from 15 different countries, and the vast majority is from the United States.
  - o Defendants in labor trafficking cases come from a more geographically diverse set of countries, and the number of defendants per nation is more evenly distributed than is the case for minor and adult sex trafficking. The top countries include the United States (56), Mexico (55), and Honduras (23).
  - o Mom & Pops are evenly divided with defendants from the United States and Mexico. Crime Rings defendants are predominantly American. Those in Illegal Enterprises are more evenly divided across countries, but the top three are the United States, Mexico, and Honduras.
- **Human trafficking offenders are motivated by various push and pull factors.**
  - o Primary push factors involve socio-environmental variables over which the individual has very little control. These include: childhood abuse and/or neglect, lack of education, and a destructive social network. These primary factors, as discrete or overlapping experiences, can lead to any or all of the secondary push factors and serve to disempower the individual.
  - o Secondary push factors are symptoms of the primary push factors. They include criminal history, drug and/or substance abuse, and financial stress. These lead to feeling a lack of control over one's life.
  - o The pull factors for engaging in human trafficking include power, control, and esteem. Those that engage in human trafficking reclaim power and control in their lives by exerting power and control over others.

Where do the organized crime groups engaged in human trafficking operate?

- Based on federal prosecution records, the counties in the United States with the most bases of operations of organized crime groups engaging human trafficking include: Harris County, Houston, TX; Fulton County, Atlanta, GA; and Queens County, Queens, NY.
- There are confirmed human trafficking crimes in all 50 U.S. states, as well as two territories, Guam and American Samoa. The states with the most verified human trafficking crimes are: California, Texas, New York, and Georgia.
- Of the sex trafficking crime locations revealed in federal prosecution records, the plurality is in brothels/massage parlors (325 crime locations), then street prostitution (201 crime locations), internet prostitution (175 crime locations), escort services (48 crime locations), and strip clubs (30 crime locations).
- Federally-prosecuted labor trafficking crime locations reveal the following trend: hotel/hospitality has 103 crime locations, agriculture has 47 crime locations, and domestic servitude has 19 different crime locations.

How do organized crime groups engaged in sex trafficking operate?

- **Recruitment**
  - Recruitment of victims takes place through a "lover boy" story and through exploitation of poverty and drug abuse.
  - Drivers are usually recruited through family/friend networks and tend to be individuals looking to make extra money. Drivers sometimes branch out and start their own operation.
  - In some international network models, security guards, who may be former military, are recruited from overseas because they can be paid less and they can quickly leave the country if necessary.
- **Operational security**
  - Organized crime groups running sex trafficking operations can be very sophisticated in their operational security to evade law enforcement detection and to avoid dangerous buyers.
  - Techniques to evade law enforcement detection include setting up Illegal Enterprises, bribing law enforcement officers, posting and following "bewares" on websites, and using aliases, burn phones, and code words.
  - In order to ensure safety with buyers, the groups run background checks, check IP addresses and run WhoIs searches, conduct property value assessments on their homes, and maintain lists of those that are potentially dangerous.
- **Organizational structure**
  - This research identifies four different organizational structures for organized crime groups engaged in sex trafficking: the hybrid model, the international network model, the Gang model, and the Tenancingo, Mexico model.
- **Advertising**
  - Most of the advertising is online and by word of mouth.
  - In the Tenancingo, Mexico model, the most common form of advertisement is handing out cards on the street.

- **Pricing structure & payment**
  - ○ Pricing varies by model and location.
  - ○ This research estimated that in one mid-size Midwestern city, the annual gross revenues of one segment of the hybrid model alone is just under $115 million per year.
  - ○ Some international network models can make up to $20,000 per week per victim between stripping and commercial sex acts. They have roughly 25 victims at any given time. This amounts to $500,000 per week. For the Eastern European victims with blonde hair and blue eyes, the rate is up to $1000 for a 15-minute sex act.
  - ○ The minimum annual gross revenue from the Tenancingo network in Queens, NY is roughly $36.5 million per year, but it could be as high at $100 million.
- **Managing money**
  - ○ Money laundering appears to be common, especially through modeling agencies, barber shops, and tanning salons.
  - ○ In the Tenancingo, Mexico model, the money is sent back to Mexico through couriers.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Policymakers should establish a clear definition of "organized crime" and the broader anti-human trafficking community should agree on a set typology that can assist law enforcement and prosecutors as they investigate and prosecute these types of cases.
2. The law enforcement community should critically examine the reasons behind the lack of organized crime prosecutions to discern whether it is a function of the true reality of human trafficking crimes, or a function of the politics and incentive structures around arrests and prosecutions.
3. The counter-human trafficking community should continue to educate the law enforcement community and the general public on the various organizational and operational capacities of the different types of organized crime groups engaged in human trafficking to better prevent, disrupt, and prosecute the networks.
4. The criminal justice community should intensify its focus on Illegal Enterprises. Targeting this type of organized crime group through increased investigation, prosecution, and public awareness campaigns may provide a greater return on resources invested.
5. The public should be made aware that, per federal prosecutions data, there are verified human trafficking crime locations in all 50 states, as well as two U.S. territories. Local communities should be made aware of the specific types of human trafficking that are most prevalent around them.
6. The anti-trafficking community and policy makers should examine early intervention efforts targeted at potential victimizers.
7. More research should be conducted on the involvement of cartels/mafias/syndicates in facilitating human trafficking operations.

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CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

DEFINING ORGANIZED CRIME

A clear definition of organized crime has proven elusive—so much so that The Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 (P.L. 91-452, 84 Stat. 922) itself did not define it. Among the first functional definitions of organized crime was that put forth by the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime (2000), which defined "an organised criminal group" in Article 2(a) as "a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with the Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit." Among the most important things to note from this definition is the idea that organized criminal groups may very widely in terms of their size, being comprised of as few as three people.

Beyond merely defining organized crime, a difficult task unto itself, scholars have developed schemas to understand various attributes of organized crime.[1] For example, Finckenauer (2005: 65) combines dimensions of organized crime proposed by Hagan (1983) and Maltz (1985, 1994) to derive eight "dimensions and characteristics" of organized crime groups. These eight dimensions are: ideology, structure/organized hierarchy, continuity, violence/use force or the threat of force, restricted membership/bonding, illegal enterprises, penetration of legitimate businesses, and corruption.

Abadinsky (2010: 3) also sets forth eight attributes of organized crime groups: no political goals, hierarchical, limited or exclusive membership, unique subculture, perpetuates itself, willingness to use illegal violence, monopolistic, and explicit rules and regulations. These characteristics intersect with the Finckenhauer (2005) attributes to produce a relatively comprehensive descriptive understanding of the factors that separate organized crime groups from other types of criminals.

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (Public Law 90–351) defined organized crime in large part based on the types of crimes in which these groups engage. It states:

> Organized crime means the unlawful activities of the members of a highly organized, disciplined association engaged in supplying illegal goods and services, including but not limited to gambling, prostitution, loan sharking, narcotics, labor racketeering, and other unlawful activities of members of organizations.

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[1] See Finckenhauer (2005) for an excellent review of definitions of organized crime, and the distinction between organized crime, criminal organizations, and crime that is organized.

In short, scholars, governmental bodies, and international organizations have had a difficult time nailing down a definition of organized crime which has led to a variety of definitions that are based on various attributes or specific types of crimes these criminal groups tend to commit.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING AS ORGANIZED CRIME

In 2000, the United Nations set forth the "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children." There are several aspects to this protocol that served to frame the issue of human trafficking for the international community. Perhaps most notably, the Protocol took a distinctively crime-centered approach, and more specifically couched human trafficking in terms of transnational organized crime. The Protocol was signed as part of the UN Convention on Transnational Organized Crime in Palermo, Sicily, "the epicenter of the old Italian Mafia, the most fabled and notorious criminal syndicate in the world" (DeStefano 2008: 28). This seminal international document, which defines human trafficking for the first time in an international context, places the issue squarely in the context of organized crime.

> this research aims to begin to fill this empirical gap to examine the extent to which human trafficking in the United States is perpetrated by organized crime.

When the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) was passed in 2000, it explicitly stated that human trafficking involves transnational organized crime: "Trafficking in persons is increasingly perpetrated by organized, sophisticated criminal enterprises. Such trafficking is the fastest growing source of profits for organized criminal enterprises worldwide. Profits from the trafficking industry contribute to the expansion of organized crime in the United States and worldwide." (TVPA Sec 102(b)(8)).

Thus, in the immediate years after the Palermo Protocol and TVPA (2000), government bodies, international organizations, and scholars all espoused the idea that transnational organized crime was behind global trafficking in persons (e.g., Bruggeman 2002; Bruinsma and Meershoek 1997; Estes and Weiner 2001; Richard 1999; Schloenhardt 1999; Williams 2002), and a body of scholarship developed around this framing in the following years (e.g., Bruckert and Parent 2004; Hodge and Lietz 2007; Picarelli 2009; Risley 2010; Shelley 2010; Smith 2011; Torg 2006; Väyrynen 2005).

However, this assumption has never been empirically tested, which has led to criticism against the claim that human trafficking is an organized crime issue: "This transnational organized crime framework has prevailed despite a lack of clear evidence of its applicability to the trafficking context or systematic analysis of criminal justice data on the

profile of trafficking offenders" (Lee 2011: 84). This research aims to begin to fill this empirical gap.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING OFFENDERS: GROUP-LEVEL CHARACTERISTICS

Using the organized crime problem frame, scholars began to decipher between different types of organized crime groups engaging in human trafficking, but with an understanding that defining human trafficking as "organized crime" can mean different things. "Traffickers may be individual entrepreneurs, small 'mom and pop' operations, or sophisticated, organized rings. There is little consensus among those who have studied the problem as to the proportions of each of those types; nor with respect to their level of organization and sophistication" (Finckenauer and Schrock 2001: 2).

Shelley (2003) set forth a typology that includes different models for groups engaging in trafficking in persons: the natural resource model, trade and development, supermarket, violent entrepreneurs, and traditional slavery/modern technology. Williams (2008) offered a typology of human trafficking groups that is slightly different. Rather than focusing on the different types of business models, he focuses on the different types of groups, which include opportunistic amateurs, transnational criminal organizations with broad portfolios of activity, traditional criminal organizations, ethnically-based trafficking organizations, and criminal controlled businesses. A third typology was offered by Picarelli (2009). He argues there are three broadly defined types of groups engaging in human trafficking:

> The first are small trafficking groups comprised mainly of a handful of entrepreneurial individuals. Second are cooperatives comprised of individuals, small groups and even criminal organisations that combine specialised skills to form larger trafficking syndicates. Last are situations where one large criminal organisation controls all aspects of a trafficking network. (p. 116)

Finally, Albanese (2011: 54) frames a typology around what he calls a "criminal enterprise approach." His typology includes recruiters, transporters, and exploiters who may be organized differently and who all have different goals (pp. 55-56).

> the "5-S" typology is an empirical tool to classify the group-based characteristics of organized crime groups

Although these typologies of human trafficking groups are useful starting points, they are less helpful as empirical tools to classify organized crime groups engaged in human trafficking in the United States. This study builds on these extant typological frameworks, and proposes the "5-S" typology, which is an empirical tool to classify the group-based characteristics of organized crime groups engaged in human trafficking.

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The 5-S typology is then employed to examine the group-based characteristics of human trafficking organizations. There is minimal research to date that examines the various types of groups that are engaged in human trafficking and whether or not there are patterns regarding the organizational composition of these groups and how group-level characteristics may predict the type of trafficking in which the groups engage. This research uses the 5-S typology to answer questions about how human trafficking groups vary in their size, scope, structure, sophistication, and self-identification.

> **This research uses the 5-S typology to answer questions about the how human trafficking groups vary in their size, scope, structure, sophistication, and self-identification.**

HUMAN TRAFFICKING OFFENDERS: INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL CHARACTERISTICS

Beyond a lack of understanding regarding the groups that engage in human trafficking, there is also very little knowledge about the individual perpetrators. There has been a significant amount of research on the supply side (victims) and the demand side (buyers),

> **The study analyzes defendants in these cases by age, race, gender, and country of origin**

especially in the context of commercial sexual exploitation. However, very few studies have sought to understand the distributors (the traffickers): who they are and why they engage in this criminal activity. This research fills an important gap by examining the demographic characteristics of the individuals that comprise the organized groups engaged in human trafficking in the United States. The study examines defendants in these cases by age, race, gender, and country of origin and analyzes patterns that emerge.

The scholarship on preventing human trafficking in the United States has focused primarily on understanding the push and pull factors that lead to vulnerabilities of being trafficked for commercial sex in order to prevent people from becoming victims (e.g., Dalla 2003; Hopper and Hidalgo 2006; Roe-Sepowitz 2012; Wilson and Widom 2010). A smaller body of work has examined sex buyers in order to better understand how to effectively prevent people from purchasing sex in the future (e.g., Durchslag and Goswami 2008; Janson 2013; Shively et al. 2012). With one major exception (Owens, et al. 2014), very little work has been done on prevention in the context of labor trafficking in the United States from the supply or demand perspective, and there has been scant effort to understand prevention in the context of the distributors of sex and labor trafficking. Beyond the knowledge that they are driven by profit and a low risk, high reward calculation (Dank, et al. 2014), there is limited understanding about the traffickers themselves, and in particular those that operate in organized criminal groups. This research is applies a push/pull framework to

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> **this research applies a push/pull framework to understand the motivations of the traffickers.**

understand the motivations of the traffickers as a means of developing prevention schemes for early intervention that would reduce the likelihood of viewing human trafficking as a viable option in the future.

MODELS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING NETWORKS AND OPERATIONS

In addition to a general dearth of data on the group- and individual-level characteristics of traffickers in the United States, with a few exceptions there is also a lack of research examining organizational models of human trafficking business operations.

Dank, et al. (2014) study different models and venues of sex trafficking that exist in the United States, such as brothels, erotic massage parlors, Internet prostitution, and street prostitution. Across the eight cities that they examine, they find that some of the models are more or less prevalent in certain geographical contexts. They also provide a thorough description of the business model of the underground sex economy, including recruiting employees, managing work relationships, developing business networks, advertising, pricing structures, and managing money. However, they were unable to delve into the networks and models involving organized crime, stating: "As reported above, the networks of those operating massage parlors, escort services, and beach clubs are thought to be transnational, involving Chinese and Eastern European organized crime, respectively. However, these networks have proven more difficult to uncover due to resource constraints. As a result, less is known about their network characteristics" (p. 62).

Owens, et al. (2014) provide the most thorough examination of the models of labor trafficking in the United States. Like the Dank, et al. (2014) study on sex trafficking, this research examines models of labor trafficking based on different venues of exploitation, including agriculture, domestic work, hospitality, restaurants, and construction. However, this study does not specifically address those models in which various types of organized crime groups are engaged.

The present research therefore builds off previous work to construct models of human trafficking, both sex and labor, that are uniquely situated in an organized crime context. Using a mixed-methods approach—including geospatial analysis, qualitative analysis of interview transcripts, and case studies—this report identifies various models of human trafficking in the United States and the manner and means by which they operate.

In what follows, I discuss the research design and methodology, and walk through the findings, which are organized around the project's central research questions:

1) To what extent is human trafficking in the United States perpetrated by organized crime groups?

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2) What types of organized crime groups are engaged in human trafficking in the United States?
3) Who are the individuals that comprise the organized crime groups engaged in human trafficking in the United States?
4) Where do these organized crime groups operate?
5) How do these organized crime groups operate?

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

The research design for this study had two phases. The first phase was quantitative while the second was qualitative. Phase I involved creating an organized crime typology, collecting human trafficking cases, coding each case, and conducting various quantitative analyses to answer the research questions about the groups and individuals engaged in human trafficking.

Phase II of the project was qualitative, and involved interviewing a sample of inmates convicted in human trafficking cases at various Bureau of Prison facilities. This phase involved designing the interview protocol, selecting the sample of inmates, conducting the interviews, and using grounded theory to analyze the interview data.

Prior to starting any of the work, however, it was imperative first to define organized crime in order to separate those human trafficking cases that involve organized crime from those that do not. Based on the review of the extant literature, it was determined that human trafficking cases with three or more defendants are considered organized crime.

> **human trafficking cases with three or more defendants are considered organized crime**

It is important to note that cases with one or two defendants may also be "organized crime." Indeed, the named defendants in a case reflect only the way the case was prosecuted. It may reflect only those individuals for whom evidence was strong enough to indict, or a prosecutor's decision to charge in separate cases. The number of defendants, therefore, is not necessarily reflective of the full extent of the human trafficking operations. In other words, although there may be only one or two defendants in a case, those individuals could have been working or cooperating with others not named in the case. However, determining whether or not these cases are "organized crime" is difficult and requires some degree of extrapolation beyond the case itself. Therefore, for the purpose of this analysis, the key criterion for case inclusion was three or more defendants, but this is not to suggest that those with less than three defendants may not also be operating as part of an organized criminal group. It is simply to state that, based on the limited information provided in the court documents, it was too difficult to make that determination for cases with less than three defendants.[2]

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[2] Future research should dig more deeply into these cases to determine which of the one and two defendant cases may actually constitute "organized crime."

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PHASE I

5-S Typology of Organized Crime

The first part of Phase I was developing a typology of organized crime that could be used as an empirical tool to classify the human trafficking cases with three or more defendants. The 5-S typology is named for five attributes (all starting with the letter "S") of organized crime groups: size, scope, sophistication, structure, and self-identification. Each of these attributes has been discussed in one form or another in existing literature on organized crime. Therefore, these attributes are not new; rather, the 5-S typology organizes them in a way that is parsimonious, easily digestible, and useful for empirical analysis.

The first "S" is **size**. *This refers to the total number of people that are "members" of the organized crime group.* Implicit in the UN definition of organized crime is that size can vary dramatically. It states that an organized criminal group may be comprised of "three or more persons". This definition suggests that organized crime groups can range from very small to very large. Thus, size is an ordinal variable that is coded as small (S), medium (M), or large (L). An organized crime group is considered small if it has less than 10 people. A group is coded medium if it has between 10 and 30 people, and a large group has more than 30 people coordinating and conspiring with one another. The determination of the size of the group is based on the total number of members of the overall group. The size of the group is also based on whether or not the group will cease to exist with the prosecution of the individuals in the case. Coding for size of the group, therefore, takes into account the likelihood that the group will continue to operate by other agents of the group even after group members have been prosecuted.

The second "S" is **scope**. *This refers to the territorial range in which the group operates.* Much of the literature on organized crime groups has had a distinctive transnational focus. This may be the result of globalization and the factors that have made it easier to move goods and people illicitly around the globe. Indeed, "organized crime group" was defined in the UN Convention on *Transnational* Organized Crime. However, to be considered an organized crime group, operating transnationally is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition. Organized crime groups can operate locally, defined here as operating within one particular state or in and around the metro-area of a few states (e.g., Kansas City, MO). They can also operate nationally, which means they operate across two or more different states that are not necessarily contiguous or encompassing the same metro-area. Last, they can operate transnationally, which means that part of their operation takes place in at least one country outside the United States. Thus, scope is a nominal variable that is coded: local (L), national (N), or transnational (T).

Sophistication is the third "S" in the 5-S typology. *Sophistication is defined as the complexity of the group's organized criminal activities and the extent to which its portfolio is diversified.* It has long been noted that different organized crime groups range on a continuum from least to most sophisticated (Hagan 2006). If a group's criminal portfolio is

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heterogeneous, either as a means of carrying out its main activity or because the group is engaged in crimes beyond one main activity, then sophistication is coded as high. On the other hand, if the group's criminal portfolio is homogeneous and its operating procedures are relatively simple, then sophistication is coded as low. If it is somewhere in the middle, then the group has medium sophistication. Therefore, sophistication is an ordinal variable coded low (L), medium (M), or high (H).

The fourth "S" is **structure**. *Structure refers to the extent to which the group is structured hierarchically or is decentralized.* Many definitions of organized crime groups refer in some way to the organizational structure of the group, and specifically to the hierarchical nature of the groups (e.g., Abadinsky 2010; Hagan 1983; Maltz 1985, 1994; Finckenhauer 2005). For example, Abadinsky (2010: 3) states, "An organized crime group has a vertical power structure with at least three permanent ranks—not just a leader and followers—each with authority over the level beneath." However, other definitions do not view hierarchy has a necessary condition for an organized criminal group. For example, Lyman and Potter (2011) describe organized criminal networks that are horizontally structured that lack clear leadership. To account for this variability, structure is coded as an ordinal variable that ranges from very decentralized (VD), somewhat decentralized (SD), somewhat hierarchical (SH), to very hierarchical (VH).

The last "S" in the 5-S typology is **self-identification**. Self-identification has three sub-categories: 1) strength of identification; 2) type of identification; and 3) name. The *strength of self-identification refers to how strongly members of the group identify as being a group member.* If the group has certain initiation practices, symbols, colors, norms, or language, then the strength of self-identification with the group is likely to be high. If, on the other hand, the group is a loosely structured network without strong social/emotional bonds, then strength of self-identification will be low. Another way to discern strength of self-identification is based on whether the individuals are committing the crime on behalf or as agents of a particular group, or whether they are doing it for themselves. Strength of identification is an ordinal variable coded as: weak (W), moderate (M), or strong (S).

Type of self-identification refers to the identity around which the group is formed. For example, ethnicity has been a major identity around which government agencies and scholars have understood organized crime groups; however, ethnicity is not the only identity around which organized crime groups form. Albanese (2011: 5) refers to this as the "ethnicity trap" and argues that "the use of ethnicity as a descriptor of criminal activity is extremely limited." Another type of self-identification can be biological family, friends, or accomplice. The key here is not the specific type of self-identification, but whether or not the group is organized around a common identifying characteristic beyond banding together to commit a criminal act. Thus, type of self-identification is a nominal variable with the following categories: family (FA), friend (FR), family/friend (FF), race/ethnicity (R), and accomplices (A).[3]

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[3] There may be some overlap between strength and type of identification for some groups whereby strength determines type or vice versa. For example, if the type is "accomplice", then the strength will always be "weak."

Name is the last component of self-identification, and is defined as whether or not the group has a proper name. This can be the name of a Gang, such as Bloods, or the name of a business. The important thing is that the name is self-determined by the group and not a name generated by law enforcement to refer to the group. Name is a nominal category coded simply as yes (Y) or no (N).

Variance across the 5-S typology generates five different types of organized crime groups: 1) Mom & Pop; 2) Crime Ring; 3) Gang; 4) Cartel/Mafia/Syndicate; 5) Illegal Enterprise.[4]

The first type is **Mom & Pop.** This type of group is defined by size and self-identification. The size of a Mom & Pop group is either small or medium, but cannot be large. In other words, it must be 30 people or less. In addition to size, Mom & Pop groups are also defined by self-identification based on type, strength, and name. Type of self-identification must be family or family/friends. The strength of self-identification with the group must be either medium or strong. Finally, the group cannot have a proper name. Because Mom & Pop groups can vary significantly in terms of sophistication, scope, and structure, these characteristics of organized crime groups cannot be used to determine whether a group is Mom & Pop.

The second type of group is **Crime Ring**. A Crime Ring is also defined by size and self-identification. Like Mom & Pop groups, Crime Rings can be either small or medium, but not large, and they do not have a proper name. However, Crime Rings differ from Mom & Pop in terms of type and strength of self-identification. Type of self-identification must be something other than family or family/friend, and strength of self-identification is medium or weak. Similar to Mom & Pop groups, Crime Rings cannot be differentiated from other types of organized crime groups based on sophistication, scope, or structure because Crime Rings may vary along these dimensions.

Gang is the third type of group generated by the 5-S typology, and Gangs are defined based on scope and self-identification. In order to be classified as a Gang, the group must operate either locally or nationally, but not transnationally.[5] Gangs are also distinct in terms of the strength and name of their self-identification. Specifically, the strength of their self-identification as a group is strong, and the name of the group is proper and distinct. Gangs cannot be classified as such based on size, structure, or sophistication because these can be variable for these types of groups.

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[4] The 5-S typology highlights variance across the five different types of organized crime groups that it generates. However, there is also variance within each different type. The main purpose of this study is to examine variance across the five typologies. Future work can extend this by examining variance within each typology.

[5] It is important to note that this typology is not suggesting that all gangs are organized crime groups, only that one type of organized crime group is called "gang." There is a large body of literature on gangs and different typologies of gangs (e.g., Klein and Maxson 1996) that is beyond the scope of this report. Given this definition, some groups that are stereotypically considered "gangs" may be classified differently here. For example, MS-13 and Barrio 18 would be classified not as gangs, but rather as Cartel/Mafia/Syndicate.

The fourth type is **Cartel/Mafia/Syndicate**. These three words are used interchangeably because they can all be classified based on the same set of criteria. First, these groups must be large, likely comprised of hundreds of people. Second, Cartels/Mafias/Syndicates must have a transnational scope of operations; they cannot operate only locally or only in the United States. Third, these types of groups are highly sophisticated and have a heterogeneous portfolio of criminal activities in which they engage. In terms of structure, Cartels/Mafias/Syndicates must be very or somewhat hierarchical with clear bosses, kingpins, and/or chains of command. Cartels/Mafias/Syndicates can vary, however, in their self-identification across strength, type, and name; thus, self-identification cannot necessarily be used as a condition for classification.[6]

The final type is **Illegal Enterprise**. The defining characteristics of Illegal Enterprises are sophistication and self-identification. Sophistication of Illegal Enterprises must be medium or high; they engage in a variety of complex criminal activities. Illegal Enterprises also must self-identify with a proper name. In other words, the Illegal Enterprise itself must have a business name. However, Illegal Enterprises vary on all other classification dimensions, including size, scope, structure, and strength and type of self-identification.

Overall, the 5-S typology is a parsimonious framework to understand different types of organized crime groups. Applied to human trafficking, classifying groups in this manner reveals the diversity of actors engaged in human trafficking in the United States and the dimensions on which they vary.

Case Collection

The next stage of Phase I was to search for federally prosecuted criminal human trafficking cases in the United States between 2000 and 2015. These cases serve as the data source to empirically examine the extent of organized crime involvement in human trafficking in the United States. It is important to note that data on federal prosecutions provides a limited, non-generalizable snapshot of the true connection between organized crime and human trafficking in the United States. It is not a measure of actual involvement or even of incidents of human trafficking in the United States, and as such is a flawed sample. However, because it is among the most valid and reliable sources of data that exists, it serves as a starting point to examine this relationship.

To find this universe of cases, the principal investigator, in collaboration with Global Centurion, developed search protocols (see Appendix A) using Lexis Nexis, WestLaw, and Bloomberg Law. The protocols were developed such that they would yield human trafficking cases that may not have been prosecuted under the Peonage, Slavery, and

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[6] Type of self-identification for Cartels/Mafias/Syndicates is often either race/ethnicity or family; however, it does not necessarily have to be in order to be classified as such.

Table 2.1. 5-S Typology of Organized Crime

	SIZE	SCOPE	SOPHISTICATION	STRUCTURE	SELF-IDENTIFICATION		
					STRENGTH	TYPE	NAME
	S=Small M=Medium L=Large	L=Local N=National T=Transnational	L=Low M=Medium H=High	VH=Very hierarchical SH=Somewhat hierarchical SD=Somewhat decentralized VD=Very decentralized	W=Weak M=Moderate S=Strong	FA=Family FR=Friends FF=Family/Friend R=Race/ethnicity A=Accomplice	Y=Yes N=No
MOM & POP	S/M				M/S	FA/FF	N
CRIME RING	S/M				M/W	FR/A	N
GANG		L/N			S		Y
CARTEL/MAFIA/SYNDICATE	L	T	H	VH/SH			
ILLEGAL ENTERPRISE			M/H				Y

Trafficking in Persons criminal code (18 U.S.C. Chapter 77). This was important for a number of reasons.

First, the crime of human trafficking often involves elements of other criminal acts. Some of these include: drug trafficking, falsified documentation, conspiracy, gangs, corruption, kidnapping, the Mann Act, harboring for prostitution, wire fraud, mail fraud, bank fraud, money laundering, currency structuring, identity fraud, visa fraud, as well as criminal and civil labor violations (Farrell, McDevitt, and Fahy 2008). Therefore, it may be possible for defendants in a case that involves human trafficking never to have been charged for human trafficking under 18 U.S.C. Chapter 77.

Second, the human trafficking statutes under Chapter 77 are relatively new to prosecutors. If it is possible for prosecutors to charge under statutes with which they have had prior experience and success, carry the same or steeper sentences, and/or are easier to prosecute given evidentiary constraints, they will most likely charge for those crimes (Farrell, et al. 2012). For these reasons, relatively few cases were prosecuted under the TVPA since its initial passage in 2000 (Farrell, et al. 2012). However, this does not mean that there were not human trafficking cases being prosecuted; some cases with the crime of human trafficking were instead being prosecuted under different criminal statutes. Thus, in order to explore the connection between organized crime and human trafficking using prosecuted case data, it is necessary to examine prosecutions in the United States that have taken place not only under the TVPA, but also under other statutes common to prosecuting organized crime.

The list of human trafficking cases yielded from these case search protocols were then cross-referenced with the UNODC Human Trafficking Case Law Database, the University of Michigan Law School's Human Trafficking Law Project Database, and the Human Trafficking Pro Bono Legal Center.

Case Coding

After the universe of federally-prosecuted cases was compiled, the third step of Phase I involved downloading the dockets and indictments from PACER, and collecting relevant news articles and government press releases from Access World News.[7] The research team then coded for a variety of variables at both the case-level and the defendant-level. A detailed coding protocol was developed and every case and defendant was coded according to this protocol (see Appendix B). Table 2.2 provides a description of the variables coded at both levels.

It is important to note that the level of detail in the dockets and indictments varied significantly from case to case. For example, some case records provided detailed information on the number of victims, the countries of origin of the victims, and/or the gender and age distribution of all the victims. Additionally, some cases provided the exact addresses of multiple crime locations or detailed information on the specific types of visas,

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[7] Cases for which indictments were not available on PACER required ordering the records from the respective federal courts. The research team also downloaded complaints from PACER when they were available.

while others provided only cursory explanations. In general, when conspiracy was charged and the manner and means of the conspiracy is discussed, the level of detail in the case was usually much greater.

Table 2.2. Data collected at case- and defendant-levels

Case-Level Data	Defendant-Level Data
Case details: name, number, state, start/end date, Federal circuit and district	**Defendant details:** Name, alias, gender, race, country of origin, birth year
Judge: Name, race, gender, year appointed, political party of appointing president	**Arrest & Detention:** date, age at arrest, detained, bail type, bail amount
Type of trafficking: minor sex, adult sex, labor	**Charge info:** date, number felonies charged, and specific statutes charged
Type of labor: domestic servitude, agriculture, health & beauty, hotel & hospitality, construction, other, unknown	**Sentencing info:** date sentenced, total months sentenced, number of felonies sentenced, supervised release, probation, restitution, asset forfeiture, number counts and which statutes sentenced under
Type of sex: strip club, street prostitution, brothel/massage parlor, escort services, internet prostitution, other, unknown	**Appeal**
Victims: Number of victims total, minor victims, foreign victims, female victims, male victims, victims' countries of origin	
Recruitment method: face-to-face, family, online, newspaper, radio, telephone, kidnap, other, unknown	
Geospatial information: entry port & method, base locations, crime locations	

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Quantitative analysis

The compiled data can be analyzed at multiple levels (defendants nested in cases, cases nested in federal districts, federal districts nested in states, and states nested in federal circuits). For the purpose of this analysis, the data is analyzed at the case-level (including information on group-based characteristics) and the individual defendant-level. Quantitative analysis of the data includes descriptive statistics, geospatial analysis, one-way ANOVAs, and logistic regression.

PHASE II

Interview Protocol

In addition to the quantitative design and analysis conducted in Phase I, Phase II of the study involved qualitative research that would provide more textured information on human trafficking offenders and operations through semi-structured interviews.

The first step in this phase of the research was to develop the interview protocol. Many of the questions in the protocol were replicated from Dank, et al. (2014). In general, the questions were designed to understand organized criminal business structures and operations, as well as understand the social and psychological motivations behind engaging in human trafficking (see Appendix E for interview protocol).

Sampling

The sample of interviewees was determined using cluster sampling. After coding the sentencing details for every defendant, a list of all the individuals still in Bureau of Prisons custody was made, and the Bureau of Prisons' Inmate Locator was used to determine the prison facility in which each inmate was located. Facilities were targeted based on the number of individuals located in each facility, such that those with the largest cluster of inmates were highest priority.

After the facilities were selected, letters were sent to each of the inmates (see Appendix C) letting them know the researchers would be at their facility on a specified date and that they are interested in interviewing them.

Conduct Interviews

Upon arriving at the prison facility, inmates were individually provided with an informed consent document that would either be read aloud by the researcher or read independently by the inmate (see Appendix D). Inmates then decided whether or not they wanted to voluntarily participate in the interview, upon which they signed the informed consent document. The interviews were semi-structured and generally followed the flow of the interview protocol. Some of the Bureau of Prison facilities allowed laptops to take notes while others did not. For those that did not allow laptops, notes were taken on paper and then transcribed.

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Overall, interviews were conducted in six prison facilities. In-person contact was made with 22 inmates that had engaged in organized human trafficking activities, and of these 11 signed the informed consent document and agreed to voluntarily participate in the interview. The other 11 refused to voluntarily participate. Thus, the participation rate was 50%.

The sample is comprised of seven males and four females, including seven Americans and four foreign nationals. Two of the eleven interviewees were involved in a labor trafficking case, while the remaining interviewees were involved in sex trafficking.

> the quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis provide a robust view of the groups and individuals organizing to engage in human trafficking in the United States.

Qualitative analysis

Because so little research has been conducted on human trafficking offenders, the researcher used grounded theory to analyze the interview data and develop a push/pull theory to understand the motivations behind human trafficking behavior. Chapter 5 provides the qualitative analysis of the push/pull factors for human trafficking offenders.

Interview data was also analyzed to better understand the business models behind different types of human trafficking. Unfortunately, the sample lacked breadth in terms of labor trafficking models; however, interviews with those convicted in sex trafficking cases provided significant insight into the diversity of illicit models used to carry out sex trafficking operations. This analysis is provided in Chapter 7.

Overall, a combination of the quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis provide a robust view of the groups and individuals organizing to engage in human trafficking in the United States.

CHAPTER 3: TO WHAT EXTENT IS HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN THE UNITED STATES PERPETRATED BY ORGANIZED CRIMINAL GROUPS?

NUMBER OF ORGANIZED CRIME CASES VS. NUMBER OF ORGANIZED CRIME DEFENDANTS

The case searches yielded a total of 862 federally-prosecuted human trafficking cases in the United States between 2000 and 2015. There has been a steady upward increase in prosecutions of human trafficking cases during this time period; however, Figure 3.1 shows that the increase in prosecutions is primarily due to prosecutions of cases with less than three defendants. Indeed, only 194 of the 862 cases (22%) indicted three or more co-defendants in the same case.

This is not to say that cases with one or two defendants do *not* constitute organized crime; however, determining whether or not they are organized crime requires extrapolating beyond the information provided in the case itself. What can be conclusively stated, however, is that federal prosecutors are indicting one or two people at a time in the vast majority of human trafficking cases. It also speaks to the importance of more closely scrutinizing the cases with only one or two defendants to determine the likelihood that they are, indeed, operating as part of an organized criminal network regardless of whether or not the prosecutorial strategy reflects it.

FIGURE 3.1. NUMBER OF CASES PROSECUTED BY NUMBER OF CO-DEFENDANTS

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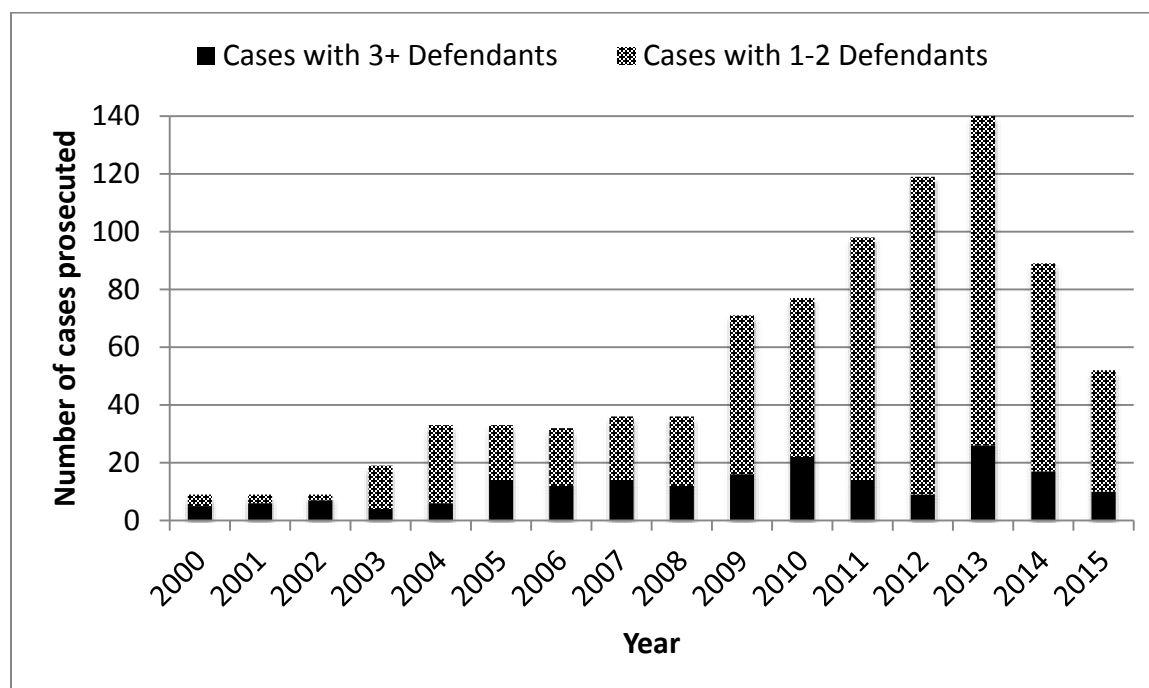
On the other hand, the findings show that the majority of individuals being prosecuted for human trafficking are operating as part of an organized criminal group. The 862 cases include a total of 2,096 defendants of which 58% are part of a case with three or more defendants. In other words, although the majority of *cases* are being prosecuted with only one or two defendants, the majority of *people* being prosecuted are co-defendants in a case with three or more people, and can therefore be considered to be operating as part of an organized crime group.

> the majority of individuals being prosecuted for human trafficking are operating as part of an organized criminal group.

TYPES OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING COMMITTED BY ORGANIZED CRIME GROUPS

The types of human trafficking in which the organized criminal groups are engaged varies. Figure 3.2 reveals that the plurality of these groups (34%) are engaging in both adult *and* minor sex trafficking, with another 17% engaging in only adult sex trafficking and 24% in only minor sex trafficking. Looking across all the different combinations of trafficking, only 18% of the organized crime groups are *not* sex trafficking at all, and instead are trafficking *only* for the purpose of labor.

An examination of the labor cases reveals that, across all cases involving some type of labor trafficking, 93% of the victims are foreign nationals and 73% of the victims are females. The percentage of victims that are female decreases to 67% for cases that are *only* labor trafficking with no sex trafficking involved in the case.

Figure 3.3 represents the industries in which labor trafficking is occurring. The plurality of *only* labor trafficking (and no sex trafficking) is taking place in agriculture. This is significant because, contrary to the overall labor trafficking victim demographics, 100% of the victims in the agriculture cases are male.

There are six labor trafficking only cases that are classified as "other". Two of these cases take place in factories. Another two take place in the retail sector. One case is in home health care. The final case in the "other" category is forced labor selling pirated movies and CDs in order to pay a smuggling debt.[8]

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[8] The six cases classified as "other" that involve only labor trafficking are: *U.S. v. Shurigina, et al.* (2006); *U.S. v. McReynolds, et al.* (2011); *U.S. v. Pelayo, et al.* (2008); *U.S. v. Mondragon, et al.* (2015); *U.S. v. Lee, et al.* (2001); and *U.S. v. Aguilar-Lopez, et al.* (2010). For more information on all of these cases, go to HumanTraffickingData.org.

FIGURE 3.2. TYPES OF TRAFFICKING IN WHICH ORGANIZED HUMAN TRAFFICKING GROUPS ARE ENGAGED

Legend:
- Adult Sex
- Minor Sex
- Labor
- Adult Sex & Labor
- Minor Sex & Labor
- Adult Sex & Minor Sex
- Adult Sex & Minor Sex & Labor
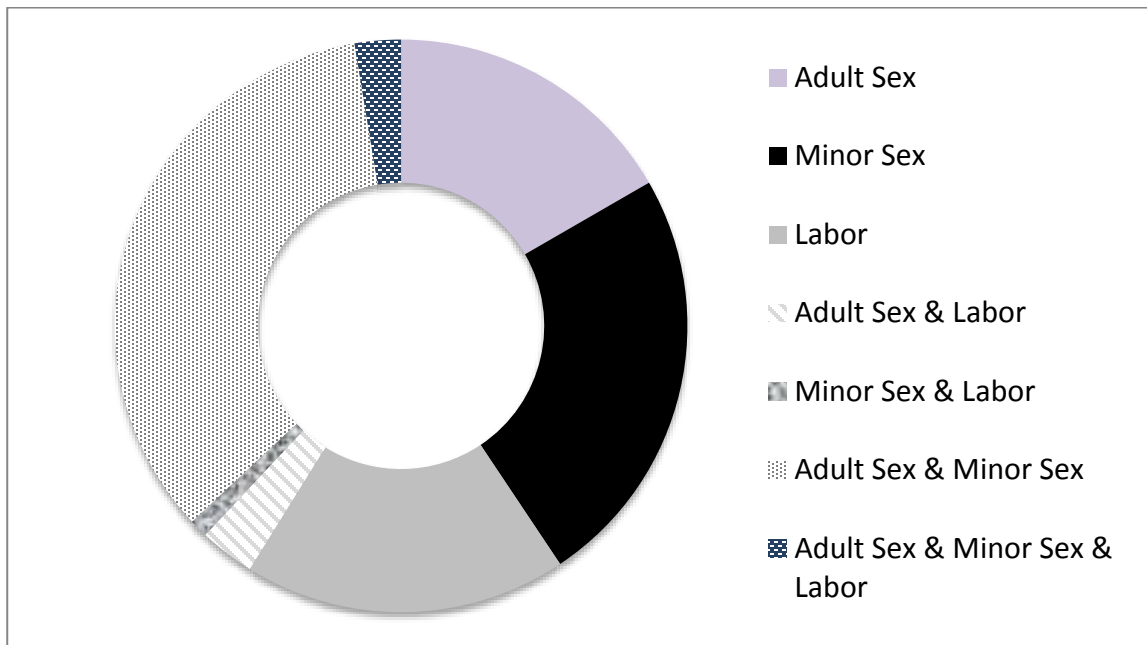
The average number of defendants varies given the industry in which the labor trafficking takes place. Hotel & hospitality and agriculture have the most defendants on average with seven and 4.6 respectively. Many of the cases across both these industries involve massive labor contracting schemes that are often complex and relatively sophisticated. One example is *U.S. v. Baravik, et al.* (2009), which involved 10 enterprises and 800 workers from Eastern Europe, Asia, and Jamaica. The enterprises engaged in money laundering, marriage fraud, and document fraud to further their labor contracting scheme that generated 11 million in revenues over the course of eight years.

Across all cases involving adult sex trafficking, 44% of the victims are foreign nationals. However, for those cases that are *only* adult sex (with no minor sex or labor trafficking), 55% of the victims are foreign nationals. The trend is much lower and moves in the opposite direction for minor sex trafficking. Specifically, for all cases involving minor sex trafficking, only 23% of the victims are foreign nationals; however, for cases involving *only* minor sex trafficking the percent of foreign national victims decreases to only 8%.

FIGURE 3.3. LABOR TRAFFICKING INDUSTRIES AMONG ORGANIZED CRIME GROUPS
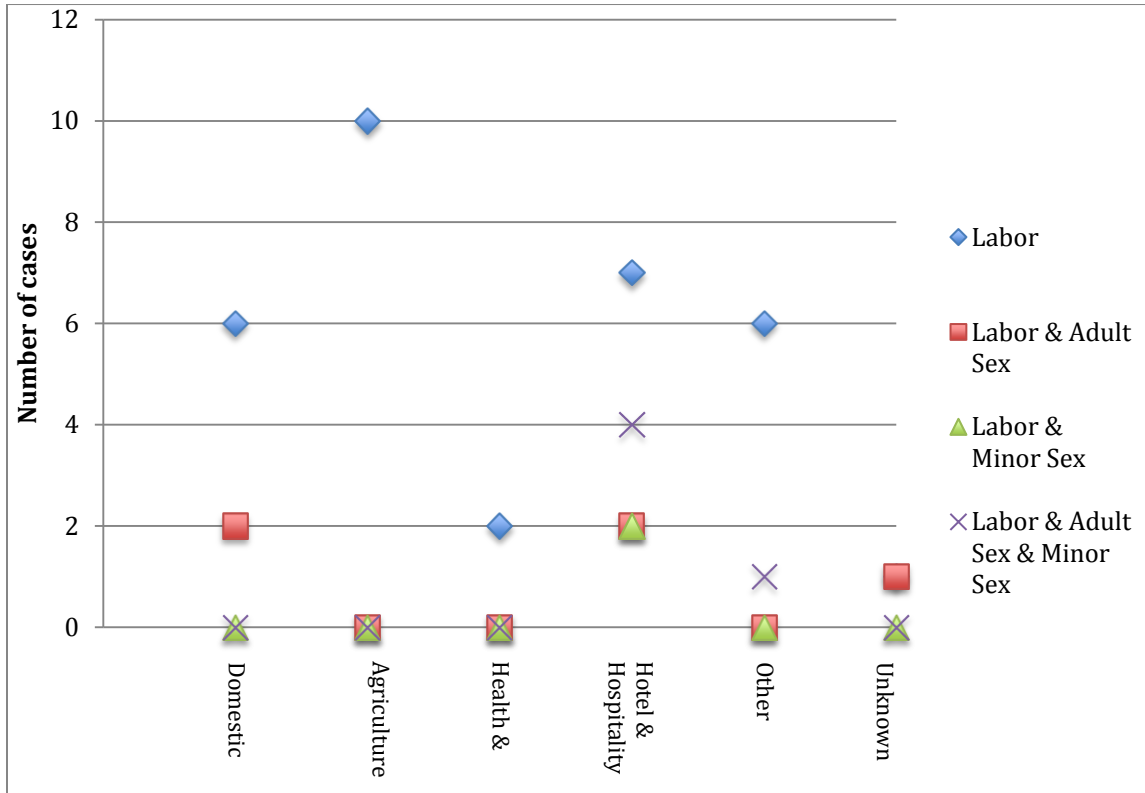
Figure 3.4 provides a breakdown of the venues for sex trafficking. The vast majority of adult sex trafficking *only* cases are in brothels and massage parlors. This is distinct from the minor sex trafficking *only* cases, of which the majority is Internet prostitution. This fact, coupled with the foreign national demographic information for adult versus minor sex trafficking victims, paints a relatively clear picture regarding the contrasts between adult and minor sex trafficking in the United States, at least according to prosecution data. The majority of adult only sex trafficking being prosecuted as organized crime is taking place inside Hispanic brothels and/or Asian massage parlors and involves mostly Hispanic and Asian victims. On the other hand, the majority of minor only sex trafficking being prosecuted as organized crime in the United States is taking place with American minors being sold online.

Given the international nature of the victims and the additional level of sophistication involved in running brothels or massage parlors, it is not surprising that the average number of defendants per case is largest (7) for this type of sex trafficking venue. On the other hand, the lowest average number of defendants (3.4) is for cases involving Internet prostitution. This result, coupled with the labor trafficking results, indicate that the more defendants in an organized crime human trafficking case, the more likely the case involves elaborate and sophisticated international elements.

FIGURE 3.4. SEX TRAFFICKING VENUES AMONG ORGANIZED CRIME GROUPS
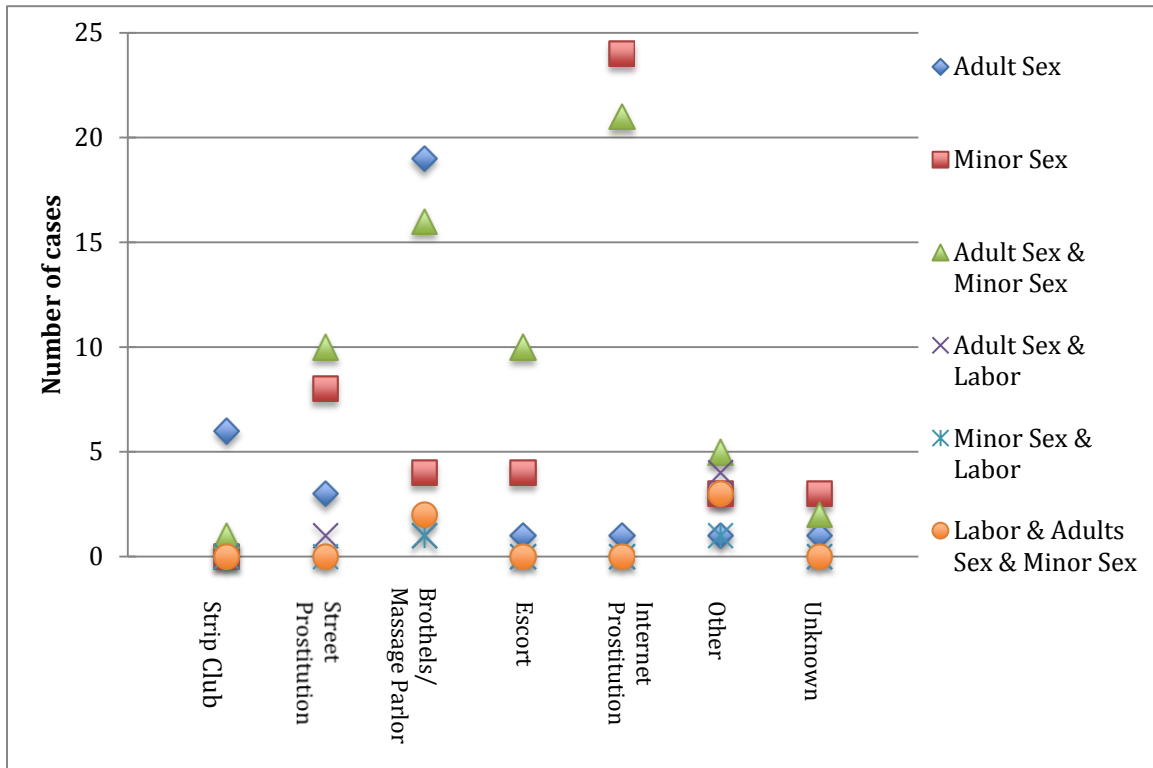
CHAPTER 4: WHAT TYPES OF ORGANIZED CRIME GROUPS ARE ENGAGED IN HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN THE UNITED STATES?

OVERVIEW

Although the term "organized crime" is commonly applied to cartels, mafias or syndicates, limiting this term to these types of groups would misrepresent the engagement of organized crime in human trafficking in the United States. Figure 4.1 shows that, among the federally prosecuted human trafficking cases involving organized crime, Cartels/Mafias/Syndicates are not represented at all.[9] Rather, small to medium sized Mom & Pop (35%) and Crime Ring (33%) groups comprise the majority of organized criminal groups being prosecuted for human trafficking. Illegal Enterprises comprise another 26%, and Gangs the remaining 6%.

FIGURE 4.1. ORGANIZED HUMAN TRAFFICKING GROUPS BY 5-S TYPOLOGY
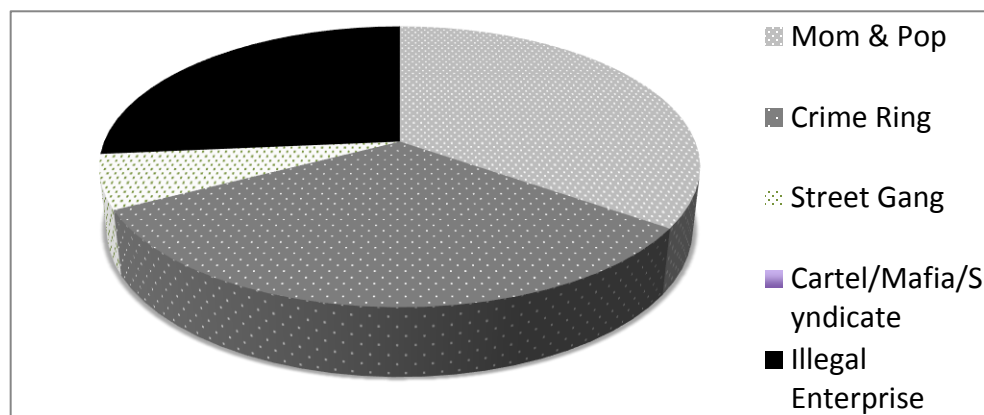
An examination of the types of organized crime groups based on type of trafficking reveals important patterns. Mom & Pop groups are most evenly divided in terms of the types of human trafficking in which they engage. A combined 71% of Mom & Pop groups engage only in sex trafficking (either minor only, adult only, or both minor & adult) with no labor trafficking at all. Twenty-one percent of Mom & Pop groups engage only in labor trafficking, with no sex trafficking in their operations. On average, the number of victims exploited by Mom & Pop groups is 17.6, and the average number of defendants per case is 5.30.

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[9] See caveat on this finding later in this chapter.

FIGURE 4.2. TYPE OF TRAFFICKING BY ORGANIZED CRIME TYPOLOGY
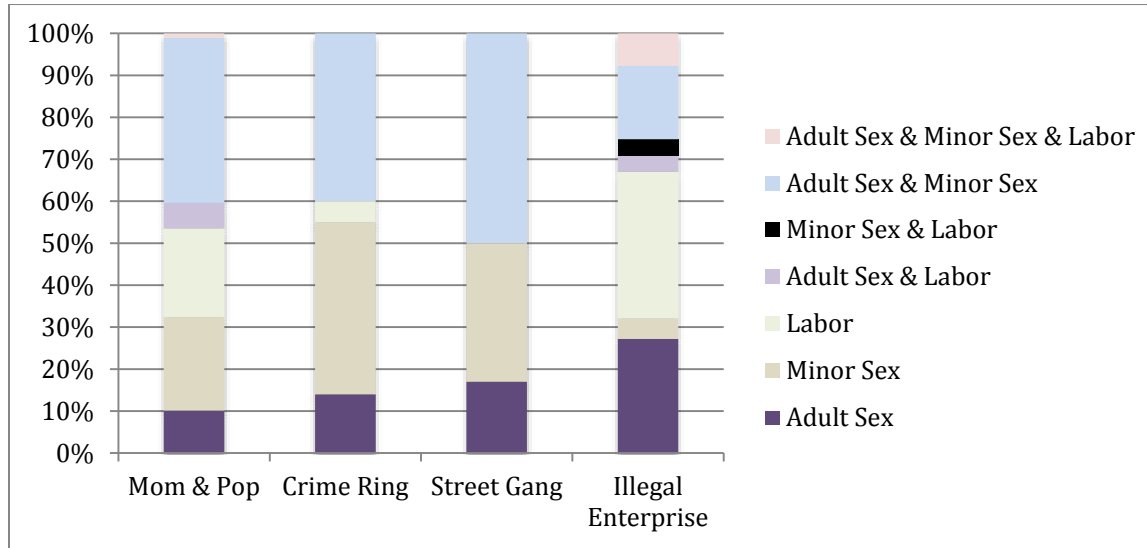
The pattern of human trafficking *only* for commercial sexual exploitation is more pronounced for Crime Rings and Gangs. Ninety-five percent of the trafficking among Crime Rings has no labor trafficking at all and is only for the purpose of commercial sex. Similarly, 100% of the trafficking by Gangs is for commercial sexual exploitation only, either minors, adults, or both. The average number of exploited victims is seven by Crime Rings and 8.8 for Gangs. The average number of defendants per case is 5.30 for Crime Rings and 14.5 for Gangs.

The most diverse type of organized crime group is Illegal Enterprises. It is the only type that has cases across every combination of human trafficking. Also unlike any other type, a plurality (36%) of the Illegal Enterprise cases are for labor trafficking only, and over half of the cases (52%) involve some form of labor trafficking. Additionally, the Illegal Enterprise type has the most adult sex trafficking cases of any other type. The average number of victims in cases involving Illegal Enterprises is 65.7 and the average number of defendants per case is 7.02.

MOM & POP

Overall, there were 67 cases classified as Mom & Pop, comprising the largest type of organized criminal group being prosecuted for human trafficking. Not only are Mom & Pops the most evenly distributed in terms of the types of trafficking (sex/labor) in which they engage, but also they are the most evenly distributed in terms of the commercial sex and labor industries in which they operate. Figure 4.4 reveals that the plurality of Mom & Pop labor trafficking cases are domestic servitude (41%), with another 24% in agriculture. The

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sex trafficking venues for Mom & Pop groups are varied, but the plurality is brothels/massage parlors (33%) and Internet prostitution (25%).[10]

FIGURE 4.3. AVERAGE NUMBER OF VICTIMS BY ORGANIZED CRIME TYPOLOGY
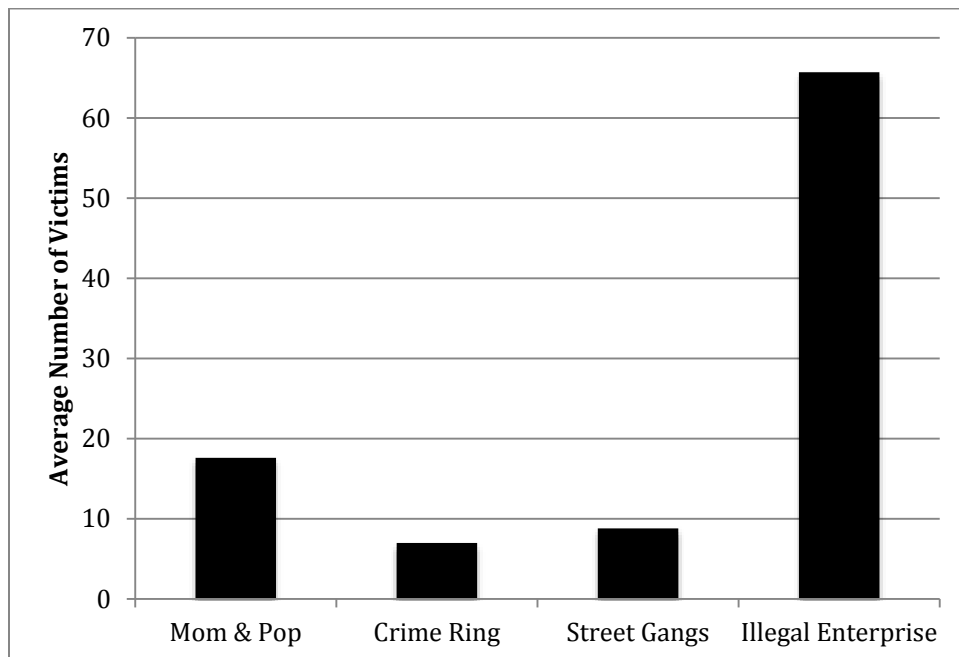
FIGURE 4.4. LABOR TRAFFICKING INDUSTRIES BY MOM & POP GROUPS

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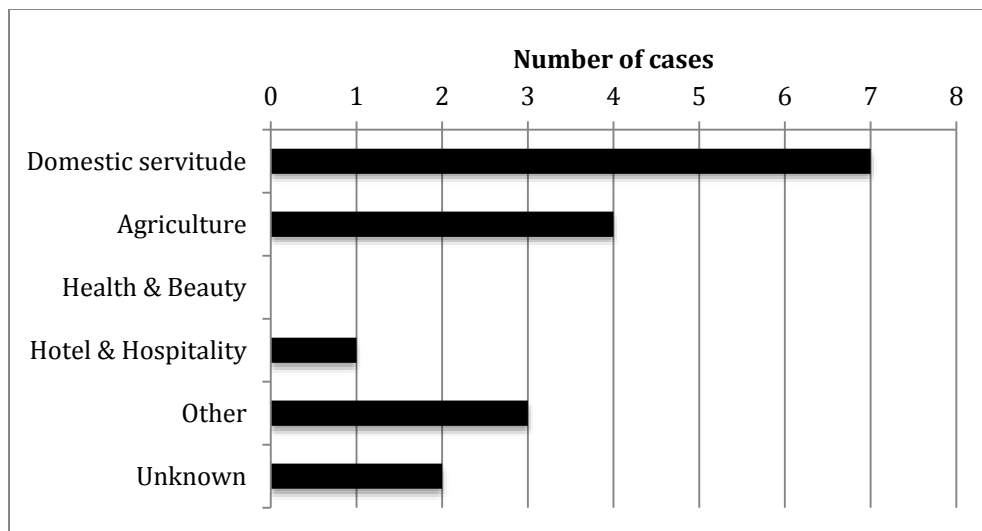
[10] The "other" category, includes several "sexual slavery" cases whereby the victims were not sold for commercial sex but rather were held captive and used as sex slaves (e.g., *U.S. v. Bagley, et al.* (2010) and *U.S. v. Soto-Huarto, et al.* (2003)).

Based on the 5-S typology, all Mom & Pop groups must be small to medium in their size, and their self-identification must be based on family or friends/family. Mom & Pops can vary significantly, however, in terms of scope, sophistication, and structure. Of the Mom & Pop groups, a plurality operates transnationally. This comports with the dominance of Mom & Pop cases that are domestic servitude (95% of victims are foreign nationals), agriculture (91% of victims are foreign nationals), and brothels/massage parlors (84% of victims are foreign nationals).

FIGURE 4.5. SEX TRAFFICKING VENUES BY MOM & POP GROUPS
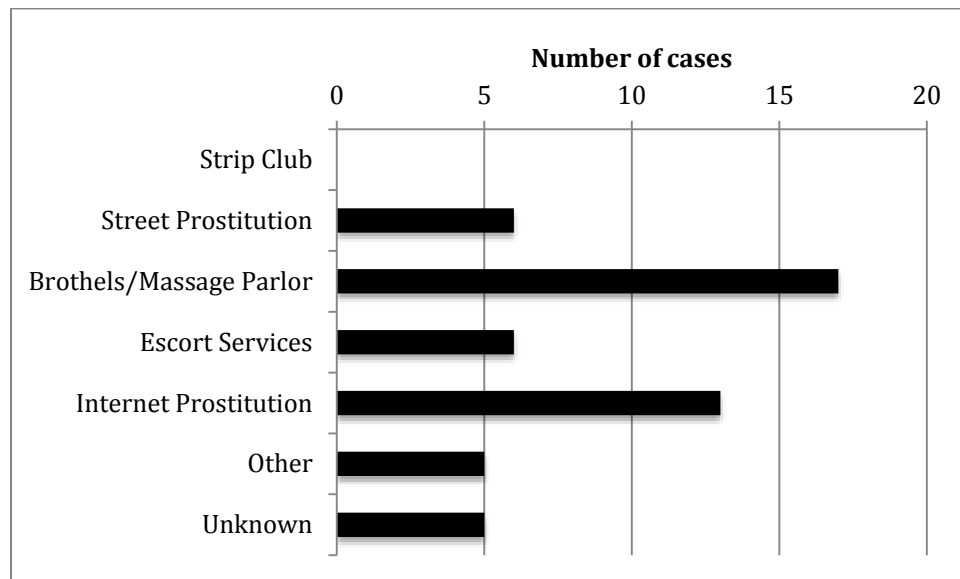
Sophistication for Mom & Pop groups varies, but they generally engage only in human trafficking (low sophistication) or in one other type of illicit activity, most likely in the furtherance of their human trafficking operation. Some common examples include smuggling, document fraud, or alien harboring. Very few of them would be considered high sophistication, meaning that they do not engage in multiple types of criminal activity either in furtherance of or in addition to their human trafficking operations.

Finally, there is also variance in the structure of Mom & Pop groups. Although the type of self-identification for Mom & Pops is based on family or family/friend connections, the plurality of cases still have some type of hierarchical structure in place among the family or family/friend operation. The majority, however, are either somewhat or very decentralized with no clear boss or chain of command.

Table 4.1. Scope, Sophistication, and Structure of Mom & Pop Groups

Scope	Local	17%
	National	25%
	Transnational	38%
Sophistication	Low	39%
	Medium	54%
	High	7%
Structure	Very Hierarchical	9%
	Somewhat Hierarchical	39%
	Somewhat Decentralized	28%
	Very Decentralized	24%

CRIME RING

There were a total of 63 Crime Ring cases, which is the second largest classification to Mom & Pop. As previously depicted in Figure 4.2, the vast majority of Crime Ring cases involve sex trafficking. Only three of the total Crime Ring cases involved labor trafficking, and there is no set pattern of the type of labor these cases involve. On the other hand, there are clear patterns for the type of sex trafficking in which Crime Rings engage. Almost half (47%) of all the sex trafficking cases by Crime Rings are Internet prostitution cases. Simply put, friends get together to sell women and girls online for the purpose of commercial sex.

FIGURE 4.6. SEX TRAFFICKING VENUES BY CRIME RINGS
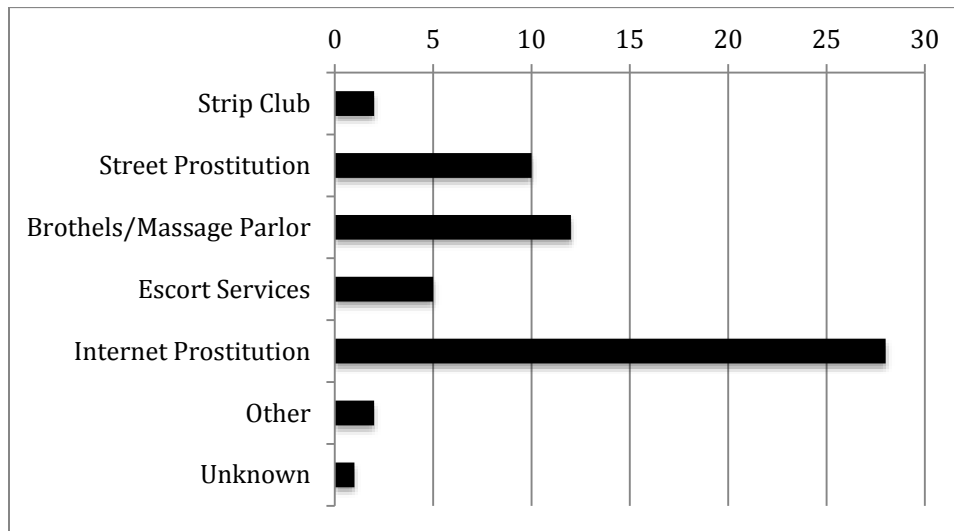
As with Mom & Pops, the defining characteristics are size and self-identification. Specifically, Crime Rings are small or medium sized, do not have a proper name associated

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with the group, are affiliated with one another either as friends or accomplices, and have moderate to weak identification with the group. However, along the other three dimensions of the 5-S typology, Crime Rings may vary.

Table 4.2 reveals that the plurality of Crime Rings (40%) operates nationally, and another 36% operate only in one locality. This is in contrast to Mom & Pops, which mostly operate nationally and internationally. These findings support the type of trafficking in which Mom & Pops and Crime Rings engage, respectively. Where the majority (84%) of victims in the brothels/massage parlors run by Mom & Pops are foreign nationals who the Mom & Pop groups assisted in transporting to the United States (deeming their operations transnational), the majority of victims in Internet prostitution cases are American minors. Specifically, in Internet prostitution cases, 81% of the victims are minors and there are zero foreign national victims represented in these cases.

The majority of Crime Ring operations are low sophistication and either somewhat or very decentralized in their structure. Not only are Crime Rings less diversified in terms of the type of trafficking in which they are engaged, but also they are less sophisticated in their overall operations, as well as less disciplined in their organizational structures and loyalty to their group members. A good example is the case of *U.S. v. Castillo, et al.* (2013) in which one of the accomplices called in the tip to the FBI that led to the arrest of her accomplices because one of the victims ran away to work with a different defendant in the case. Once it became clear that the ring did not have the same goals, the defendant felt no loyalty or obligation to protect the other members of the crime ring. Additionally, as previously addressed, the average number of victims in Crime Ring cases is only seven, as compared to significantly more victims in Mom & Pop and Illegal Enterprise cases. For these reasons, Crime Rings may constitute the easiest type of organized crime group to disrupt.

Table 4.2. Scope, Sophistication, and Structure of Crime Rings

Scope	Local	36%
	National	40%
	International	24%
Sophistication	Low	67%
	Medium	32%
	High	1%
Structure	Very Hierarchical	3%
	Somewhat Hierarchical	27%
	Somewhat Decentralized	41%
	Very Decentralized	29%

GANG

Gangs do not constitute very many of the organized crime human trafficking cases prosecuted federally. The searches yielded only 12 Gang cases involving sex trafficking from 2000 to 2015 with no labor trafficking cases. Figure 10 reveals that Gangs engage in street prostitution and Internet prostitution only. These two types of sex trafficking are most likely to traffick minor victims. For street prostitution cases, 70% of the victims are minors and in Internet prostitution cases 81% are minors. This compares to only 29% minor victims in brothel/massage parlor venues.

FIGURE 4.7. SEX TRAFFICKING VENUES BY GANGS
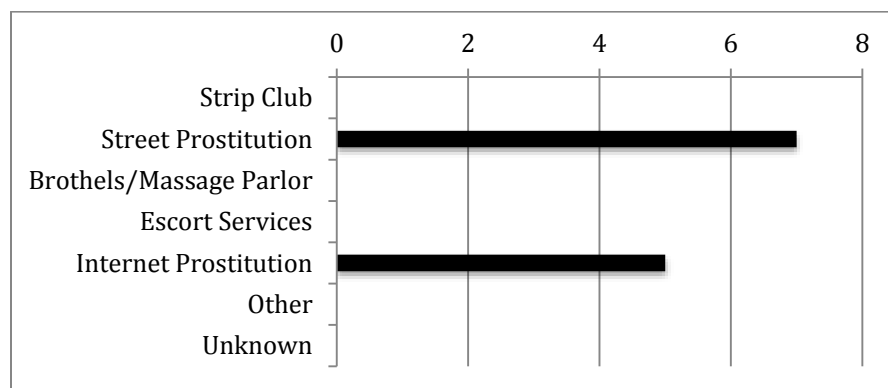
The 5-S typology dictates that the scope of Gang activity is local or national, the group must have a name, and group members must strongly identify with the group. On the other hand, the size, structure, and sophistication of Gang activities may vary. In this sample of cases, over 90% of the Gangs are classified as large organizations; however, only 33% of the groups are classified as highly sophisticated.

CARTEL/MAFIA/SYNDICATE

There are no cases in this sample typed as Cartel/Mafia/Syndicate. However, there are ten cases, all of which are classified as Mom & Pop, that trace back to Tenancingo, Mexico, a city in the state of Tlaxcala known for sex trafficking, pimping, and prostitution (Kutner 2015; Lakhani 2015; Pearson 2012). The Tenancingo groups operate very similarly to one another (see Chapter 7 for a detailed description of how they operate). Each of the groups is usually comprised of family members operating within nodal structures across cities along the East coast, and also in Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, Arizona, and Louisiana. The nodes are comprised of a pimp with several victims and drivers that provide the victims to brothel owners. The pimps are generally based in one city, and although they maintain "ownership" over their own victims, they trade victims with one another across different cities.

The Tenancingo cases are classified as Mom & Pop because each node appears to operate like a Mom & Pop given their size and self-identification. However, it is possible that all

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cases involving Tenancingo are better classified as Cartel/Mafia/Syndicate. The extent to which each individual node is networked with other nodes, and whether or not there is a "kingpin" based in Tenancingo who is over the majority of these operations remains unclear. Nevertheless, this represents the gray area that can exist in classifying some of the cases.

It should also be noted that, while no cases in the dataset are classified as Cartel/Mafia/Syndicate, there are several cases that have clear ties to known cartels. One example is the case of *U.S. v. Tevino-Alvarez, et al.* (2008), which prosecuted 19 people, all family and/or friends in a sex and labor trafficking scheme. The group is classified as Mom & Pop; however, case records indicate that the group coordinated with Las Zetas to use their stash houses in Ciudad Ordaz and Reynosa, Mexico en route to smuggle the victims to the United States. Four of the victims testified to being threatened and beaten by Las Zetas.

Additionally, information obtained through interviews revealed the ways in which organized criminal groups contract out with known cartels/mafias/syndicates to provide certain services. For example, after obtaining tourist visas to Mexico, victims from Eastern Europe are picked up at the Mexico City airport by Sinaloa cartel members who then transport them to Tijuana at which point they change hands and cross the border. Once in the United States, the Armenian mafia in Los Angeles helps to procure fake identification documents. Therefore, while there are no cases of cartels/mafias/syndicates operating organized human trafficking operations themselves, there is evidence that cartels/mafias/syndicates are involved in facilitating the human trafficking operations of other types of organized criminals.

ILLEGAL ENTERPRISE

A total of 50 cases were classified as Illegal Enterprises, and these cases were split evenly between sex trafficking and labor trafficking. Of all the labor trafficking cases in the dataset, the majority was perpetrated by Illegal Enterprises with the hotel & hospitality sector being most prevalent. These cases involve large labor contracting cases for hotel cleaning staff, such as *U.S. v. Baravik, et al.* (2009) and *US v. Askarkhodjaev, et al.* (2009), as well as labor trafficking in restaurants and bars, such as *U.S. v. Mireles, et al.* (2008) and *U.S. v. Molina, et al* (2002).

The sex trafficking cases for Illegal Enterprises are mostly in brothels/massage parlors. Half of these cases involve networks of massage parlors run by Asians. Many of these cases involve multiple Illegal Enterprises being used for the purpose of sex trafficking. For example, in *U.S. v. Yang, et al.* (2003), there were eight different businesses being used to facilitate the sex trafficking business, including YJY Travel & Tour, which facilitated the travel of the victims to the United States on tourist visas, as well as Yang's Taxi Service,

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which transported the Korean victims to and from the six different massage parlors being run by the organized crime group.[11]

FIGURE 4.8. LABOR TRAFFICKING INDUSTRIES BY ILLEGAL ENTERPRISES
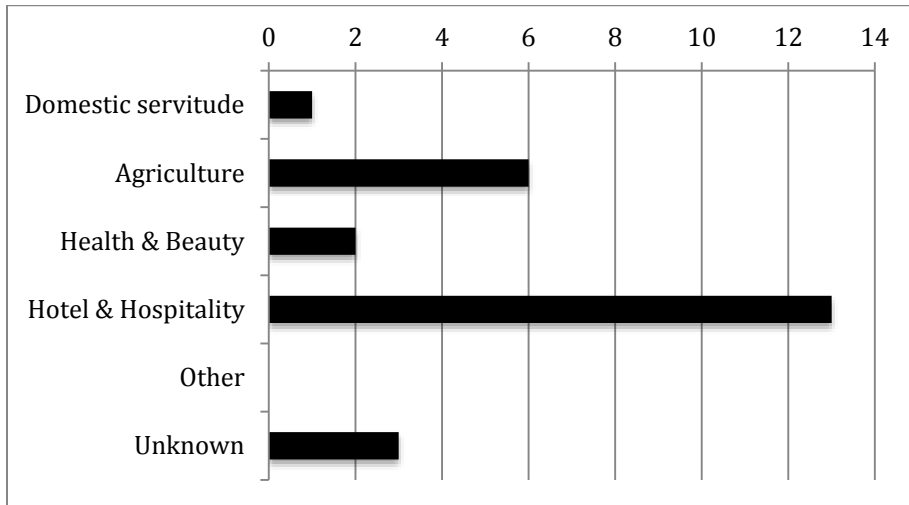
FIGURE 4.9. SEX TRAFFICKING VENUES BY ILLEGAL ENTERPRISES
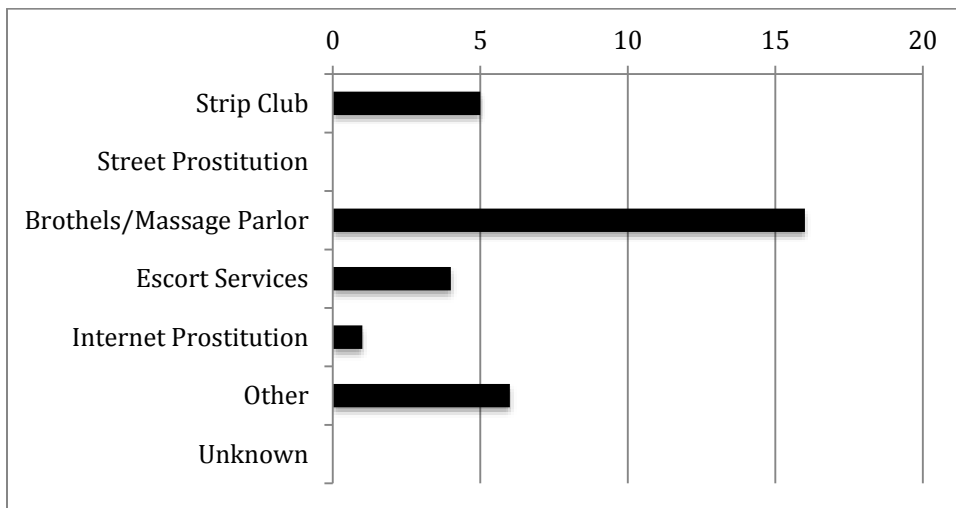
The other half of the brothels/massage parlor Illegal Enterprise cases include Hispanic-run brothels, many of which are connected to bars and restaurants. For example, in *U.S. v. Garcia-Gonzalez, et al.* (2010), the victims were forced to work in the bar, called El Paraeso

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[11] Other examples of these type of cases include: *U.S. v. Grandt, et al.* (2006); *U.S. v. Tantirojanakitkan, et al.* (2001); *U.S. v. Chae, et al.* (2013); and *U.S. v. Kidgell, et al.* (2013).

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Bar, as well as in prostitution for customers of the bar. The same pattern is seen in *U.S. v. Salazar, et al.* (2005) and *U.S. v. Mondragon, et al.* (2009), where women were forced to work bars and restaurants, as well as respond to the sexual advances of the customers.

In addition to the brothels/massage parlors, Illegal Enterprises are more responsible for trafficking in strip clubs than any other type, mainly because the strip club business itself is engaged in the human trafficking. Among these cases is *U.S. v. Maksimenko, et al.* (2005), wherein Ukrainian women were being trafficked in Cheetah's strip club in Detroit. Other cases include *U.S. v. Graham, et al.* (2014), in which a strip club called Passionate Touch in Philadelphia was trafficking American women, and *U.S. v. Khimani, et al.* (2014), in which women from India were forced to strip in clubs 12 to 14 hours per day.

Based on the 5-S typology, Illegal Enterprises must have medium to high sophistication and must have an official business name through which the trafficking operations are run. Size, scope, and structure may vary, however. Although it is sometimes difficult to determine the overall size of the Illegal Enterprise, the majority appears to be small (i.e., less than ten people). This determination is based on whether or not the business operations completely shut down after the prosecution of the individuals running the business or whether there were other employees of the operation that allowed the Illegal Enterprise to continue to operate even after the criminal prosecution.

Table 4.3. Size, Scope, and Structure of Illegal Enterprises

Size	Small	69%
	Medium	27%
	Large	4%
Scope	Local	8%
	National	20%
	Transnational	72%
Structure	Very Hierarchical	20%
	Somewhat Hierarchical	55%
	Somewhat Decentralized	17%
	Very Decentralized	8%

The scope of Illegal Enterprises is predominantly transnational. The majority of the victims in the Illegal Enterprise labor trafficking cases are foreign victims. Moreover, the sex trafficking venues most common for Illegal Enterprises are those that traffick mostly foreign women. Therefore, Illegal Enterprises tend to be more complex in their ability not only to recruit and move victims transnationally, but also to coordinate the human trafficking outlets and activities once the victims are in the United States. They are also able to use their legal business status to obtain visas under various guises, as well as shield their illicit trafficking activities.

Given that Illegal Enterprises are businesses, they tend to have organizational structures with hierarchies and a chain of command. Indeed 75% of Illegal Enterprises are structured either very hierarchically or somewhat hierarchically. In some cases there is one individual who oversees multiple businesses, each of which has its own "employees" and operating procedures, but which might share the same accounting.

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CHAPTER 5: WHO ARE THE INDIVIDUALS THAT COMPRISE THE ORGANIZED CRIME GROUPS ENGAGED IN HUMAN TRAFFICKING?

In the foregoing analysis, findings are presented for defendants in human trafficking cases classified as organized crime. Any defendant-specific data that could not be found is treated as missing data. The dataset is comprised of information on 1,226 defendants across 194 cases. Data was collected on defendants' ages for 86% of defendants, race for 93%, gender for 99%, and country of origin for 84% of defendants.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF DEFENDANTS

Overall, the defendants in the organized crime cases are diverse in terms of age, race, and country of origin. The average age at arrest across all defendants, regardless of type of organized crime group or type of trafficking, is 33 years old. Figure 5.1 shows that the oldest defendants are engaged in labor trafficking and adult sex trafficking, while the youngest defendants are engaged in minor sex trafficking. However, one-way ANOVA reveals that there is no statistically significant difference in the average age of those who engage in adult sex trafficking or labor trafficking and those that do not. On the other hand, there is a statistically significant difference in the average age of those who engage in minor sex trafficking and those who do not. Those engaged in minor sex trafficking are significantly younger than those who are not engaged in minor sex trafficking.

FIGURE 5.1. AVERAGE AGE OF DEFENDANTS BY TYPE OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING
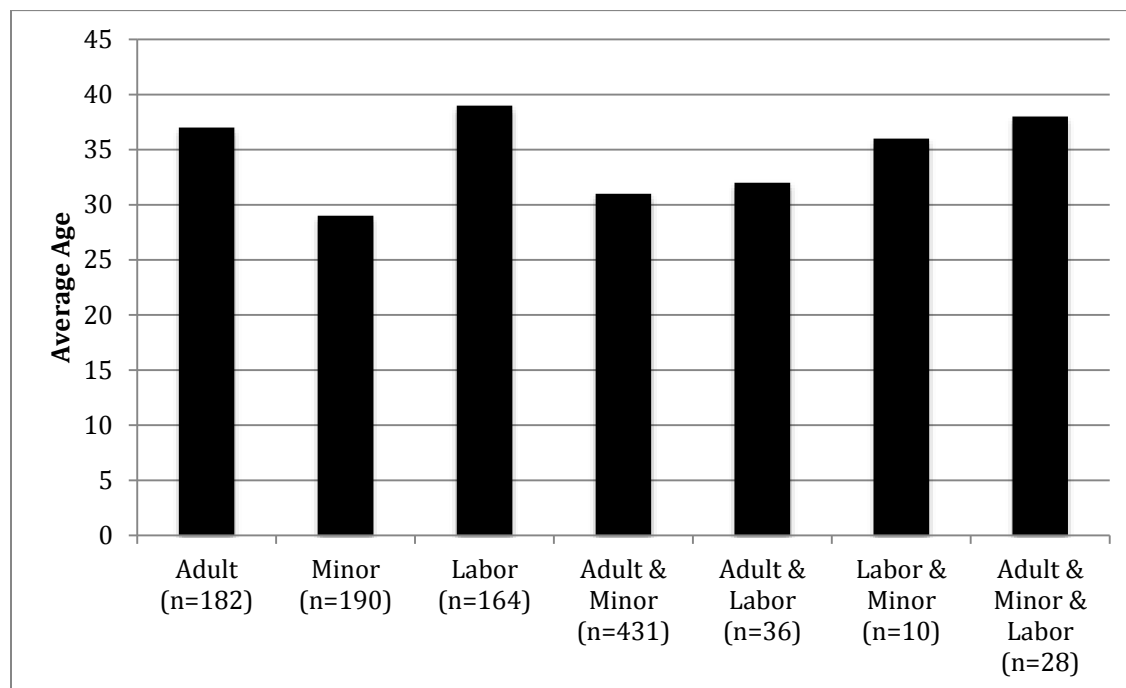
In examining the age of the defendants by organized crime typology, it is apparent that defendants in Gangs are much younger than those in any other type of organized crime group, with an average age of 25. One-way ANOVAs find the difference in age between Gangs and all other types to be statistically significant. Additionally, one-way ANOVAs find that defendants in Illegal Enterprise cases are significantly older than those in Mom & Pop and Crime Ring group types. There is no statistically significant difference in average age of defendants between Mom & Pop and Crime Ring.

FIGURE 5.2. AVERAGE AGE OF DEFENDANTS BY ORGANIZED CRIME TYPOLOGY
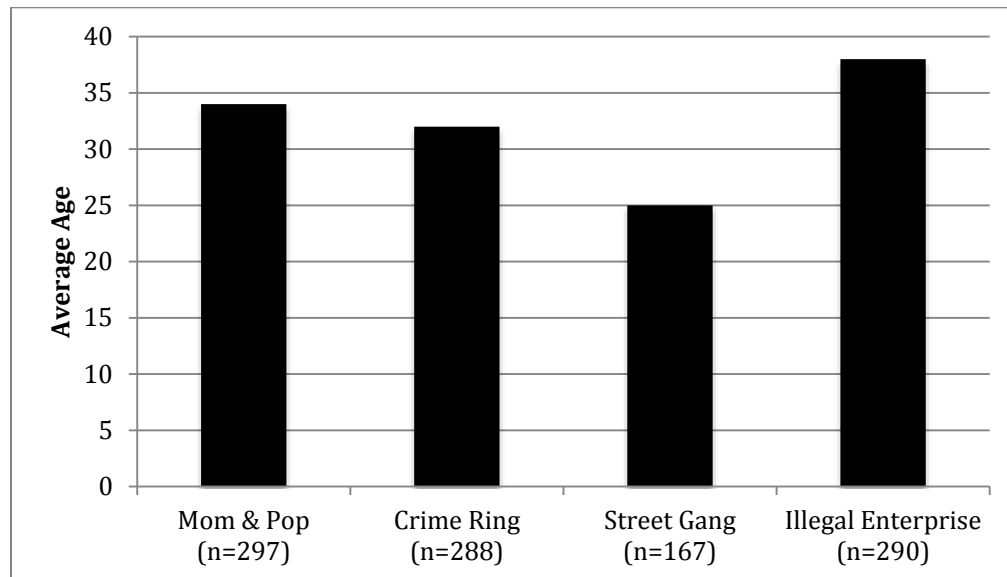
The racial composition of the defendants varies based on the type of trafficking and the organized crime typology. Defendants in adult sex trafficking cases are evenly split between Asian and Hispanic, comprising a total of 70% of adult sex trafficking offenders. The defendants in minor sex trafficking cases are 70% Black. Labor trafficking is most evenly split racially, with White and Hispanic defendants constituting the largest proportion of offenders at 26% and 32%, respectively. Defendants in cases involving both adult and minor sex trafficking are about evenly divided between Hispanic and Black offenders who combined make up over 80% of the offenders. The last three categories with combinations of different types of trafficking are dominated by Hispanic defendants, although Asian defendants are equal to Hispanic defendants in cases involving labor trafficking and minor sex trafficking.

Figure 5.4 breaks down the race of the defendants by organized crime typology to determine if there are any racial patterns in the means and manner by which groups organize to engage in human trafficking. Mom & Pops are dominated by Hispanic defendants, and there are more Hispanic defendants organized in this type than any other type. Crime Rings are roughly evenly split between Black (44%) and Hispanic (37%) defendants. Gangs look very different from any other type with almost 90% Black defendants. As has been seen in other analysis regarding Illegal Enterprises, this typology

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is relatively evenly distributed across different racial categories. Illegal Enterprise cases are roughly 20% White defendants, 15% Black defendants, 29% Hispanic, and 29% Asian.

FIGURE 5.3. RACE OF DEFENDANTS BY TYPE OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING
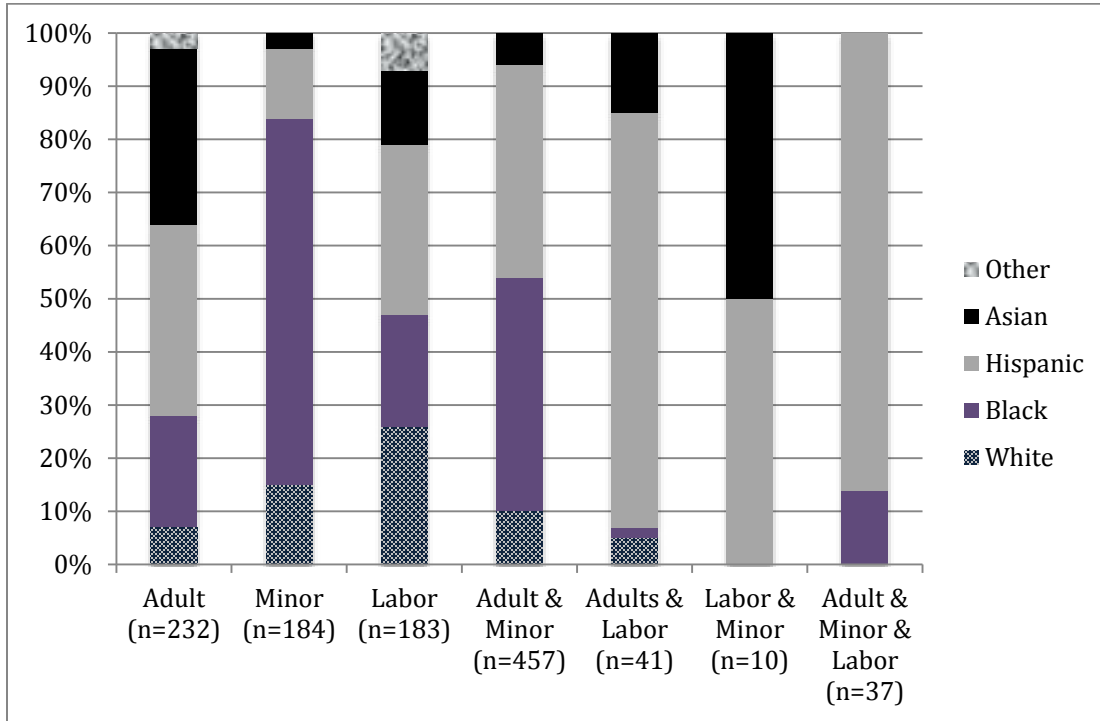
FIGURE 5.4. RACE OF DEFENDANTS BY ORGANIZED CRIME TYPOLOGY

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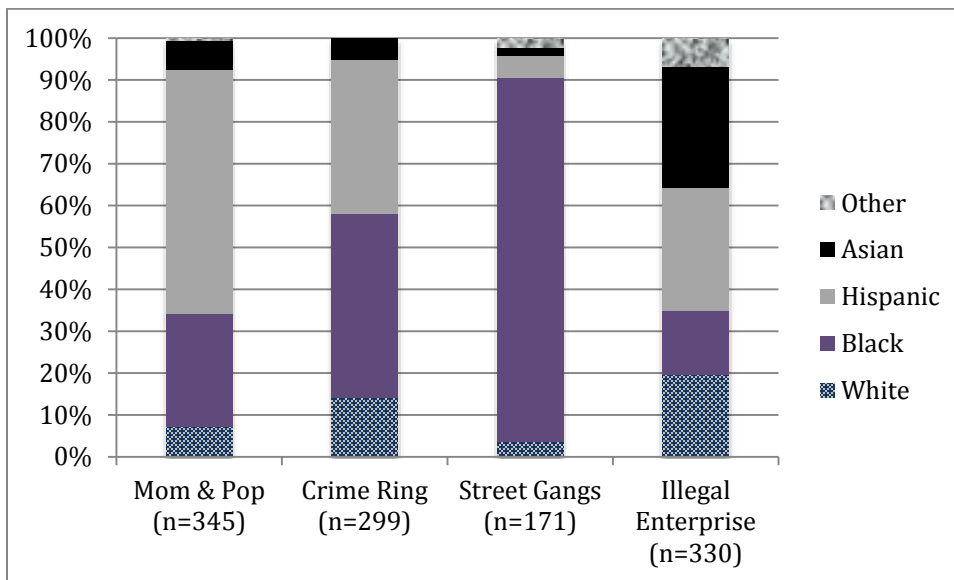
Beyond age and race, defendants in human trafficking cases involving organized crime are 69% male and 31% female. However, gender composition varies based on type of trafficking. Specifically, minor sex trafficking cases and cases that involve both minor and adult sex trafficking are most disproportionately male at roughly 73%. Next, adult sex trafficking only cases and labor trafficking only cases are comprised of roughly 65% male and 35% female. Cases that involve both minor sex trafficking and labor trafficking, as well as those that involve both adult sex trafficking and labor trafficking, are comprised of 60% male and 40% female. Interestingly, those cases that involve all three types of human trafficking are evenly divided between male and female defendants.

FIGURE 5.5. GENDER COMPOSITION OF DEFENDANTS BY TYPE OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING
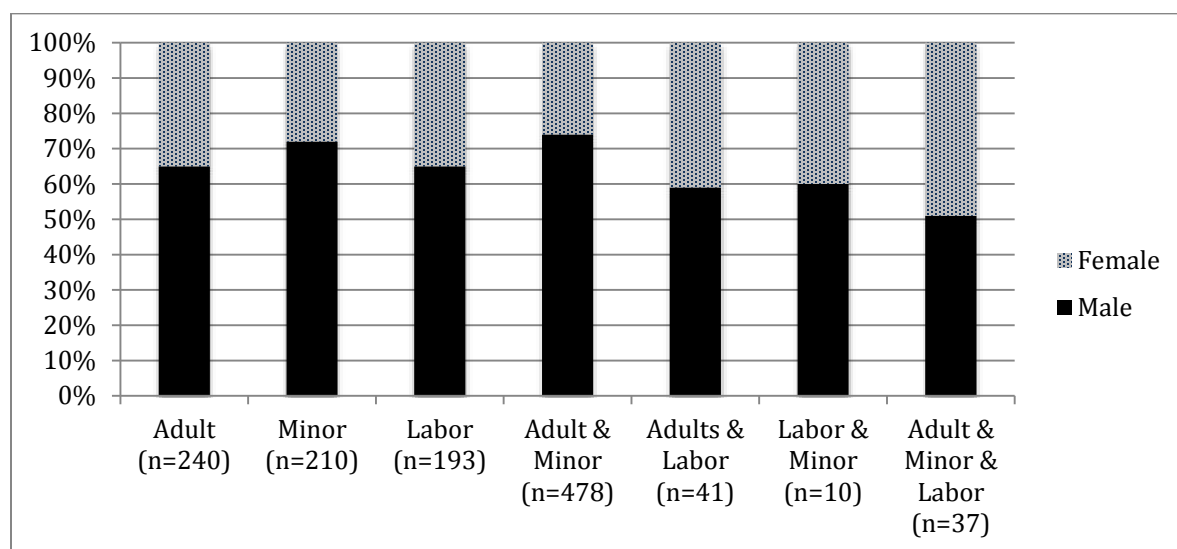
The gender composition for Mom & Pop and Crime Rings are both roughly at 70% male and 30% female, while it is a bit more even, though with no statistically significant difference, for Illegal Enterprises with 61% male and 39% female. A one-way ANOVA reveals that there is a statistically significant difference in the gender makeup of Gangs vis-à-vis all other organized crime group types with 80% male.

Figure 5.7 depicts the number of defendants by country of origin for minor sex trafficking only (red), adult sex trafficking only (green), and labor trafficking only (blue). Defendants who trafficked minors for commercial come from 13 different countries of origin. However, the United States with 411 defendants leads the way with almost 4 times the number compared to Mexico (128) in second place. There is a big decrease from there to Somalia with 29 defendants (all from one case), and then the Central American triangle states of Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala with 17, 15, and 9 defendants, respectively.

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FIGURE 5.6. GENDER COMPOSITION OF DEFENDANTS BY ORGANIZED CRIME TYPOLOGY
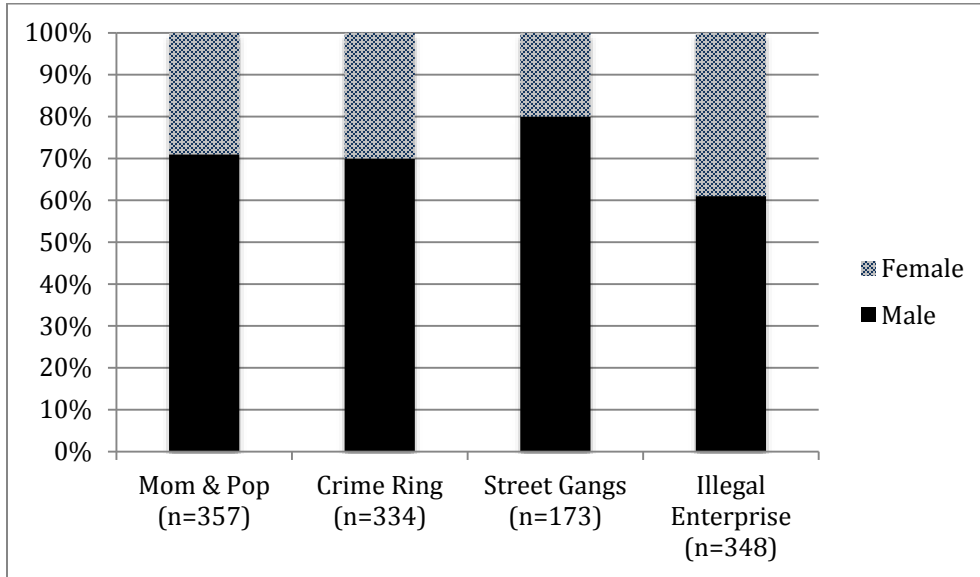
FIGURE 5.7. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF DEFENDANTS BY TYPE OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING
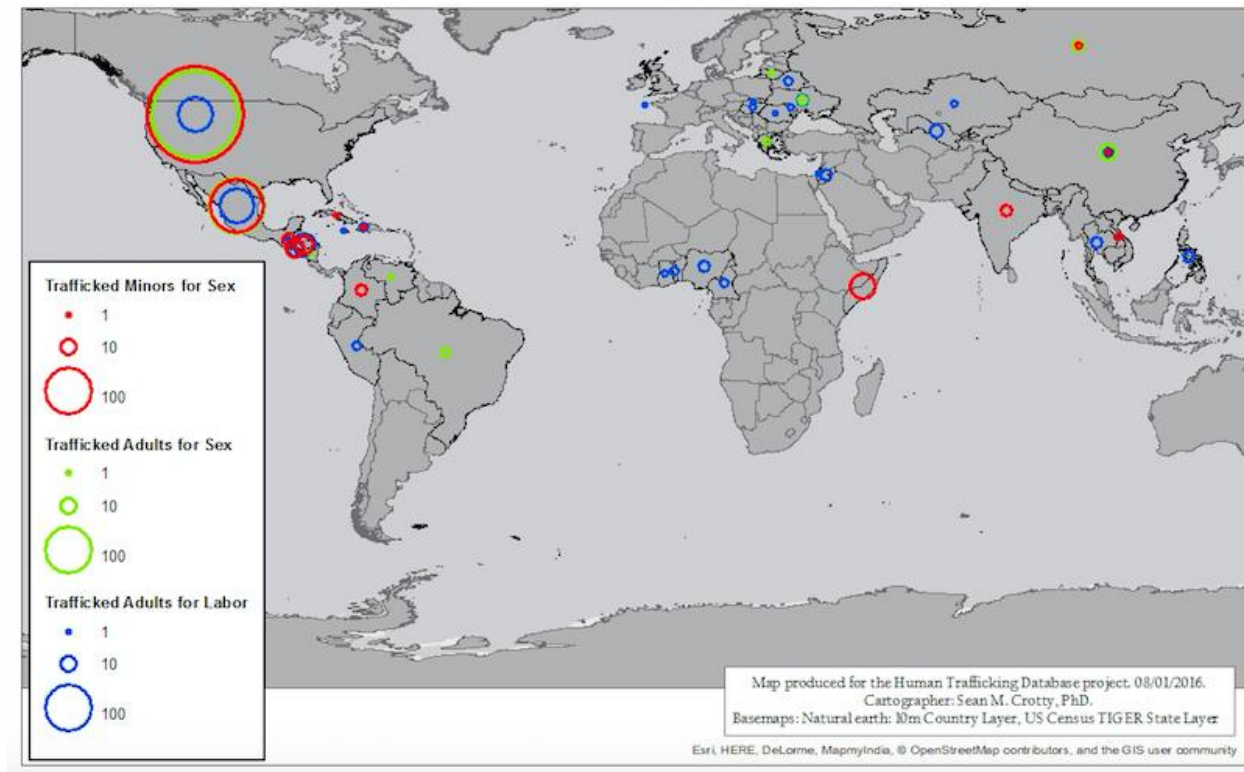
Those engaged in adult sex trafficking come from 15 different countries. The pattern is only slightly different than was the case for minor sex trafficking. While defendants in minor sex trafficking only cases are largely confined to the Americas, adult sex trafficking defendants touch Asia, Russia and Eastern Europe. The top countries in order are the United States (334), Mexico (144), Honduras (16), El Salvador (14), China (13), Guatemala (9), Colombia (5), Russia (5), Ukraine (4), and Brazil (3).

Labor trafficking defendants have a strikingly different distribution. Defendants come from 30 different countries. The top countries include the United States (56), Mexico (55), Honduras (23), El Salvador (10), Uzbekistan (10), Nigeria (5), Ukraine (6), India (5), Jordan (5), Philippines (5), and Thailand (5). Defendants in labor trafficking cases come from a more geographically diverse set of countries, and the number of defendants per nation is more evenly distributed than is the case for minor and adult sex trafficking defendants.

Figures 5.8 through 5.10 breaks down defendant country of origin by organized crime typology, examining the differences between Mom & Pop, Crime Ring, and Illegal Enterprises. Although there are 15 total states represented by Mom & Pop groups, Figure 5.8 shows that Mom & Pop defendants are dominated equally from the United States (130) and Mexico (126). The drop from there is dramatic with only six defendants each from Guatemala and Nigeria. There is a notable lack of Mom & Pop defendants from Russia, Ukraine or other Eastern European states.

FIGURE 5.8. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF DEFENDANTS ORGANIZED AS MOM & POPS

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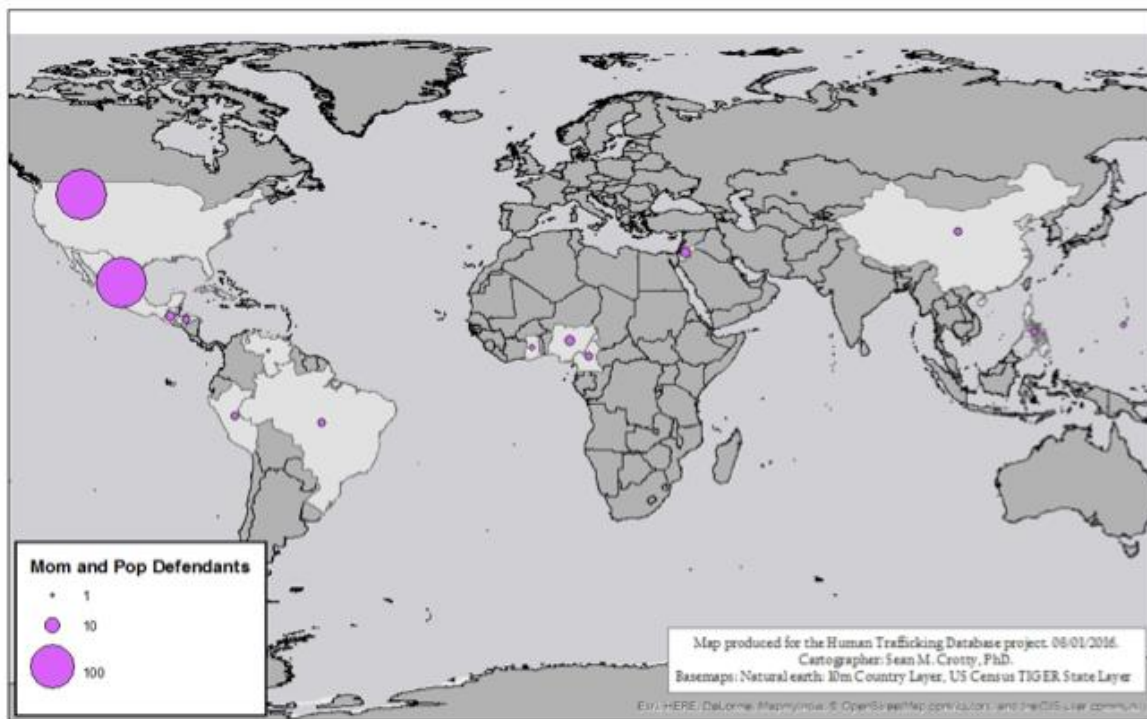
The difference between country of origin for Mom & Pops and Crime Rings differ in that for Crime Rings the defendants are significantly more likely to be from the United States more than anywhere else in the world. Although twelve countries total are represented on the map, the United States has 195 defendants which is almost 10 times more than the next state, Mexico, which has only 22 defendants organized as Crime Rings. The next set of Crime Ring countries of origin are China (9), Colombia (5), El Salvador (5), and Russia (4).

Countries of origin for defendants organized as Illegal Enterprises is much more varied with 25 different countries represented. Most of defendants are still from the United States (86) with the next set of countries being Mexico (42), Honduras (23), and El Salvador (10). After that, however, the countries are much more diverse, including Ukraine (9), Uzbekistan (8), India (5), Russia (5), Thailand (5). Thus, although the bulk of defendants are still from the United States or nearby countries in Central America, much of Eastern Europe, Russia, and Asia are connected to human trafficking in the United States through Illegal Enterprises.

FIGURE 5.9. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF DEFENDANTS ORGANIZED AS CRIME RINGS

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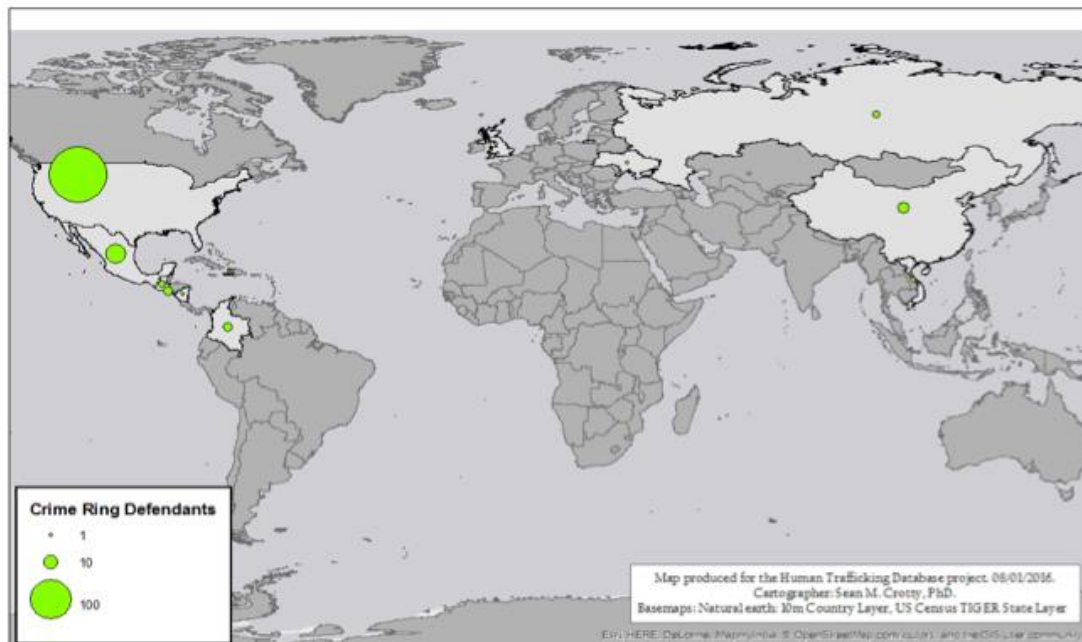
FIGURE 5.10. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF DEFENDANTS ORGANIZED AS ILLEGAL ENTERPRISES
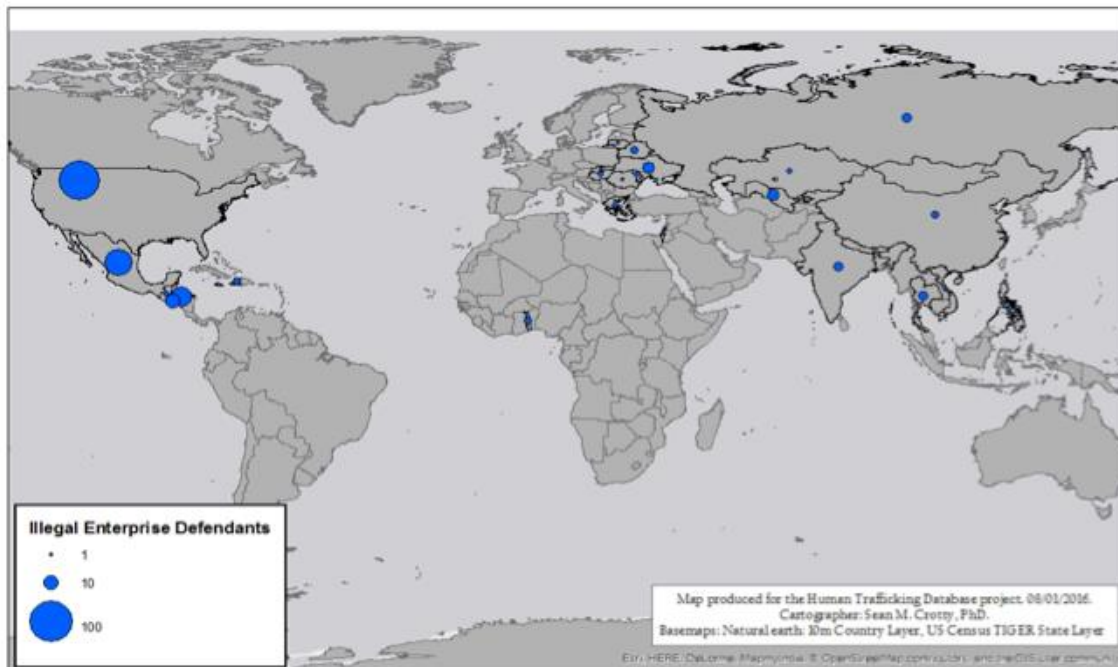
PREDICTING TYPE OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING BY INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP-BASED CHARACTERISTICS

Combined, the organized crime typologies and demographic characteristics of the defendants tell us different narratives about human trafficking in the United States. The analysis thus far has shown that different types of individuals organize into different types of groups to carry out different types of human trafficking. The foregoing analysis provides the results of four different logistic regression analyses predicting different types of human trafficking in the United States based on both individual- and group-based characteristics. It is important to note that these findings represent only what can be discerned from federally-prosecuted cases, and therefore may be a better representation of prosecutorial biases and patterns rather than the truth about the individuals and groups perpetrating different forms of human trafficking. Nevertheless, law enforcement data is among the most robust that exists on this crime, and it is a very good starting point to begin to understand the individual- and group-based characteristics of those engaged in various forms of human trafficking in the United States.

The dependent variable across all the models is binary and is coded 0/1 as to whether the defendant/case involved different types of human trafficking: minor sex only, adult sex only, labor only, and both adult and minor sex.[12] The unit of analysis is defendants, clustered by case. Across each of the models the omitted category for race was Hispanic

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[12] Cases involving both minor sex and labor, and both adult sex and labor were removed from this analysis because the number of cases/defendants was too low.

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and the omitted category for the organized crime typology was Illegal Enterprise.[13] Therefore, the results for the race and organized crime typology variables should be interpreted vis-à-vis the two respective reference categories.

Table 5.1. Logistic regression results predicting type of human trafficking by individual- and group-based characteristics

	Minor Sex Only	Adult Sex Only	Labor Only	Adult Sex & Minor Sex
Arrest age	-0.07***	-0.03***	0.08***	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
White	-0.89**	-1.74***	0.19	0.46
	(0.43)	(0.39)	(0.46)	(0.33)
Black	1.27***	-0.05	-1.92***	0.75***
	(0.32)	(0.29)	(0.35)	(0.22)
Asian	-0.93	1.26***	0.34	-1.30***
	(0.70)	(0.38)	(0.75)	(0.29)
Gender	-0.60**	-0.15	0.88***	-0.12
	(0.31)	(0.25)	(0.34)	(0.19)
Mom & Pop	0.54*	-0.32	-1.21***	0.42**
	(0.32)	(0.27)	(0.36)	(0.22)
Crime Ring	2.90***	1.56***	-3.43***	0.32*
	(0.42)	(0.40)	(0.44)	(0.23)
Constant	1.70***	1.51***	1.36***	0.91***
	(0.51)	(0.44)	(0.55)	(0.36)
N	364	382	364	677
Pseudo R2	0.37	0.15	0.44	0.10

Coefficients reported; standard errors in parentheses; ***$p<=0.01$; **$p<=0.05$; *$p<=0.10$

The results for minor sex reveal several significant findings that paint a clear narrative. Those that engage in minor sex trafficking are significantly younger than those that engage in other forms of human trafficking. The predicted probability of engaging in minor sex trafficking at 20 years old is 80.5%, and this drops to 49% at 40 years old (all other variables set at their means). Similarly, males are significantly more likely than females to engage in minor sex trafficking as opposed to other forms of human trafficking. The predicted probability of a male engaging in minor sex trafficking is 65%, and this drops to 50% for females. White offenders are 59% *less* likely than Hispanics to engage in minor sex trafficking (odds ratio = 0.41), while Black defendants are 3.5 times *more* likely than Hispanic offenders to engage in minor sex trafficking only. Finally, both Mom & Pop and

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[13] Gang is omitted because it fits the data perfectly for three of the four models. There are no gang cases that do not have minor sex trafficking only or adult sex trafficking only, and there are also no gang cases that involve labor trafficking. Thus, given the lack of variance in the type of trafficking committed by Gangs, it predicts the dependent variables perfectly and therefore cannot be compared to the other crime types in these logistic regressions.

Crime Rings are significantly more likely to engage only in minor sex trafficking than are Illegal Enterprises. The odds are 1.7 times greater for Mom & Pop and 18.2 times greater for a Crime Ring. Overall, the narrative here is that young, black males organized in crime rings are significantly more likely than any other group of individuals to be prosecuted for minor sex trafficking.

Adult sex trafficking cases differ in some critical ways from minor sex trafficking cases. The same pattern arises for age in adult sex cases as in minor sex cases where the likelihood to engage decreases as one gets older. However, the difference in age is not as dramatic for adult sex trafficking as it is for minor sex trafficking. The predicted probability of engaging in adult sex trafficking at 20 years old is 71%, and this decreases to 56% at 40 years old. Regarding gender, there is no significant difference between the likelihood of males and females to participate in adult sex trafficking. White defendants are 83% *less* likely than Hispanic defendants to engage in adult sex trafficking (odds ratio = 0.17), Black defendants are equally as likely as Hispanics (no statistically significant difference), and the odds are 3.5 times *greater* that Asian defendants will engage in adult sex trafficking as compared to Hispanic offenders. Additionally, adult sex trafficking is equally likely to take place between Illegal Enterprises and Mom & Pops, but the odds are 4.7 times higher for Crime Rings to engage in adult sex trafficking than Illegal Enterprises. Although this finding is initially perplexing because there are overall more Illegal Enterprises engaged in adult sex trafficking than there are Crime Rings, the data reveal that a greater proportion of the Crime Rings are engaged in adult sex trafficking as compared to the proportion of Illegal Enterprises. Thus, this finding is somewhat nuanced.

The narrative for labor trafficking offenders in the United States is extremely different than that for minor and adult sex trafficking. Those engaged in labor trafficking are significantly older than defendants in other types of human trafficking cases. With all variables set at the mean, the predicted probability of a 20 year old engaging in labor trafficking is only 19%; this increases to 58% for 40 year olds. Additionally, women are significantly more likely to engage in labor trafficking than other forms of human trafficking as compared to men. The predicted probability of a male trafficking for labor versus sex trafficking is 37%, while it increases to 59% for female offenders. White and Asian offenders are equally as likely as Hispanic defendants to engage in labor trafficking; however, Black defendants are 86% less likely to engage in labor trafficking compared to Hispanics (odds ratio=0.14). Finally, Mom & Pops are 70% less likely and Crime Rings 97% less likely than Illegal Enterprises to engage in labor trafficking (odds ratios=0.30 and 0.03, respectively). Thus, the narrative around labor trafficking is that it is perpetrated by older males *and* females of diverse racial backgrounds who work together to traffic individuals through Illegal Enterprises.

Finally, for cases involving minor and adult sex trafficking, a fourth picture emerges. Age is not statistically significant indicating that there is a wide age range among those that traffick both minors and adults for commercial sex. Gender is also insignificant, indicating that there is no difference between the likelihood of males and females engaging in this type of trafficking as opposed to other types of human trafficking. White offenders are equally as likely as Hispanic defendants to commit adult and minor sex trafficking, but the

odds of black defendants are 2.1 times higher than Hispanics, and Asians are 73% less likely (odds ratio = 0.27) to engage in both adult and minor sex trafficking cases. Both Mom & Pops and Crime Rings are more likely to engage in adult and minor sex trafficking than are Illegal Enterprises. Overall, therefore, adult and minor sex trafficking cases involves a nuanced narrative that includes offenders of different ages and genders that are most likely to be Hispanic, White or Black operating as Mom & Pop groups or as Crime Rings.

PUSH & PULL FACTORS MOTIVATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING OFFENSES

The quantitative analysis conducted based on review and coding legal records and media reports of cases involving three or more co-defendants provides insight into the types of groups and individuals engaged in various types of human trafficking. However, what this type of analysis does not provide is a deeper understanding of the motivations behind the individuals engaged in human trafficking in the United States. Case files and media reports do not provide information about the lives of the defendants, such as how and with whom they were raised, educational attainment, social networks and influences, personal and financial stressors, and how they viewed the human trafficking activities in which they were engaged.

In order to delve more deeply into these types of questions, eleven interviews were conducted with individuals convicted in organized crime human trafficking cases. The sample is comprised of seven males and four females, including seven Americans and four foreign nationals. Two of the eleven were involved in a labor trafficking case, while the remaining were involved in sex trafficking. Given limited empirical studies of this population, grounded theory provided an appropriate methodology for understanding why and how these individuals got involved in human trafficking. The analysis identified six push factors and three pull factors.[14]

The six push factors are sub-divided into primary and secondary push factors. Primary push factors are root causes that are products of the social/familial environment in which an individual was raised and over which an individual has very little control. They include childhood abuse and/or neglect, lack of education, and a destructive social network. The primary push factors, as discrete or overlapping experiences, can lead to any or all of the secondary push factors. As such, the secondary push factors are symptoms of the primary push factors and include: criminal history (adding human trafficking to a preexisting list of crimes committed), drug and substance abuse, and financial stress.

The primary push factors disempowered the individual. The secondary push factors lead to the feeling of being out of control. In order to reclaim power and reassert control, the individual exerts power and control—both pull factors—over others, while simultaneously making financial gains that lead to social esteem. The foregoing analysis delves more

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[14] Similar factors have been examined for other types of offenders, including domestic violence offenders. Future research can explore similarities and differences in push/pull factors among traffickers and other types of offenders. Nevertheless, through grounded theory, these are the factors that arose for traffickers.

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deeply into each of the factors and exemplifies how each factor is represented in the interviews conducted with individuals engaged in human trafficking.

FIGURE 5.11. PUSH/PULL FACTORS MOTIVATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING CRIMES

Primary Push: Social
- Childhood abuse/neglect
- Lack of education
- Destructive social network

Secondary Push: Personal
- Criminal history
- Drug/substance abuse
- Financial stress

Pull
- Power
- Control
- Esteem
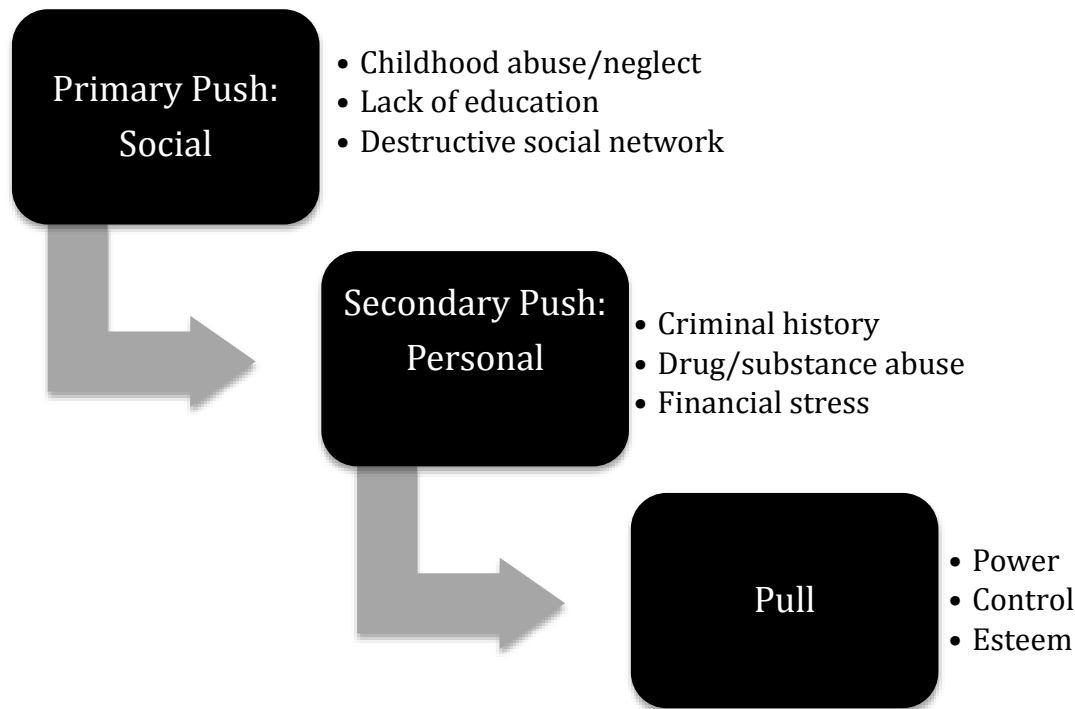
Primary Push Factors

1) Childhood abuse and neglect

Childhood abuse and neglect appears to be a common factor underlying the experiences of those who engage in human trafficking. Although it was not officially part of the interview protocol (see Appendix E), five out of the 11 individuals interviewed mentioned various forms of abuse and neglect in their childhood during the course of the interview.

> *My dad was a biker who ran coke for the Angels. My mom was a drunk who turned into a coke addict. Me and my sisters have sexual abuse in our backgrounds. All of our good years were fucked up. I was always a delinquent.* (1)

> *My mom is a crack head prostitute and my dad is a heroine addict.* (2)

> *My dad raised me. I never knew my mother. I don't even have a picture. I was rebellious against my father. But my dad was passive. He worked at the airport and was gone throughout the night so I would sneak out.* (3)

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I never had any rules. My mom was a really hard working person, but my dad was a drunk and she had to work to keep the family together. (4)

I was molested by my step-dad [a minister in the Church of God in Christ Pentecostal church] from the time I was 6 all the way to 12 years old. When I was 14 my mom signed her parental rights over to a Mexican family, so I was adopted by them when I was 14. My step-dad gave me a black eye once, too. My mom was addicted to prescription drugs. She would have empty pill bottles all over the house and would be passed out, foaming at the mouth, and she would beat us. (5)

2) Lack of education

Over half of the interviewees lacked a high school education. Although two of the American males received high school diplomas, one completed 9th grade only. All of the American females dropped out of high school in 10th grade. Of the foreign national interviewees, two had some high school, and the other two never went past 6th grade. Overall, the educational levels of the interviewees were low and several (both American and foreign national) lacked the ability to read or write.

3) Social network

Consistent with previous research that suggests that neighborhood context is important as an introduction into pimping and prostitution (Dank et al. 2014), over half of the interviewees mentioned their social networks as having a negative influence on their exposure to criminal activities more generally. Social networks may include family, friends, and neighborhood context. Sustained exposure to these networks not only reduces the barriers to entry into illicit activities (Wheaton, Schauer, and Galli 2010), but also normalizes attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors around pimping, prostitution, and other criminal activity.

Ever since I was a kid I've been around prostitution. It's what goes on in our neighborhood. My mom was on welfare and wasn't home most of time. She was probably out prostituting, all her friends were. (1)

I hung out with people in the streets. I knew the risk. I knew what was going on around me. When I was 15 or 16 I met a pimp who introduced me to prostitution. He never put his hands on me at that point in time. He would just say, 'If you love me, you'd do this or that.' So I would sell myself and give him the money. He would dope me up on marijuana and ecstasy pills. One day he beat me in a hotel room to the point where I couldn't see out of my left eye. But then prostitution was all I knew so I started

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*working as a prostitute as a minor underage. Then I was about 17 or 18 when I
started driving. (3)[15]*

*The Bloods were in my neighborhood. It could have been the Crips. The Big Guy
started bringing us food. I told him, 'You don't need to bring my family food,' but he
said, 'Brotherly love.' (6)*

*A whole entire different life would have prevented me from getting involved. I started
smoking pot at 10 years old. I would need to grow up in a whole new life. Somewhere
where it wasn't ok to do what I was doing. (4)*

*I was involved with the white supremacists, the Aryan brotherhood. A lot of my friends
were the same way I was. I grew up with a lot of violence from the Aryan brotherhood.
It's all I've ever known. (4)*

Secondary Push Factors

1) Criminal history

Previous research has indicated that drug dealing may serve as a gateway into pimping
(Dank, et al., 2014). Several interviewees noted other types of criminal history beyond
drugs that perpetrated a criminal lifestyle more generally. They viewed it as simply adding
human trafficking onto the list of other crimes they already committed.

*I committed crimes since I was 10 years old. Armed robberies, burglaries, grand theft
autos, arson. (1)*

*I've been in prison three previous times for drugs and aggravated assault. I was in jail
every other week, prison every other year. No one would miss me. (4)*

2) Drug/substance abuse

Four of the interviewees made specific mention of their addiction to drugs and alcohol. A
few of the interviewees mentioned that drugs and alcohol was a way to escape from the
pain of life. Others mentioned that it was part of their social fabric; everyone either dealt
drugs, did drugs, or both. Additionally, drugs were mentioned as being ubiquitous in the
context of commercial sex venues. Thus, drugs served the purpose of medicating, in some
cases making money, fitting in, and staying relevant.

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[15] This quote demonstrates the ways in which trafficking victims may victimize others, blurring the line
between victim and perpetrator and leading to criminalization of victims of sex trafficking. Although this
issue is outside the scope of the present report, Dempsey (2014) explains this issue in greater detail.

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I was always on pain pills. Life was so miserable so that's why I got high off the pills all the time. I was so unhappy. Everything about the whole situation was hell. (2)

I love marijuana. If another guy had a nice bud, then I would hang out with him. (6)

I grew up in the drug business. A lot of people in my family do it so it was easy to get ahold of it and start doing it myself. (4)

I knew one girl who they prostituted and it got bad. It got to the point where she was so addicted to drugs that she would do the sex act just for some drugs and would never get paid, which would then get her in more trouble because the gang wasn't getting their money. (5)

3) Financial stress

Another secondary factor for engaging in human trafficking is financial stress. Although a few of the respondents said they were living in poverty, for others it was not necessarily poverty but the financial strain of needing more money to raise a family or care for children that pushed them into human trafficking.   Three of the four of the foreign nationals interviewed mentioned coming to the United States with the notion that they would have a better life and make a lot of money, but when they failed to achieve the so-called "American dream" it created stress and strain on them.

I was sick and tired of being poor and wondering where our next meal was going to come from. My husband does brick and concrete work. He wasn't making enough money and he is a drunk; he was drinking more than he was bringing in. I knew girls that were already escorting, so I met their drivers and they told me I could make $20-$100 per hour just driving. And it was a flexible schedule—at nighttime when the kids are asleep and my husband is passed out. (1)

If it wasn't so much of a struggle for me to take care of my kids, then I wouldn't have done it. (2)

People say when you have kids your life changes, but it pushed me to go out there and make more money. (3)

I got into it because I had a female friend who needed a driver and said she'd give me $200 for 20 minutes of my time. At the beginning my goal was to make $1000/week per girl if possible. But I knew how much I needed to make per week to cover my bills. I had to pay child support. (10)

I lost my job, and I needed to make money. (9)

Pull Factors

1) Power

The primary push factors lead to feelings of disempowerment and powerlessness at the hands of others. Individuals may engage in human trafficking in an attempt empower themselves and gain influence in society or within their organizational hierarchy. Human trafficking provided some of the interviewees with the money to gain social influence, while it gave others a place in an organizational hierarchy that they would not normally be able to obtain.

> *The man is higher up than me, regardless. Not a lot of women get very high. Obviously women never climb to highest rank, but to have a rank is something.* (1)

> *I invested in night clubs, laundry shops, pizzerias. I would give money away without being a part owner because I could and everyone wanted to be my friend.* (10)

> *I was making $20k/month. I stayed in Tyson's Corner penthouse at Ritz Carlton for two weeks.* (3)

> *The money was ridiculous. I didn't even know what to do with it. I was buying $100,000 cars for no reason, just because I could.* (11)

2) Control

The secondary push factors, including drug and substance abuse, as well as financial stress and a criminal record makes individuals feel out of control of their lives. One way to overcome the feeling of being out of control is to exert control over others. Several of the interviewees alluded to the idea that they enjoyed making other people feel lower than them, and intimidating them through condescension or violence.

> *I treated them like they're kids and started taking away their privileges.* (1)

> *I got a rush from kidnapping the people. They did what I told them to do, but I had a gun. I intimidated them by beating them up or holding them at gunpoint while the other went to do something.* (4)

> *I was also a "Big Homie" and had my own people under me. I gave a buck fifty and paw prints to my cousin.*[16] (5)

3) Esteem

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[16] A "buck fifty" is making a slit from the ear to the mouth, which requires 150 stitches. "Paw prints" is lighting a toothpaste cap on fire and branding the arm four times to look like paw prints.

Both the primary and secondary push factors lead to low self-esteem and feeling useless in the eyes of others and society more generally. One way to compensate for this is to seek the esteem of others. In the context of sex trafficking, pimps are esteemed for their money, celebrity, and possessions. The pimp culture is revered through conferences such as The Player's Ball, which gives out the International Pimp of the Year award (of which two defendants in this database were awarded) and through popular music by artists such as Snoop Dogg (a regular at the Player's Ball). The interviewees recognized the popularity and esteem that comes along with living a pimp lifestyle and therefore sought to obtain it. In some cases, they viewed their exploits as simply capitalizing on a culture that Americans already implicitly and explicitly accept.

> *I have money, beautiful girls, and power. I have what everyone wants. I'm a celebrity. Everyone wants to be my friend. I went to Super Bowl games, I did everything I wanted to do. I got VIP treatment from NFL, NBA, at concerts, the theater.* (10)

> *Greed got him. He wanted more girls and more money.* (3)

> *I wanted to look nice for the ladies. I had watches, chains, all that. The street is a quick way to make money and everyone else doing it so everyone had cash in their pocket.* (6)

> *I wanted more money and would blow through it on drugs and clothes.* (1)

> *In America, the female form has been exploited by corporations and they're making huge profits from it. It's in the movies, music, commercials. You can't get away from it.* (11)

Thus, while some scholars have espoused the idea that people engage in human trafficking primarily for the financial gain, the present research suggests that this is a limited understanding of how and why people engage in human trafficking. There are many individuals who are financially desperate who do not exploit other human beings in order to pull themselves out of it. The push/pull model suggests that the primary and secondary push factors generate the pull factors, all of which interact in complex ways to shape identity beliefs and values about oneself. Once these identity patterns are established, they are acted out through the devaluation and exploitation of others.

CHAPTER 6: WHERE DO THE ORGANIZED CRIME GROUPS OPERATE?

This chapter analyzes where and how organized crime groups engaged in human trafficking in the United States operate. This chapter first examines verified bases of operation and crime locations across all cases, regardless of type of human trafficking or type of organize crime typology. It then examines spatial patterns for sex and labor trafficking by specific venues and industries.

BASES OF OPERATION & OVERALL CRIME LOCATIONS

Figure 6.1 depicts the number of human trafficking criminal organizations with bases of operation located in particular counties. Criminal organizations have operational bases in 126 counties across 40 states and U.S. territories. The counties with the highest number of bases include Harris County (Houston, TX) with 16, Fulton County (Atlanta, GA) with 12, Queens County (Queens, NY) with 11, San Diego County with 10, and Los Angeles County with 10. Interestingly, the spatial data collected from federal human trafficking cases classified as organized crime show that Chicago has only three verified bases of operation and San Francisco has only two.

FIGURE 6.1. TOTAL VERIFIED HUMAN TRAFFICKING BASES OF OPERATION FOR ORGANIZED CRIMD GROUPS BY COUNTY
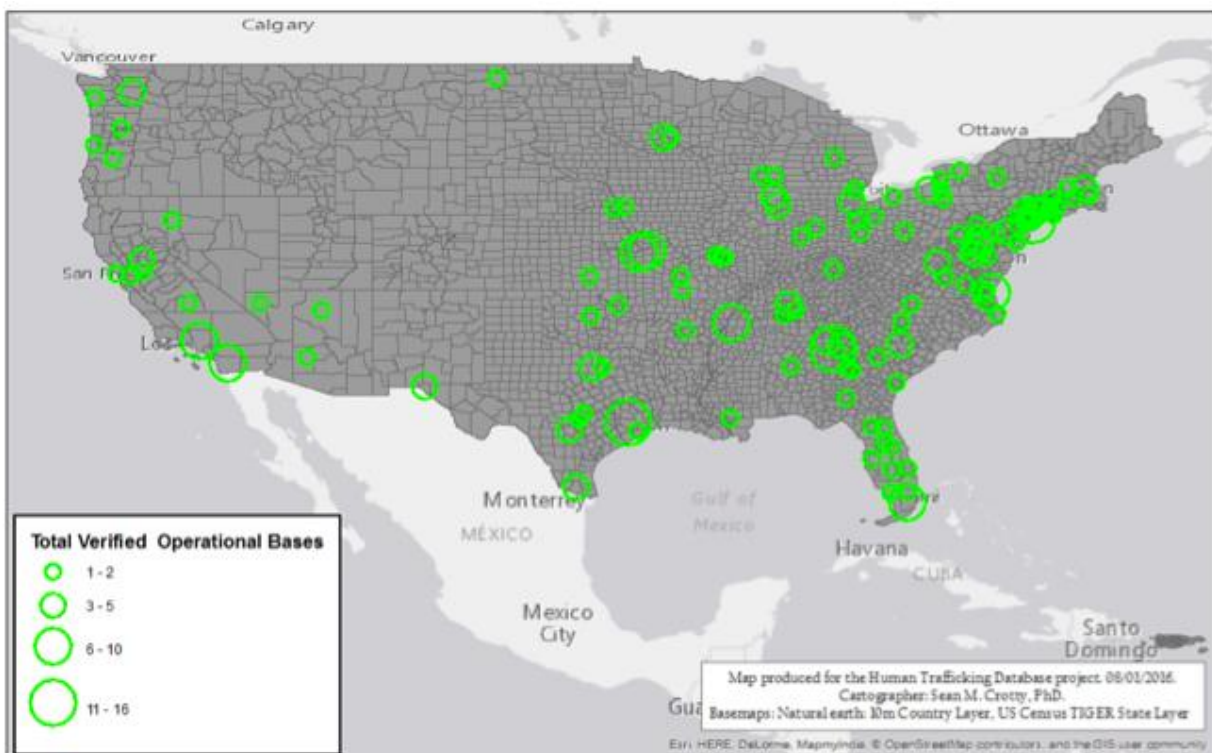
FIGURE 6.2. TOTAL CONFIRMED HUMAN TRAFFICKING CRIMES COMMITTED BY ORGANIZED CRIME GROUPS PER COUNTY
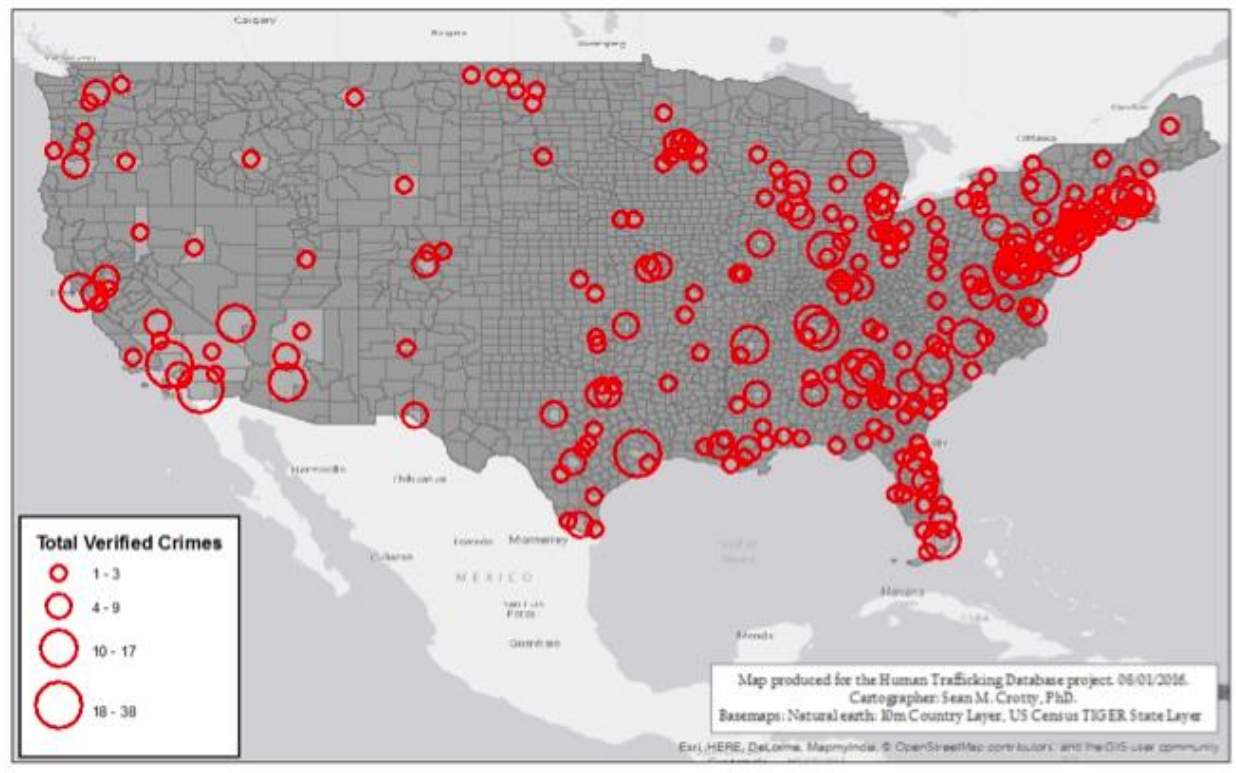
All 50 states have confirmed human trafficking crimes committed by organized human trafficking groups, as do two of the territories, Guam and American Samoa. The top crime states are California (104), Texas (89), New York (66), Georgia (66), Florida (65), Massachusetts (42), Pennsylvania (36), Maryland (36), Tennessee (36), and Virginia (32). The crimes committed in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Maryland represent spillover crime from organizations in New York and Virginia, respectively.

An examination of verified crime locations at the county level shows some consistent patterns with operational bases. Specifically, the top five cities for verified crimes are the same as for verified operational bases: Harris County (38), Fulton County (29), Los Angeles County (27), San Diego County (26), and Queens County (17). Thus, there appears to be a pattern whereby many criminal organizations are engaging in crimes locally first, before dispersing more widely geographically.

SEX TRAFFICKING CRIME LOCATIONS

There were a total of 836 total sex trafficking crime locations across all the cases in the database. The following analysis examines these crime locations by sex trafficking venue to discern geospatial patterns for different types of sex trafficking.

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Strip clubs

Strip clubs make up just 30 of the 836 verified sex trafficking locations. In most cases, the organizations used just one or two locations. *U.S. v. Wiggins et al.* (2011) is the major exception, where court documents identified at least 18 different crime locations. In this case, the defendant used several music industry businesses as front companies to recruit girls through social media under false pretenses that they could become singers, then prostituted them in strip clubs and motels in several states across the country.

FIGURE 6.3. VERIFIED STRIP CLUB CRIME LOCATIONS
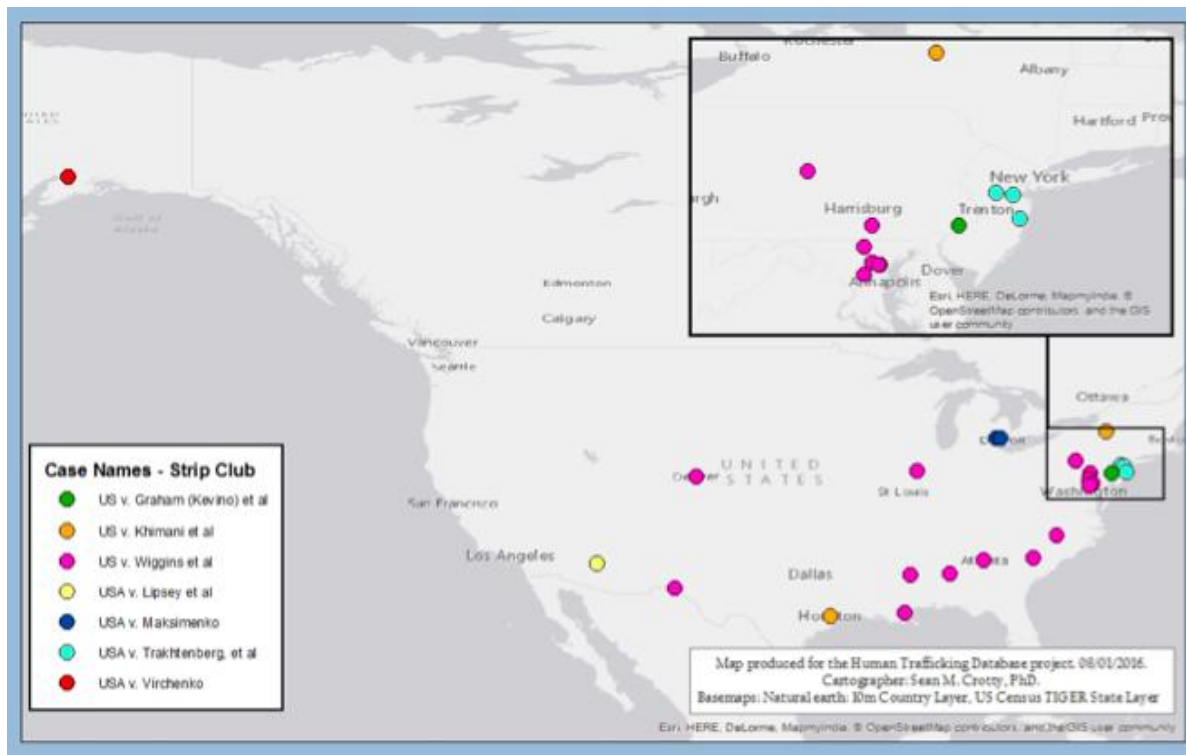
Street prostitution

Street Prostitution makes up 201 of the 836 verified sex-crime locations. There are major differences among organizations as to the spatial dispersion of moving women for street prostitution. For example, *U.S. v. Pittman, et al.* (2013) has 38 different crime locations identified whereas *U.S. v. Rios, et al.* (2013) has only has one location. It is important to note, however, that even in the cases with wider spatial spread, there is a clear concentration near the base locations. Figure 6.5 illustrates this more clearly in the case of *U.S. v. Pittman, et al.* (2013) in which there is 38 total crimes locations spread across 16 states. However, 19 of the crimes happened in California, and the next highest crime state was Arizona with three. Thus, even when the organizations have a wider spatial footprint, they are most active in the areas where they are based.

FIGURE 6.4. VERIFIED STREET PROSTITUTION CRIME LOCATIONS

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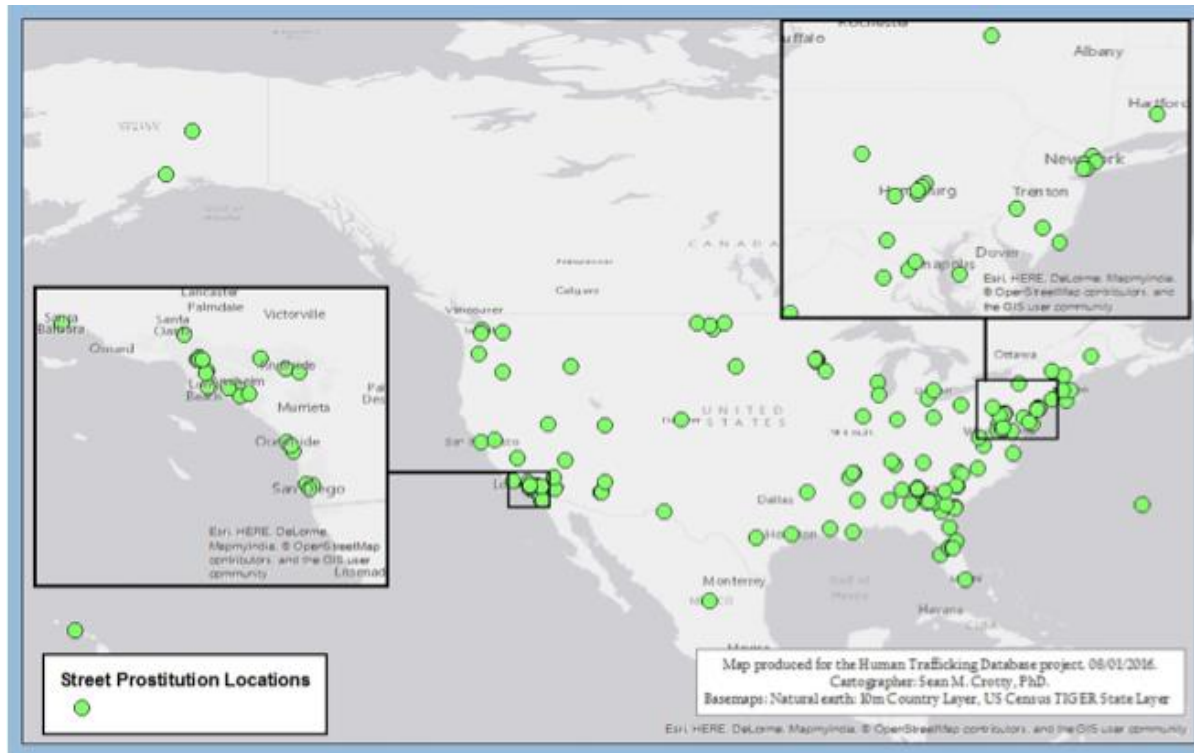
FIGURE 6.5. U.S. V. PITTMAN, ET AL.
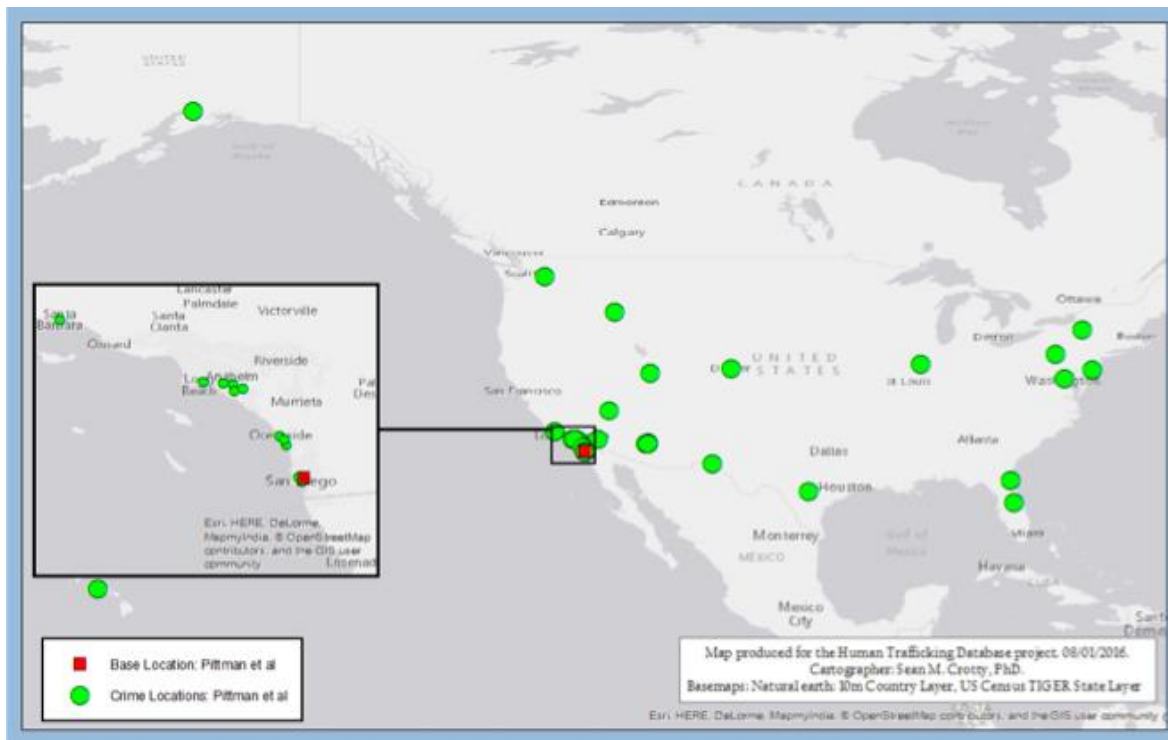
Escort services

Figure 6.6 shows all of the verified escort service crime locations, which comprise just 48 of the 836 verified sex trafficking locations. Crime locations for escort services are more flexible and mobile than for strip clubs or massage parlors, which are generally immobile. *U.S. v. Williams, et al.* (2005) has the highest number of crime locations for escort services with 10, all of which are focused in the Northeast, Washington, D.C., and Dallas. Despite the ability to be more mobile, escort services still tend to have their crime locations clustered in one or two major areas.

FIGURE 6.6. VERIFIED ESCORT SERVICE CRIME LOCATIONS
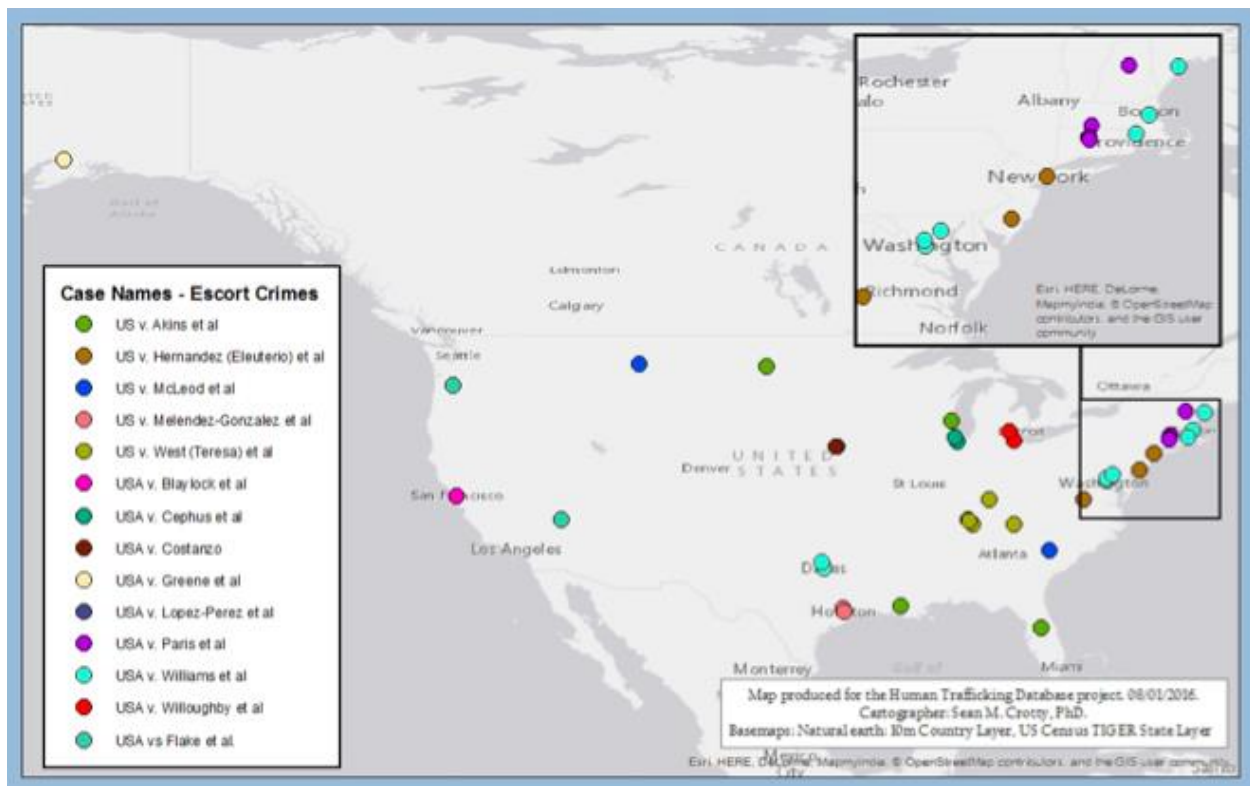
Brothels & massage parlors

Brothels and massage parlors comprise 325 of the 836 total sex trafficking locations. Figure 6.7 reveals that they are found in most major cities in the United States. As noted in Chapter 3, the majority of adult only sex trafficking is taking place inside Hispanic brothels and/or Asian massage parlors and involves mostly Hispanic and Asian victims.

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FIGURE 6.7. VERIFIED BROTHEL & MASSAGE PARLOR CRIME LOCATIONS
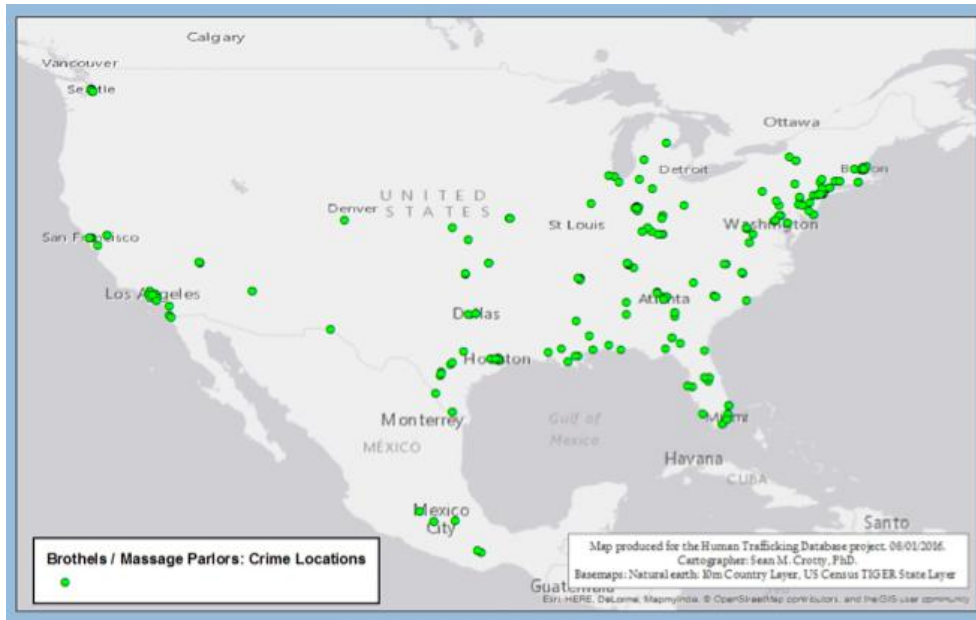
Internet Prostitution

There are 175 verified Internet prostitution crime locations spread across 47 different cases. Figure 6.8 shows that the Internet prostitution cases are widely dispersed across almost every state in the country. *U.S. v. Evans, et al.* (2000) and *U.S. v. Robinson, et al.* (2014) are the only cases with 10 or more crime locations.

FIGURE 6.8. VERIFIED INTERNET PROSTITUTION CRIME LOCATIONS

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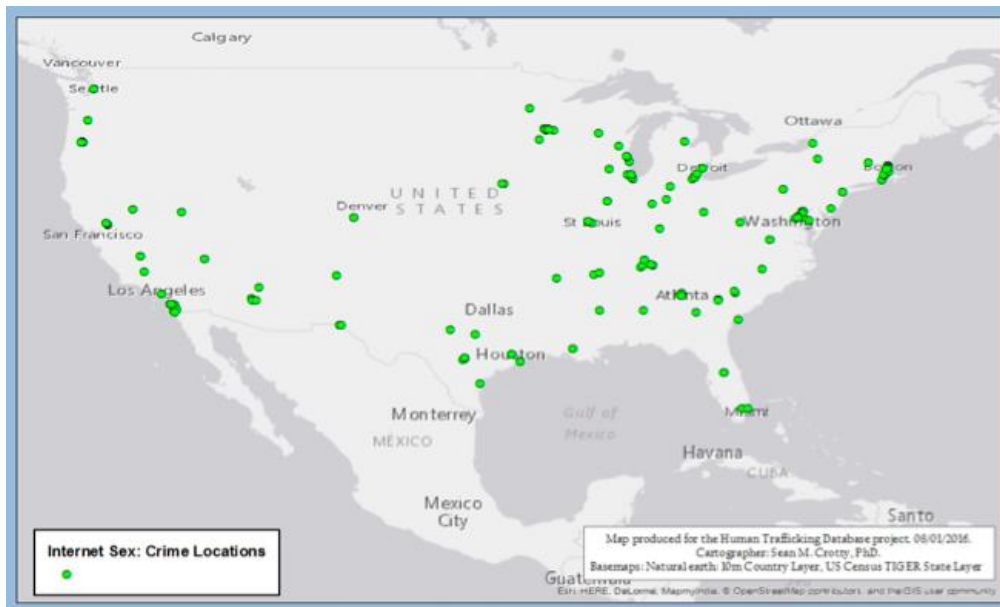
LABOR TRAFFICKING CRIME LOCATIONS

There are 196 total verified crime locations for labor trafficking in the United States. Figure 6.9 shows their spatial dispersion by type of labor trafficking. Specifically, there are 103 different hotel and hospitality crime locations, 47 agriculture crime locations, 19 domestic servitude, 15 other, 6 Health and Beauty, and 6 unknown type of labor trafficking locations.

FIGURE 6.9. TOTAL VERIFIED LABOR TRAFFICKING CRIME LOCATIONS
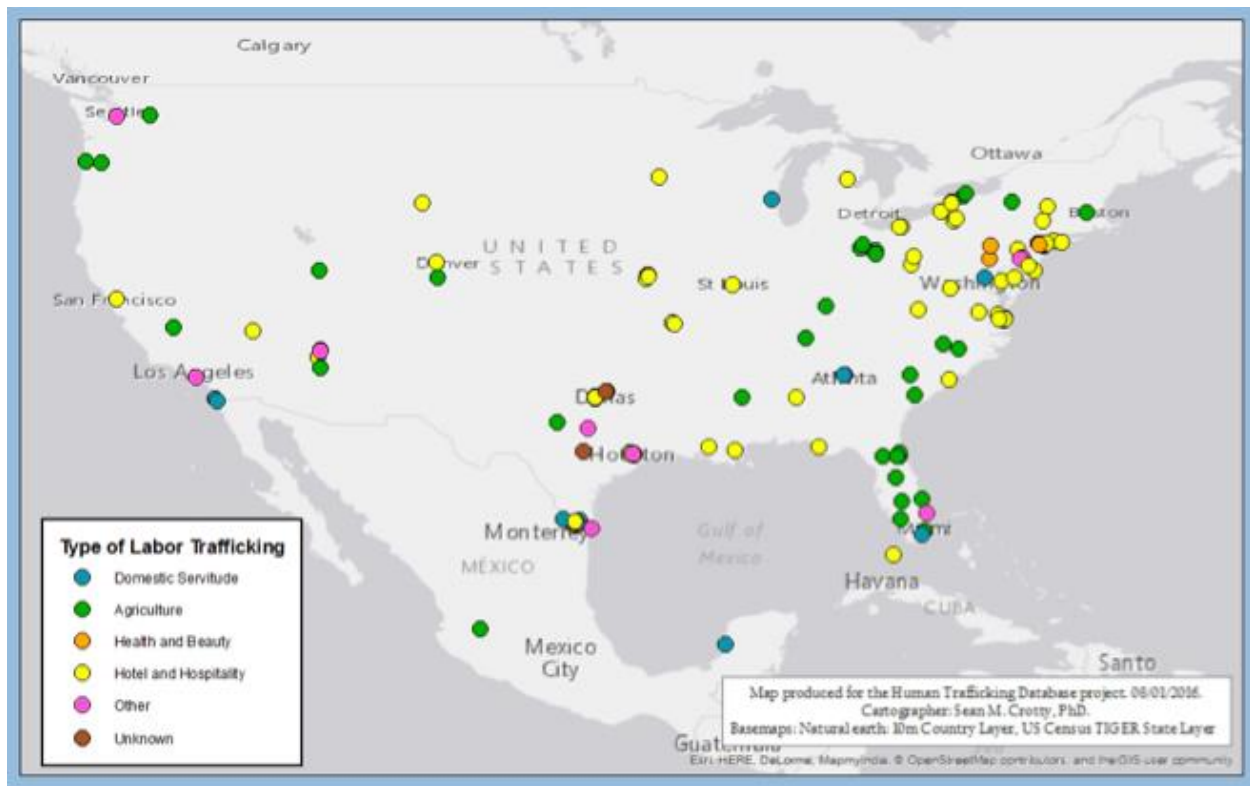
Hotel & hospitality

Hotel and hospitality cases include large labor contracting schemes for hotel chains and restaurants, as well as smaller labor trafficking operations by Mom & Pop groups within bars and cantinas. The crime locations for hotel and hospitality labor trafficking are relatively evenly dispersed throughout the country with some larger clusters across the Northeast.

In order to illustrate one case more closely, Figure 6.11 provides a very close look at *U.S. v. Molina, et al.* (2002), which is contained within Fort Worth, TX city limits. The red squares represent the locations that housed the victims, which are centrally located between the

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restaurants and cantinas that represent the crime locations where the victims were trafficked.

FIGURE 6.10. VERIFIED HOTEL & HOSPITALITY CRIME LOCATIONS

FIGURE 6.11. U.S. V. MOLINA, ET AL.
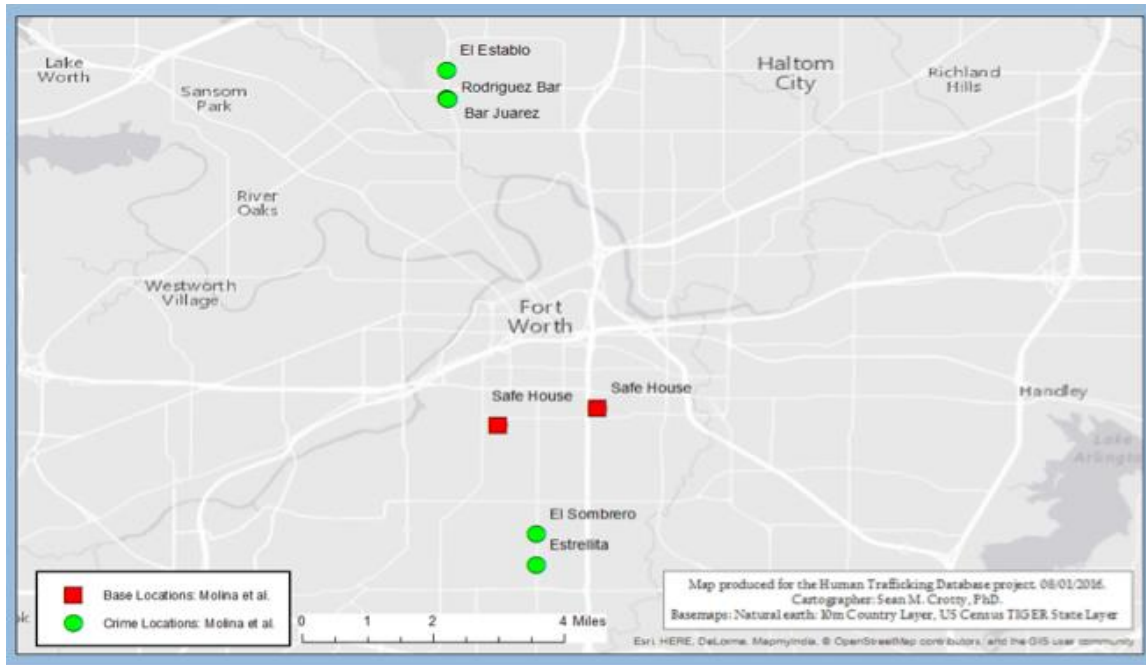
Agriculture

The spatial spread of the agriculture labor trafficking cases is depicted in Figure 6.12. There are 47 total crime locations across 10 cases. *U.S. v. Orian, et al.* (2010) is the largest case in terms of verified crime locations with 21; however, this is an outlier as it had operations across 15 different states. No other case had operations in more than two states. There appears to be a concentration of crime locations in Florida with seven unique cases in the state, and none of these cases operated in more than two states total.

FIGURE 6.12. VERIFIED AGRICULTURE CRIME LOCATIONS
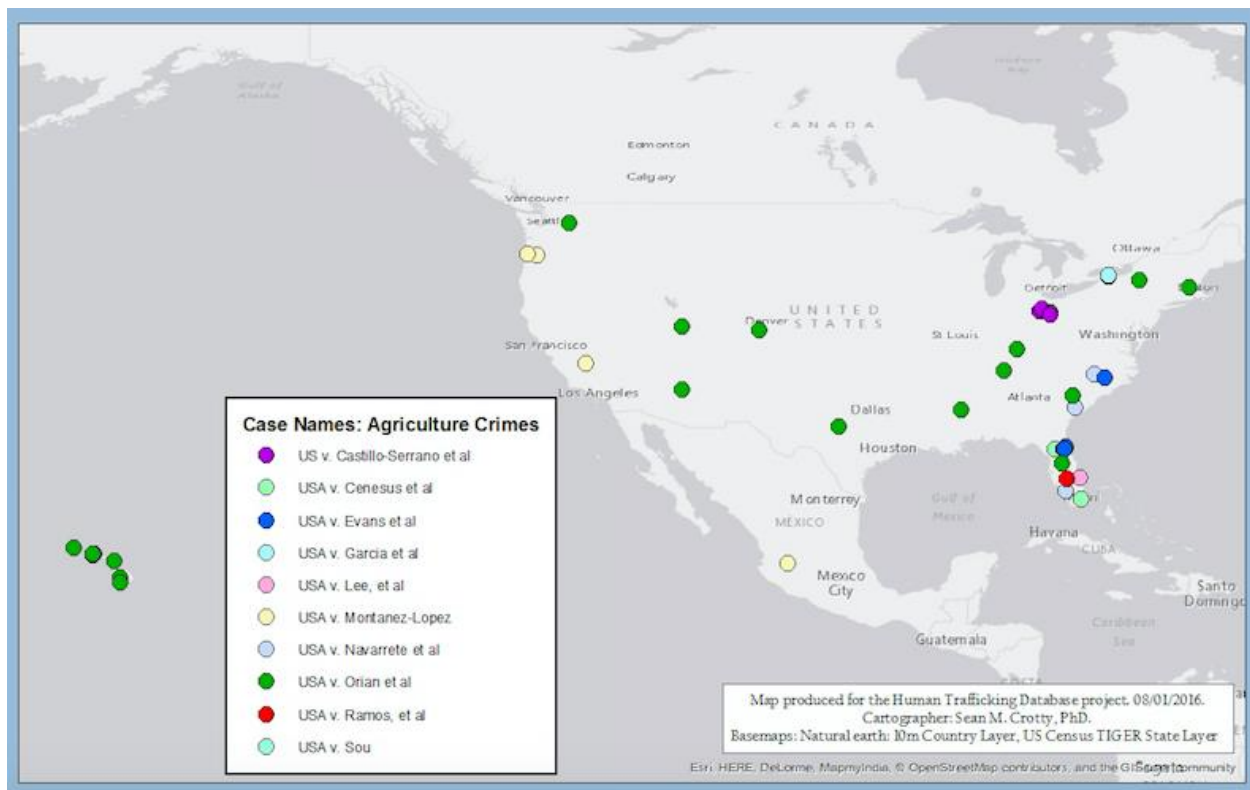
Domestic servitude

The spatial spread of domestic servitude cases is represented in Figure 6.13. There is generally only one crime location in these cases as the location is one home. The outlier is *U.S. v. Soto-Huarto, et al.* (2003), a case in which the victims were smuggled into the United States and held in debt bondage, forced to do domestic work in stash houses and serve as sex slaves until their smuggling debt was paid off. In this case, there were three different stash houses in which the victims were kept.

FIGURE 6.13. VERIFIED DOMESTIC SERVITUDE CRIME LOCATIONS.
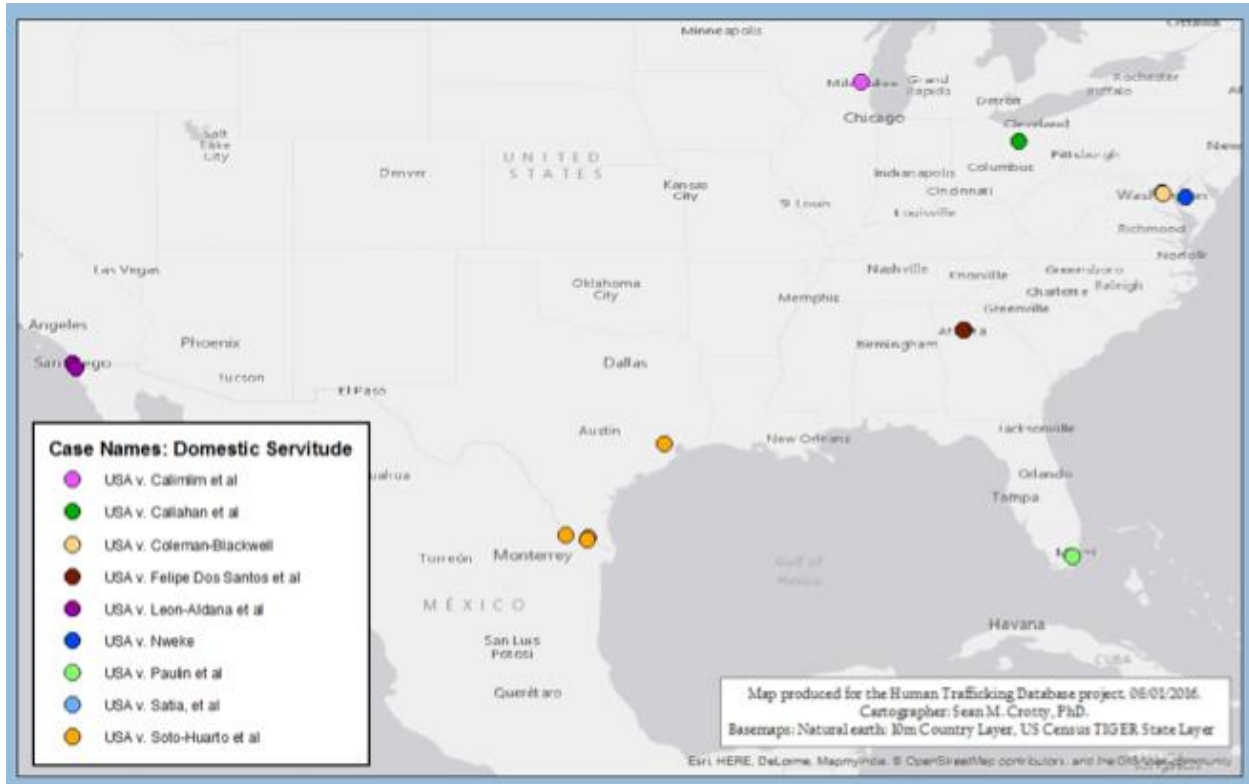
CHAPTER 7: HOW DO THE ORGANIZED CRIME GROUPS OPERATE?

This chapter sets forth four different organizational models for organized crime sex trafficking operations in the United States. The analysis in this chapter is derived primarily from the qualitative interview data. This chapter does not set forth different models for labor trafficking as the qualitative data around various labor trafficking models was not robust.

RECRUITMENT

Recruitment for sex trafficking business operations takes many forms. Recruitment of victims is imperative as this is the "product" for sale, as one interviewee put it. However, there are many other operators involved in organized sex trafficking operations, including drivers and bodyguards.

The means of recruitment for American victims was similar across different sex trafficking models; it usually involved psychological coercion of vulnerable populations by a male pimp. One interviewee said that the American victims were "normal sluts who have shitty moms, usually drug addicts." They would pretend to date the victims, woo them with gifts, and get the victims to believe that they were in love. "They would recruit people that are easy to persuade. People that I've seen, they're very young, they have family problems, live in group homes."

The model for recruitment was slightly different among the Gangs. They would recruit the "known whores in the area. They tell her, 'You're doing this for free, why don't you make money for us since you're going to do it anyway.'" It was also noted that some of the girls the Gangs would use for sex trafficking were addicted to drugs and they would take advantage of the drug addiction: "I knew one girl who they prostituted and it got bad. It got to the point where she was so addicted to drugs that she would do the sex act just for some drugs and would never get paid, which would then get her in more trouble because the gang wasn't getting their money." Additionally, Gangs "rape their female members and then make them sell their bodies."

Recruitment of international victims of sex trafficking included both psychological coercion, as well as exploitation of their poverty. One interviewee noted of victims from Eastern Europe: "The girls are plentiful and the sex industry is huge over there. The girls have no other options. We recruited with advertisements 'New strip club in [city]' and girls would just come."

Beyond victims, however, running a sex trafficking operation required the recruitment of employees, including drivers and bodyguards. Several interviewees operated as drivers in the sex trafficking operation, or started off as drivers. Two of the individuals were initially asked to become drivers by friends, learned the trade, and then began running their own trafficking operations. They started driving to make extra money, but then realized how much more money they could make if they ran their own business. Another individual was

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asked by a friend, who was a pimp, if she would drive for him because she had a driver's license and he did not. She had a friend who worked at a car rental facility who would rent her cars at discounted prices to drive the victims up and down the East coast for the pimp. After a while, she became an independent and ran her own brothel out of an apartment that she rented, which attracted customers by posting advertisements on Backpage.com.

On the other hand, there were other much larger and more sophisticated operations that employed many more drivers. One operation employed six to seven drivers, all hired through family friends, who drove the cars owned by the head of the human trafficking operation. This same operation also employed between five to seven security guards, all former members of the military in an Eastern European country. The security guards were paid $1000 per month by the sex trafficking operation. It was noted that the security guards were not American in case "they needed to take care of something, they could fly them out of the country quickly."

OPERATIONAL SECURITY

Many of the sex trafficking business operations use operational security not only to evade law enforcement detection, but also to vet the buyers. There are several ways that sex trafficking businesses worked to evade law enforcement detection. One way is simply to feign operating as a legitimate business. One interviewee stated, "The agencies would be in the phone book and have a tax stamp. Agencies do appointments for 'exotic dancing' and they are able to claim ignorance."

Another method is to bribe a law enforcement officer for the burn numbers used by the vice unit. In one case, an interviewee noted that they would pay a vice officer $500 for the list of vice burn numbers on a monthly basis. The vice officer was a "regular." This allowed them to ignore the calls they believed were reverse sting operations. This particular operation "kept some paper copies of the DNAs (do not answers), but we mostly kept the information on our phones."

Additionally, various websites allow buyers and sellers to post "bewares" for each other. They will post to the websites when they become aware of new vice numbers, or to warn others that a certain "buyer" is actually an undercover vice officer. One driver also noted that he would regularly perform surveillance detection in order to ensure no one was following him.

Those involved in the business also had "handles" or aliases in order to cover their real identity. They trade out their phones every three days for a new burner, and many of the operators used Verizon or Virgin Mobile because the online account can be managed under any name and they are able to change the telephone number every 24 hours. They are also very careful about texting and emailing. As one interviewee put it: "Don't leave paper trails. We didn't keep lots of paper copies because of the risk of being busted." Members of a Gang noted that even when they spoke over the phone they would talk in codes or riddles and they changed their language all the time knowing that their calls may be tapped by law enforcement.

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In addition to operational security as a means of evading law enforcement detection, many of the interviewees noted security measures that they take to avoid dangerous buyers. "No one wanted to take an appointment without 'a back.' I was expected to be the enforcer if necessary. I always carried a knife or a gun."

Some also noted that they would attempt to obtain as much information on the buyers as possible, especially if it was a new buyer. First, they try to obtain IP addresses on buyers who post on various private websites that are only for buyers and sellers, then they run a "WhoIs" on the IP address. They also perform background checks on new buyers. Specifically, if the appointment is going to take place in a home, they do public records searches on the address, obtain the name of the owner, then perform Google searches on the individual. For in-calls, they also perform property assessments on the value of the buyers' homes. The network of others engaged in the underground commercial sex economy also allows them to obtain references from other providers vouching that they are a "good client."

Last, those managing the operations "try to keep track of what the different tricks were into because really big perverts have more violent tendencies." If a victim reports something negative about a client, "I put a note on the phone not to have any of the girls go to this client anymore."

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The organizational structures and operating procedures varied significantly based on the sex trafficking model. Below are five different models depicting different organizational structures that involve varying operating procedures.

Model 1: Hybrid model

FIGURE 7.1. HYBRID MODEL
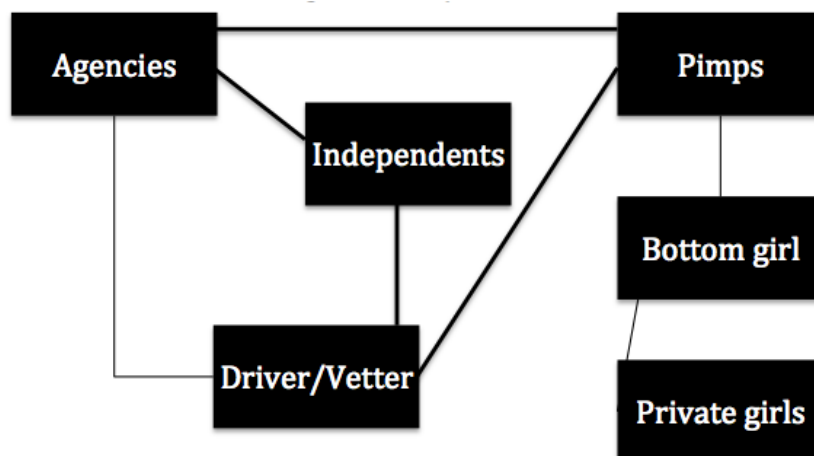
The first model is a hybrid model of sex trafficking. In this model, there are agencies that advertise themselves as "exotic dance" in order to claim ignorance if they are arrested. These agencies operate with "tax stamps" under legitimate business names. Although there are many agencies that advertise under many different business names, they are usually all owned and operated by the same individuals. They may have different phone numbers associated with them, but all the numbers are routed to one central location. These agencies work with "independents," women in prostitution who are not pimp-controlled, and also work with pimps who contract out their private girls to the agencies. Sometimes the independents find work through an agency, and the agency contracts with drivers/vetters. Other times independents skip the agency and contract directly with the driver/vetter. In yet another model, one interviewee noted that independents may also work as drivers, and transport pimp-controlled women to their appointments.

Then there are pimps and pimp-controlled women. Those who have been with the pimp the longest and have worked their way up to earn the pimp's trust are called "bottoms" and the rest of the pimp-controlled women are called "private girls." The pimps often date the private girls as a way to coerce them, and the private girls often fall in love with the pimps. Pimps can have anywhere between 5-10 different private girls working for them at any given time.

The drivers/vetters serve a number of different purposes for the agencies, the independents, and the pimps. First, they can assist with getting the girls ready for dates, including picking out their clothes and making hair appointments. Second, they assist with posting online advertisements and managing the online accounts. Third, they can help with vetting the buyers, and conduct background research on the buyers. They also drive the women to their appointments, and often serve as "the back" by providing security for the women in the event of a "bad date." Appointments can take place "in call," which is either the buyer's home or hotel room, or "outcall" at an apartment or hotel room rented out by either the agency, another middle-man, the pimp, and in some cases the independents themselves.

In one mid-size Midwestern city in the United States, there are two to three agencies (with many different names routed to the same people), and 50 to 60 pimps.

Model 2: Gang model

Another model that is very different is that of the Gangs. The Gang model is more hierarchical in nature and much more insular than the hybrid model. Moreover, prostitution is only one part of a larger business structure that makes most of its money through trafficking hard drugs such as cocaine and heroin.

The Godfather is the head of the gang, and has a number of Big Homies under him. The Big Homies then manage an army of "foot soldiers." One interviewee said, "Everyone did

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different things, some people sell this, some sell that." Some of the foot soldiers sell drugs, while others make music or run a prostitution ring.

All the members of the gang are required to pay dues. For one gang, the dues were $31 to $33 per month. About half of the monthly dues goes to the Godfather, while the other half goes to the "family kitty" to pay for bail, defense attorney fees, legal fines, etc.

FIGURE 7.2. GANG MODEL
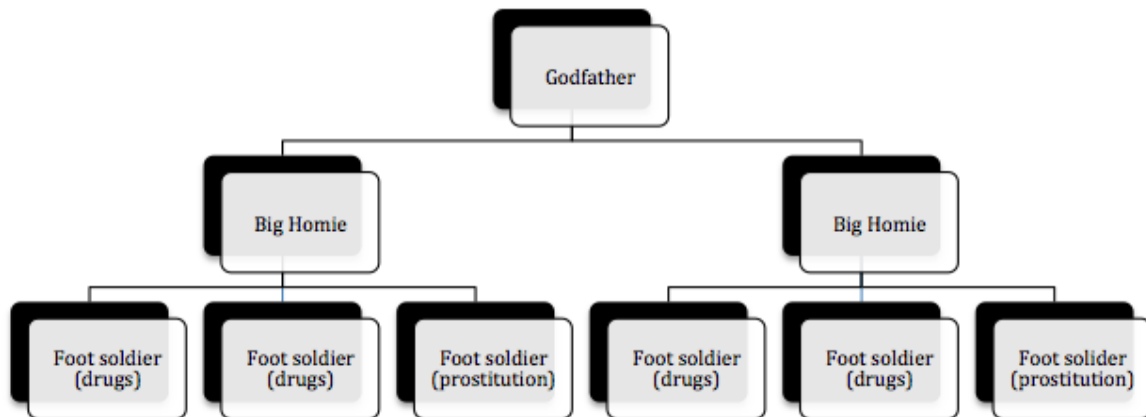
Model 3: International network model

A third sex trafficking organizational model, which is very different from both the hybrid and Gang models, involves vast international networks of criminals contracting with each other to facilitate the importation of people into the United State for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation.

The international network model begins in the country of origin of the victims. Although it may be possible to exploit the victims in the country of origin, one interviewee noted that in these regions, the victims must do "volume" in order to make money (i.e., have sex with 20 men/night); however, in the United States the pay for these sex acts is much higher so volume can be lower.

In order to move the victims into the United States, it is necessary to obtain visas either into the United States or into Mexico to then cross the border. In some cases, these groups obtain legal visas to the United States by providing cover stories about the purpose of the visit. In other cases, however, corrupt officials in the consulates take bribes and provide tourist visas, usually to Mexico. Thus, the first node in the large international network involves developing relationships with officials that assist with obtaining visas.

The next node in the international network is working with cartels in Mexico to pick up the victims at the airport in Mexico City, hold them in stash houses for as long as necessary, and transport them from Mexico City to the U.S.-Mexico border. In one case, an interviewee described meeting a U.S. border patrol agent at a club in Los Angeles and developing him to

the point where the border patrol agent eventually took $5000/head in bribe money for victims that he allowed through the U.S.-Mexico border in Tijuana.

FIGURE 7.3. INTERNATIONAL NETWORK MODEL
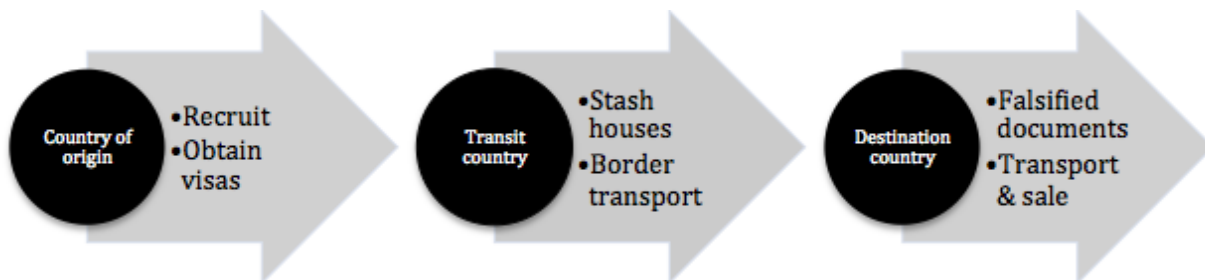
Once inside the United States, the Eastern European sex trafficking operators' network expands to crime groups that specialize in document fraud in the U.S. The Armenian mafia runs a document forgery service that charges $400 for a driver's license and $350 for a social security card. They provide identification documents for whatever state is requested, and whenever the victims moved to a new state they would purchase a new license. One interviewee noted that Asian sex trafficking operators used a different network of criminals for their document forgery services that provide them with real driver's licenses with fake names on them.

The last part of the network includes all the venues to which the international sex trafficking operators provide the victims. In some cases, these international operators own their own clubs and venues where the victims are trafficked, but they may also be paid by other club owners to provide the victims to them.

In general, those running international sex trafficking operations are highly adept at spotting, assessing, developing, and eventually pitching government officials, cartels, mafias, and other criminals and crime rings that can assist them in carrying out their operations, thereby maintaining a vast network of facilitators around the globe.

These international networks generally house the victims in condos that they own or apartments that they rent. One interviewee noted that Eastern European victims are rotated out of the United States every 6 months and that one international sex trafficking operator has between 20 to 25 victims in the United States at a time.

Model 4: Tenancingo, Mexico Model

A different sex trafficking model is that used by the Tenancingo, Mexico group operating across the United States, but especially in Queens, NY, Atlanta, GA, and North and South Carolina. In this model, hundreds of pimps recruit victims in Mexico and Central America. Sometimes the pimps themselves spot the victims and coerce them through a "lover boy"

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story. Other times the pimps use scouts in these counties to spot vulnerable girls. The pimps pay the smuggling fee to transport the victims across the U.S.-Mexico border; the fee is approximately $4000 to $6000. Once across the border the victims are transported to their destination. Each pimp maintains control over one to five victims.

Pimps then subcontract the victims to brothel owners. One interviewee said: "The brothel owner provides the place, the pimps provide the girls." Each brothel owner may work with up to 10 pimps who provide the victims. A brothel generally works four women at a time. Some brothel owners run multiple brothels, generally out of apartments, while others run only one.

The brothel owner employs drivers who pick up and drop off the victims at the pimps' locations. Drivers use the brothel owners' cars, and the brothel owners pay the gas and insurance. Drivers normally transport four victims at a time in the car. The drivers also serve the function of advertising by handing out cards in the street with the telephone number for the brothel. Some drivers work for multiple brothel owners, while other drivers work for only one brothel owner (especially if the brothel owner runs more than one brothel). Drivers are told not to talk to anyone, including the victims, the police, and the pimps. Drivers work seven days/week and are paid roughly $120 per day. They communicate with the brothel owners via cell phone and pay all the tolls in cash rather than through toll tags.

The pimps maintain ownership over their own victims; however, they also trade victims with each other in order to provide new victims to the brothel owners "to keep it fresh for the customers." Victims are traded among pimps in different cities and states, all of whom provide girls to different brothel owners in those locations. The underlying variable that creates the network among pimps is that they are all from Tenancingo, Mexico. One interviewee stated:

> It's a network where people trade women back and forth. Sometimes the [brothel owner] would tell a pimp about another [brothel owner] in another city. The [brothel owners] know about [brothel owners] in other cities partly because the girls would start talking and say they worked for someone else in some other city. So [brothel owners] would tell pimps about other [brothel owners] where they could make good money. Pimps know about other pimps because they are all from the same village in Mexico, Tenencingo. A family in Tenencingo runs the organization. The pimps are an organization, they are very coordinated with each other. The whole town is involved.

FIGURE 7.4. TENANCINGO, MEXICO MODEL
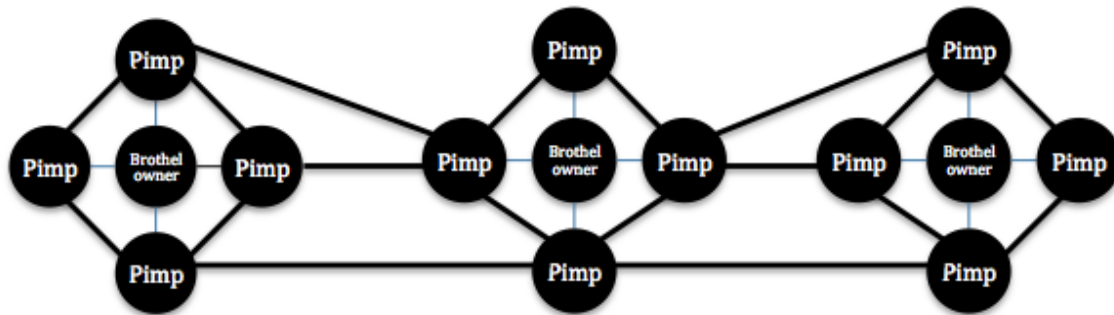
The customers are mainly undocumented workers from Mexico or Central America. Customers arrive at the brothel, pay the brothel owner, go into the bedroom, receive their services, then leave. The sex act is negotiated between the customer and the victim. Brothel owners keep customers coming back by providing television, soda, and candy.

The brothel owner keeps half of the money and gives the other half of the money to the victims to give to their pimps. The victims keep nothing. Pimps may verify that victims are not stealing any money by calling the brothel owner to confirm the amount made, or by checking the money against the number of condoms the victim used that day. Pimps then provide for the victims' expenses and supply their condoms (which they buy in bulk at 1000 condoms for $85).

ADVERTISING

The modes of advertising for commercial sex services vary significantly. One interviewee stated, "Word of mouth is big in any business, and it's really really big in this one. I had a lot of respect in the area because people knew I wasn't' going to talk. Even if I got popped, I'm not going to take others down with me." Some sex trafficking operators did not have to advertise much because buyers knew they were trustworthy and had "good product." "Doctors, lawyers, CEOs would fly in just to have sex. If you have quality females, the customers are going to gravitate. If you have the supply, men will gravitate." When business was slower, they have an established customer base and are able to "go through their phones" to reach out to regular buyers.

Beyond word of mouth and establishing a strong reputation, which cuts down on advertising costs in the long-term, Backpage.com was a very common way of advertising (along with many other websites). Before advertisements on Backpage.com became free in 2015, one interviewee said that they used "vanilla visas" or prepaid credit cards to purchase a $300/day advertisement on Backpage.com. "You need to keep posting and keep posting to stay relevant." Gangs commonly use Backpage.com, and they also would advertise their victims at major events such as bike shows and conventions.

The major exception to this form of advertising is the Mexican model. Advertising under this model is primarily through passing out cards on the street. The cards usually have

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some advertisement on them for men's clothing or massage, and then the cards would also have a phone number listed. When the cards are handed out, they verbally convey that it is for prostitution. Clients would then call the phone number, and the person on the other end would give them an address.

PRICING & PAYMENT

The cost for a sex act varied dramatically. Some interviewees said that the cost varied the most based on the type of sex act a buyer wanted. "Anal is what they pay most money for—things they won't do to their wives. Also, golden showers, scats, the kinky stuff. If you're going to make her totally devalue herself, then you better pay and pay good."[17] Price also varies based on the race of the victim. "Skinny, blond hair, blue eyes are worth the most." Another interviewee noted, "The amount the girls make depends on how pretty they are." Finally, it was noted that buyers pay more for more time.

In the hybrid model, one pimp with five private girls could have 20 to 30 buyers per day (between 4 to 7 buyers per private girl) at $250 each time (for a 30 minute sex act).[18] This amounts to $35,000 per week for one pimp. Independents would have two to three buyers per day, making roughly $3500 per week. One interviewee who worked as an independent and as a driver noted that she made $20,000 per month. Buyers that become regulars receive specials, such as "See 10 girls, get one half price."

In one medium-sized Midwestern city, where there are roughly 50 pimps, each with roughly five private girls making $250 per encounter per day with roughly 5 buyers per day, the annual gross revenues of one segment of the hybrid model alone is just under $115 million.

The Eastern European network model is different. They make up to $20,000 per week per victim between stripping and sex acts, and they have roughly 25 victims at any given time. This amounts to $500,000 per week. For the Eastern European victims with blonde hair and blue eyes, the rate is up to $1000 for a 15-minute sex act. The revenue is allegedly split 70%/30% with the victims.

The Tenancingo, Mexico model has yet a different pricing structure. The cost of a 15 minute encounter ranges from $20-$35. There are roughly 200 pimps from Tenancingo, Mexico in Queens, NY alone, and each pimp has between 1 to 5 victims working for him. Each victim has between 8 to 12 buyers per day. Thus, the minimum annual gross revenue from the Tenancingo network in Queens, NY is roughly $36.5 million per year, but it could be as high at $100 million.

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[17] Golden showers is being urinated on and scats is being defecated on.
[18] Three of the interviewees, all of whom fit into the hybrid model in some manner, and all of whom worked along the East Coast, said that one 30 minute encounter cost between $200-$300. The number of customers per victim per day ranged from 4 to 10.

In the Tenancingo model, customers pay only with cash, and cash is the most common form of payment across the other models, as well. However, in the hybrid model, pre-paid debit cards (e.g., green dot cards) and pre-paid credit cards are also used. Interestingly, it was also noted that customers sometimes barter with victims for cars or other items as a form of payment.

MANAGING MONEY

Given the mostly cash-basis of the underground sex economy across all different sex trafficking models, the most common way to manage the cash was to launder it. Organized crime groups engaged in human trafficking may set up legal business entities that are tangentially related to the sex trafficking business as a means to legitimize the money and set up payroll. The most common forms of business by which revenue from sex trafficking is laundered include modeling agencies, nail salons, barber shops, tanning salons, and car repossession businesses.

In the Tenaningo, Mexico model, moving money is not as sophisticated. This organization has couriers from Mexico who arrive into the U.S. on Friday and depart again for Mexico on Monday. It is not clear how many couriers there are, how they are connected to the pimp network, and who the money is sent to.

MANAGING RELATIONSHIPS

The organized criminal groups operating sex trafficking enterprises have to manage relationships with a variety of stakeholders, first among them the victims themselves. Among the most popular ways to manage the victims is to make them believe they are loved and cared for with words and gifts. Pimps buy their victims clothes, diamonds, and purses. One said, "The girls depended on me for protection. Every woman wants to feel protected and safe. And they were loyal to me because of that. I made them feel pretty, safe, and secure." Another interviewee stated, "I tried to create trust and develop relationships with them so they feel safe."

In addition to managing their own individual relationships with the victims, pimps also manage the relationships among the victims. Several interviewees noted that they worked to foster competition among the victims to make more money by rewarding "hard work" with "vacations, shopping sprees, and jewelry." In order to compete for the rewards, the victims became "fierce and heated" in their relationships and would "steal clients" from each other. One mentioned having motivational meetings with the victims: "Every Sunday I would sit them down together and debrief on the week, discuss how much each person made, and motivate them to make more."

However, when the victims "get out of their lane" they face being beat and threatened by the pimp. One interviewee said: "He [the pimp] would beat the hell out of them" if they misbehave by stealing from the buyers, the pimp, or trying to exert too much independence. However, this is not necessarily the case in all models. One interviewee

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state, "I didn't hit them or cause them to fear. For me it was more about the financial dependence on me." Another interviewee said that he did not hit or slap because "[Y]ou're hurting your product. If you hurt the girl you can't make the money." A different interviewee said, "We didn't want the girls to get hurt because we got money from the girls."

Therefore, for those that are not violent, they find other ways to manage "discipline issues" with the victims. One way is to take away their money. One pimp who allegedly split the revenue 60%/40% with his victims said, "Money is the whole key to everything. I tell them, 'If you don't want to work anymore, there's a line of other girls that will.'" Another simply said, "You treat them like they're kids and start taking away their privileges."

Beyond managing the victims, the sex trafficking organizations also manage relationships with competitors. One interviewee said that the underground sex economy is a "strong network, and you try to stay on everyone's good side."

There are a few reasons to try to maintain good relationships with competitors. The first reason is simply the violence that can take place if bad blood is created. "Anything having to do with night life is nasty—drugs, violence—it's dangerous and people are suspicious." Many interviewees mentioned that pimps carry guns, and that they buy weapons on the black market from Gangs. Another stated that pipe bombs are also used in retaliation for taking business away.

Suspicions run very high in the Gang model, where, despite talk of "brotherhood," "no one ever knew what was what" or who they could trust. In the hybrid model, it was stated that pimps do not often talk to other pimps out of suspicion and fear of "pimpnapping," which is when one pimp kidnaps another pimp's victim, often at gunpoint. However, in the Tenancingo, Mexico model, the pimps do not compete with each other "because they are one organization."

Some within the business operations, such as drivers, opt out of starting their own independently run operation out of fear of angering those already in the business. One former driver said, "I could have opened my own business, but I didn't know enough pimps to run it. If I opened my own business, the boss would be angry. He probably wouldn't hurt me, but he would be angry because I'd be taking knowledge from his business and opening my own."

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

This report sheds light on the extent to which different types of organized criminal groups are engaged in human trafficking in the United States, who the individuals are that comprise these groups, as well as where and how they operate. The findings have a number of implications for criminal justice policy and practice, which will be discussed in this chapter.

1. **Organized crime lacks a clear, broadly accepted definition in the anti-human trafficking community.** Without a working understanding of what constitutes "organized crime" in the context of human trafficking, the effectiveness of counter-trafficking efforts may be hampered and law enforcement efforts could be cut short before full networks are mapped and disrupted (see #2 below). This research reveals that important trends can be uncovered by examining human trafficking groups, hence policymakers should establish a clear definition of "organized crime" and the broader anti-human trafficking community should agree on a set typology that can assist law enforcement and prosecutors as they investigate and prosecute these types of cases.

2. **Since the passage of the TVPA in 2000, prosecutions of human trafficking cases with three or more defendants have remained flat while prosecutions of cases with one or two defendants have increased steadily.** Although human trafficking has been framed as an organized crime issue, most of the cases that have been prosecuted involve one or two defendants. There may be many potential reasons for this, but the law enforcement community should critically examine these reasons and determine whether this is the most efficacious manner to handle these cases going forward.

3. **The majority of individuals prosecuted for human trafficking crimes in the United States operated as part of some type of organized criminal group.** This data implies that an organized crime approach is warranted but generally lacking in federal investigations and prosecutions of human trafficking cases. Where appropriate, prosecutors should establish an "organized crime" strategy to prosecuting human trafficking cases. The marginal cost of prosecuting as organized crime is low, while the return on investment is potentially very high, as: 1) more perpetrators would be prosecuted per case; 2) trafficking networks would be more significantly disrupted; and 3) the deterrence effect upon organized crime groups would be increased.

8. **The demographic profiles of defendants and victims reveal important patterns in human trafficking operations involving organized crime.** The findings in this report reveal some clear, discernable patterns about human trafficking operations in the United States based on the demographic details of

defendants and victims, at least on the basis of the cases that have been prosecuted. The counter-human trafficking community should continue to educate judges, prosecutors, law enforcement, and the general public about the various organizational and operational capacities of the different types of organized crime groups engaged in human trafficking to better prevent, disrupt, and prosecute networks. There should be a thorough examination of early intervention and prevention efforts targeted at potential victimizers.

4. **There are clear push and pull factors motivating human trafficking offenses.** Those that engage in human trafficking in the United States are not motivated only by profit; many have experienced their own forms of trauma and grooming that facilitated the belief that this type of crime was a viable option. A lack of understanding about past motivations prevents effective rehabilitation programs for future reintegration, as well as prevention programs for potential victimizers. The counter-human trafficking community should develop more robust, trauma-informed rehabilitation programs for trafficking offenders and prevention programs for high-risk individuals that: 1) account for the high incidence rate of childhood abuse and neglect among offenders; 2) provide training and educational assistance; and 3) aid in the development of new and positive social networks.

5. **Illegal Enterprises are perhaps the most highly sophisticated and diverse type of organized crime group engaged in human trafficking.** The criminal justice community should intensify its focus on Illegal Enterprises. Targeting this type of organized crime group through increased investigation, prosecution, and public awareness campaigns may provide a greater return on resources invested given the following: 1) this group's involvement in all forms and combinations of trafficking make it vulnerable to increased law enforcement scrutiny; 2) the number of victims exploited by this type of group; 3) the diversity of criminal activity it employs (and, hence, the diversity of chargeable offenses available to prosecutors); 4) the transnational scope of many of these groups' supply chains; and 5) the publicly visible nature of their operations (by definition, an Illegal Enterprise operates under a business name that is registered with the state and/or used in advertising).

6. **Federal prosecutions have verified human trafficking crime locations in all 50 states, as well as two territories.** The public should be made aware that human trafficking in the United States is occurring everywhere, and local communities should be made aware of the specific types of human trafficking that are most prevalent around them.

7. **There are no federal human trafficking cases that can clearly be established as cartel/mafia/syndicate.** It is not clear if the lack of cartel/mafia/syndicate involvement in human trafficking is a function of the way cases are being investigated and prosecuted or the real lack of engagement in this criminal enterprise. More research should be conducted on the involvement of cartels/mafias/syndicates in facilitating human trafficking operations.

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APPENDIX A: CASE SEARCH PROTOCOL

<u>**Search Protocol #1 (SP1)**</u>

The purpose of this protocol is to standardize the way we collect and record information of cases from various databases. The document provides instructions for searches to run, how to download documents, and then how to save the documents to show the search they came from.

For the first search (Bloom), each researcher is assigned various states to focus their research. The researchers are instructed to perform each search for each state assigned to the researcher, download the cases, and save them in the manner instructed.

1. **Bloomberg Law (Bloom)**
    - At the home page, under "research" CLICK "State Law"
    - Select YOUR STATE
    - Enter SEARCH TERMS
        a. Human Trafficking:
            - "Human traffic" or "human trafficking" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
        b. Sex Trafficking
            - (traffic! /s prostitut!) or pander! or brothel and (gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering)
        c. Labor Trafficking
            - "Labor traffic" or "labor trafficking" or "forced labor" or slave! or servitude and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
        d. Visa Fraud / Document Fraud
            - "visa fraud" or "visa servitude" or "document fraud" or "document servitude" or "document tampering" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
    - On the left hand side of the page, there is a **date** drop-down menu
        o **Click** on the drop-down menu and **select** "date range"
        o **Enter**
            ▪ **From**: 01/01/2000
            ▪ **To**: 12/31/2013
    - To **Download** cases:
        - **Select**
            o Court Dockets and then **select**
            o Court Opinions
            o (only download files from these two sets)
        - In each set of cases, **select** the cases you wish to download by clicking the white box to the left of each case (likely all)
        - **Click** "Print/Download" at the top of the results page
        - **Select** the following:
            o Select: "Selected documents"

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- o Include: "General Information"
- o Output: PDF
- o Paper Size: Letter
- o **Click** "exclude Bloomberg Cover Page
- o **Click** "Print/Download"
- A yellow message will appear notifying you that your documents are being prepared
- **Click** "Go to the Download Center"
- **Click** on your documents OR select multiple documents and click "Zip/Download"
  - o ****NOTE**:** If you click "zip/download," you must unzip the files (usually by double clicking the file in your computer's download folder) and then save the resulting documents.
- To **Save** Cases
  - a. After the file has downloaded, change the filename to the following (include spaces before and after dashes):
    - i. SP1 – Bloom – [Case Type] – [YOUR STATE] – Batch # – # of cases
      1. Case Type Instructions:
         - a. For Human Trafficking" cases, enter "HT"
         - b. For Sex Trafficking cases, enter "ST"
         - c. For Labor Trafficking cases, enter "LT"
         - d. For Visa Fraud cases, enter "VT"
      2. Batch # Instructions
         - a. If you must download more than one pdf for a particular search, assign a number to each document and place it in parentheses after a final dash

2. **Westlaw Classic (WestCrim)**
   - **(do not use WestlawNext for this search)**
   - On the left hand side, **locate** "Search for a database"
   - **Type** crfiling-all
   - **Click** "Go"
   - Under "Additional Restrictions" **select** ALL
   - In the Search Box, **type**: [search terms]
     - o Search Terms (type exactly as they appear below):
       - a. Human Trafficking
         - "Human traffic" or "human trafficking" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering & DA(aft 01/01/2000)
       - b. Sex Trafficking
         - (traffic! /s prostitut!) or pander! or brothel and (gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering) & DA(aft 01/01/2000)
       - c. Labor Trafficking

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- "Labor traffic" or "labor trafficking" or "forced labor" or slave! or servitude and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering & DA(aft 01/01/2000)

d. Visa Fraud / Document Fraud

- "Visa fraud" or "visa servitude" or "document fraud" or "document servitude" or "document tampering" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering & DA(aft 01/01/2000)

- To **Download** Cases:
  o Select the cases by clicking the clear box to the left of each case name
  o Then **click** the "download" button in the top right of the results page (it looks like a piece of paper with an arrow pointing down)
  o Choose the following
    ▪ Save to: My Computer
    ▪ Format: PDF
    ▪ Selected Documents
    ▪ Full Text
  o **Click** "Save"
  o A pop up window will appear. **Click** "complete download"
- To **Save** Cases
  o After the file has downloaded, change the filename to the following (include spaces before and after dashes):
    ▪ SP1 – WestCrim – [Case Type] – Batch # – # of cases
      1. Case Type Instructions:
         a. For Human Trafficking" cases, enter "HT"
         b. For Sex Trafficking cases, enter "ST"
         c. For Labor Trafficking cases, enter "LT"
         d. For Visa Fraud cases, enter "VT"
      2. Batch # Instructions
         a. If you must download more than one pdf for a particular search, assign a number to each document and place it in parentheses after a final dash

3. **Westlaw Classic (WestCiv)**
   - On the left hand side, **locate** "Search for a database"
   - **Type** filing-all
   - **Click** "Go"
   - Under "Additional Restrictions" **select** ALL
   - In the Search Box, **type**: [search terms]
     o Search Terms (type exactly as they appear below):
       a. Human Trafficking
          3. "Human traffic" or "human trafficking" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering & DA(aft 01/01/2000)

b. Sex Trafficking
- (traffic! /s prostitut!) or pander! or brothel and (gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering) & DA(aft 01/01/2000)

c. Labor Trafficking
- "Labor traffic" or "labor trafficking" or "forced labor" or slave! or servitude and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering & DA(aft 01/01/2000)

d. Visa Fraud / Document Fraud
- "Visa fraud" or "visa servitude" or "document fraud" or "document servitude" or "document tampering" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering & DA(aft 01/01/2000)

2. To **Download** Cases:
   o Select the cases by clicking the clear box to the left of each case name
   o Then **click** the "download" button in the top right of the results page (it looks like a piece of paper with an arrow pointing down)
   o Choose the following
      o Save to: My Computer
      o Format: PDF
      o Selected Documents
      o Full Text
   o **Click** "Save"
   o A pop up window will appear. **Click** "complete download"

3. To **Save** Cases
   o After the file has downloaded, change the filename to the following (include spaces before and after dashes):
      o SP1 – WestCiv – [Case Type] – Batch # – # of cases
         1. Case Type Instructions:
            a. For Human Trafficking" cases, enter "HT"
            b. For Sex Trafficking cases, enter "ST"
            c. For Labor Trafficking cases, enter "LT"
            d. For Visa Fraud cases, enter "VT"
         2. Batch # Instructions
            a. If you must download more than one pdf for a particular search, assign a number to each document and place it in parentheses after a final dash

4. **In WestlawNext (WestNext)**
   - On the homepage, next to the search box **Click** ALL STATES and ALL FEDERAL
   - Next to the search bar at the top, **Click** "advanced"
   - Near the bottom of the page, there is a DATE drop-down menu
      o **Select** "all dates after"

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- o **Enter** ➜ 01/01/2000
- **Enter** the search terms in the "**Any of these terms" box**
  - a. Human Trafficking
    - "human traffic" or "human trafficking" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
  - b. Sex Trafficking
    - (traffic! /s prostitute!) or pander! Or brothel and (gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering)
  - c. Labor Trafficking
    - "Labor traffic" or "labor trafficking" or "forced labor" or slave! or servitude and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
  - d. Visa Fraud / Document Fraud
    - "visa fraud" or "visa servitude" or "document fraud" or "document servitude" or "document tampering" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
- To **Download** Cases:
  - o Select the cases by clicking the clear box to the left of each case name
  - o Then **click** the "download" button in the top right of the results page (it looks like a piece of paper with an arrow pointing down)
  - o Choose the following
    - What to deliver: Documents
    - Format: PDF
    - As: A single merged file
  - o **Click** "Download"
  - o A pop up window will appear. **Click** "Download"
- To **Save** Cases
  - o After the file has downloaded, change the filename to the following (include spaces before and after dashes):
    - SP1 – WestNext – [Case Type] – Batch # – # of cases
      1. Case Type Instructions:
        - o For Human Trafficking" cases, enter "HT"
        - o For Sex Trafficking cases, enter "ST"
        - o For Labor Trafficking cases, enter "LT"
        - o For Visa Fraud cases, enter "VT"
      2. Batch # Instructions
        - o If you must download more than one pdf for a particular search, assign a number to each document and place it in parentheses after a final dash

5. **Lexis Nexis (LexNex)**
   - Go to Lexis Advance (advance.lexis.com)

- Directly below the search bar you will find three tabs: "Content Type," "Jurisdiction," and "Practice Area"
- **Click** "Content Type" ➔ "Cases" & "Briefs, Pleadings, and Motions" & "Dockets"
  - **Click "**OK"
- **Click** "Jurisdiction" ➔ ALL JURISDICTIONS
- **Click** "Practice Area" ➔ All Practice Areas and Topics
- In the search bar, enter ["Search Terms"]
  - a. Human Trafficking:
    - "Human traffic" or "human trafficking" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
  - b. Sex Trafficking
    - (traffic! /s prostitut!) or pander! or brothel and (gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering)
  - c. Labor Trafficking
    - "Labor traffic" or "labor trafficking" or "forced labor" or slave! or servitude and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
  - d. Visa Fraud / Document Fraud
    - "visa fraud" or "visa servitude" or "document fraud" or "document servitude" or "document tampering" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
- On the left hand side of the page, **locate** a "**timeline**" link
  - If the starting date is prior to 01/01/2000, **click** the "From" box and enter 01/01/2000
- At the top of the results page you will see five tabs:
- o "Snapshot" "Cases "Briefs" "Dkts"
- o **Enter** each tab and select the relevant cases (***This is important. Lexis divides the results up by search type***)
- To **Download** the documents ➔ Select the relevant documents by clicking the clear box to the left of each document (or select all by clicking the clear box at the top)
  - Click the floppy disc icon at the top of the results page
  - Click "Selected Documents" ➔ PDF ➔ Download
  - A pop up window will appear. Click the file link in the pop up to download the file
- To **Save** Cases
- After the file has downloaded, change the filename to the following (include spaces before and after dashes):
  - SP1 – LexNex – [Case Type] – Batch # – # of cases
    1. Case Type Instructions:
       - o For Human Trafficking" cases, enter "HT"
       - o For Sex Trafficking cases, enter "ST"
       - o For Labor Trafficking cases, enter "LT"
       - o For Visa Fraud cases, enter "VT"
    2. Batch # Instructions

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        o   If you must download more than one pdf for a particular search, assign a number to each document and place it in parentheses after a final dash

Search Protocol #2 (SP2)

The purpose of this protocol is to standardize the way we collect and record information of case data from media. The document provides instructions for searches to run, how to download documents, and then how to save the documents to show the search they came from.

Each researcher is assigned specific searches to focus their research. The searches are general – they cover all federal cases. Thus, each researcher will run either the "Human Trafficking," "Sex Trafficking," "Labor Trafficking," or "Visa Fraud / Document Fraud" search. The researchers will then download the cases and save them in the manner instructed.

1. Bloomberg Law (Bloom)
- At the home page, under "research" **CLICK** "Dockets"
- In the "keywords" search box, **Enter** SEARCH TERMS
    - e. Human Trafficking:
        - "Human traffic" or "human trafficking" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
    - f. Sex Trafficking
        - (traffic! /s prostitut!) or pander! or brothel and (gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering)
    - g. Labor Trafficking
        - "Labor traffic" or "labor trafficking" or "forced labor" or slave! or servitude and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
    - h. Visa Fraud / Document Fraud
        - "visa fraud" or "visa servitude" or "document fraud" or "document servitude" or "document tampering" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
- On the bottom of the page, there is a **date** drop-down menu
    - o **Click** on the drop-down menu and **select** "date range"
    - o **Enter**
        - **From**: 01/01/2000
        - **To**: 12/31/2013
- **Click** "Search"
- Jurisdiction
    - o Federal
        - Return to the search results page
        - On the left hand side of the page, **select** "federal"

- Scroll down. On the left hand side of the page, under "Federal Nature of Suit," **select** "criminal"
  - Download all dockets
- To **Download** cases:
  - In each set of dockets, **select** the cases you wish to download by clicking the white box to the left of each case (likely all)
  - **Click** "Print/Download" at the top of the results page
  - **Select** the following:
    - Select: "Selected documents"
    - Include: "General Information"
    - Output: RTF/Doc
    - Paper Size: Letter
    - **Click** "exclude Bloomberg Cover Page
    - **Click** "Print/Download"
  - A yellow message will appear notifying you that your documents are being prepared
  - **Click** "Go to the Download Center"
  - **Click** on your documents OR select multiple documents and click "Zip/Download"
    - ****NOTE**:** If you click "zip/download," you must unzip the files (usually by double clicking the file in your computer's download folder) and then save the resulting documents.
- To **Save** Cases
  - b. After the file has downloaded, change the filename to the following (include spaces before and after dashes):
    - i. SP2 – Bloom – [Case Type] – [FEDERAL] – Batch # – # of cases
      1. Case Type Instructions:
         a. For Human Trafficking" cases, enter "HT"
         b. For Sex Trafficking cases, enter "ST"
         c. For Labor Trafficking cases, enter "LT"
         d. For Visa Fraud cases, enter "VT"
      2. Batch # Instructions
         a. If you must download more than one document for a particular search, assign a number to each document and place it in parentheses after a final dash

2. Lexis Advance

- Go to advance.lexis.com
- On the home page, locate the search bar at the top
- Locate the three drop down menus below the search bar
- **Click** content type
  - **Select** "dockets"
  - **Click** "ok"
- **Click** the "jurisdiction" tab
  - **Select** "all jurisdictions"

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- **Click** the "practice area" tab
  - **Select** "criminal law and procedure"
- **Enter** [Search Terms]
  - e. Human Trafficking:
    - "Human traffic" or "human trafficking" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
  - f. Sex Trafficking
    - (traffic! /s prostitut!) or pander! or brothel and (gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering)
  - g. Labor Trafficking
    - "Labor traffic" or "labor trafficking" or "forced labor" or slave! or servitude and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
  - h. Visa Fraud / Document Fraud
    - "visa fraud" or "visa servitude" or "document fraud" or "document servitude" or "document tampering" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
    - On the left hand side of the page, **locate** a "**timeline**" link
    - If the starting date is prior to 01/01/2000, **click** the "From" box and enter 01/01/2000
- To **Download** the documents ➔ Select the relevant documents by clicking the clear box to the left of each document (or select all by clicking the clear box at the top)
    - Click the floppy disc icon at the top of the results page
    - Click "Selected Documents" ➔ Docx ➔ Download
    - A pop up window will appear. Click the file link in the pop up to download the file
- To **Save** Cases
- After the file has downloaded, change the filename to the following (include spaces before and after dashes):
    - SP2 – LexNex – [Case Type] – Batch # – # of cases
      - 3. Case Type Instructions:
        - For Human Trafficking" cases, enter "HT"
        - For Sex Trafficking cases, enter "ST"
        - For Labor Trafficking cases, enter "LT"
        - For Visa Fraud cases, enter "VT"
      - 4. Batch # Instructions
        - If you must download more than one document for a particular search, assign a number to each document and place it in parentheses after a final dash

3. Westlaw Next (WestNext)
- Go to next.westlaw.com
- On the main page, under "All Content," **click** "trial court documents"
- Scroll to the bottom of the page. Under "Topical," **click** "Criminal Law"
- Verify that "All State and Federal" is selected in the drop down menu next to the search bar at the top of the page.
- Enter Search Terms
  - e. Human Trafficking
    - "human traffic" or "human trafficking" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
  - f. Sex Trafficking
    - (traffic! /s prostitute!) or pander! Or brothel and (gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering)
  - g. Labor Trafficking
    - "Labor traffic" or "labor trafficking" or "forced labor" or slave! or servitude and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
  - h. Visa Fraud / Document Fraud
    - "visa fraud" or "visa servitude" or "document fraud" or "document servitude" or "document tampering" and gang! or "organized crime" or mafia or cartel! or conspiracy or RICO or racketeering
- **Filter**
  - On the left hand side of the page, **select**
    - **Criminal**
  - **Click**, "apply filters"
- **Download** the documents
- To **Download** Cases:
  - Select the cases by clicking the clear box to the left of each case name (or click "select all items" at the top of the page)
  - Then **click** the "download" button in the top right of the results page (it looks like a piece of paper with an arrow pointing down)
  - Choose the following
    - What to deliver: Documents
    - Format: Word Document
    - As: A single merged file
  - **Click** "Download"
  - A pop up window will appear. **Click** "Download"
- To **Save** Cases
  - After the file has downloaded, change the filename to the following (include spaces before and after dashes):
    - SP2 – WestNext – [Case Type] – Batch # – # of cases
      - 3. Case Type Instructions:
        - For Human Trafficking" cases, enter "HT"

- o For Sex Trafficking cases, enter "ST"
- o For Labor Trafficking cases, enter "LT"
- o For Visa Fraud cases, enter "VT"
4. Batch # Instructions
   - o If you must download more than one document for a particular search, assign a number to each document and place it in parentheses after a final dash

APPENDIX B: CASE CODING PROTOCOL

CASE CODING PROTOCOL

The purpose of this protocol is to ensure that all research assistants are coding all cases in the exact same format using the same information.

Case Name:
The case name, which is usually USA v. LAST NAME OF FIRST DEFENDANT. Use case name as listed on the docket.

Case Number:
The criminal case number from the US District Court. Be sure that the case number has "cr" (criminal) in the middle and not "mj" (magistrate). We want the CRIMINAL case number only. Obtain the number at the top of the docket.

Start Date:
Date the case was filed, found at the top of the docket. Only the year is required.

End Date:
Date the case was terminated, found at the top of the docket. Only the year is required. If no terminated date is present at the top of the docket, leave this blank.

State:
Two letter code for the state in which the case is being heard.

Fed District Location:
The federal district location in which the case is being heard. Found at the top of the docket that states "(Location) Federal District of (state)."

Fed Circuit Number:
The federal circuit number for the state in which the case is being heard. Look on the federal district court map online to determine what federal circuit a state is in. Federal district court map can be found by searching for "federal district court" and inside the Wikipedia link for "United States district court."

Judge Name:
Name of the US federal district court judge hearing the case.

Judge Race:
Google the name of the judge and either look at the picture or read bio to determine the race of the judge.

Judge Gender:
Determine the gender of the judge through the picture or bio.

Judge Tenure:
The year the judge was appointed as a federal district judge. Obtain information from judge's bio online.

Judge Appointed By:
The partisan identity of the president who appointed the judge.

Case Summary:
A very brief summary of the case.

Minor Sex/Adult Sex/Labor Trafficking:
Determine if the case is about sex trafficking of minor victims, sex trafficking of adult victims, or labor trafficking. You must read the indictment to obtain this information (and can also be obtained through news articles about the case). It is possible for a case to be more than one type of trafficking – the categories of labor trafficking, adult sex trafficking, and minor sex trafficking are not mutually exclusive. In the case that a minor is trafficked and turns 18 (becomes an adult) while being trafficked, this is still coded as just minor sex, NOT both minor and adult sex.

Type of Labor:
If a labor trafficking case, determine the primary type of labor. If more than one type of labor, determine which type of labor was performed the most and indicate that type of labor in the first drop down. Do the same for the second and third most performed type of labor if applicable. If type of labor trafficking is unknown, then select unknown. If the type of labor trafficking is known but is not listed in the drop down, then select other.

Type of Sex:
If a sex trafficking case, determine the primary method of sex trafficking. If more than on type of sex trafficking, determine which method was used the most and indicate that method in the first drop down. Do the same for the second most performed type of labor, if applicable. If type of sex trafficking is unknown, then select unknown. If the type of sex trafficking is known but is not listed in the drop down, then select other.

Number Victims:
Total number of victims. This information is obtained via the last indictment that was filed in the case (i.e. the most superseded indictment). Sometimes the indictments list all the victims (which makes it easy), other times you have to read through the indictment and news articles to determine the total number of victims. This number will be the MINIMUM number of victims known, not necessarily all of the victims. When there is a discrepancy between the indictment and news articles, use your best judgment based on perceived size of the overall operation and the likelihood there were more victims than what they are actually being indicted for.

Number Victims Minor:
Number of victims that were minors. The indictment indicates which of the victims are "minor" or "child" or "juvenile" victims, sometimes listed and sometimes not. The number

of victims that were minors is based on those known in the indictment and/or news articles and should be considered the MINIMUM number of minor victims. If there is no information about the ages of the victims, then leave this blank. When there is a discrepancy between the indictment and news articles, use your best judgment based on perceived size of the overall operation and the likelihood there were more victims than what they are actually being indicted for.

Number Victims Foreign:
Number of victims that are not natural born citizens of the United States. If there is no mention in the indictment or news articles of a nationality, then assume none are foreign born.

Number Victims Female:
Number of victims that are female. Obtain this information from the indictment and/or news articles. May need to infer from pronouns used in the indictment referring to victims.

Number Victims Male:
Number of victims that are male. Obtain this information from the indictment and/or news articles. May need to infer from pronouns used in the indictment referring to victims.

Number Victims with Gender Unknown:
Number of victims with gender unknown. If unable to find the genders of victims, then indicate that here.

Recruit:
Primary method by which the victims were recruited. If there is a second method that is used often, indicate that in Recruit2. If the recruit method is unknown, then indicate unknown.

Recruit Web:
If victims were recruited through a website, then indicate the website used. This information can be found in the indictment and/or news articles. If no website is stated, leave this blank.

Sale Web:
If victims were sold online, indicate the website used. This information can be found in the indictment and/or news articles. If no website is stated, leave this blank.

Under Defendant Name

First name/last name:
The first and middle name (if listed) of the defendant are indicated in first name. The last name of the defendant is listed in last name.

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Alias:
If the defendant has an alias or multiple aliases, put the information here. This information can be found under the defendant's name on the docket.

Gender:
The gender of the defendant. Can be determined by name. If it is not discernable by name, read the indictment and news articles to determine how they refer to the defendant (he/she).

Race:
The race of the defendant. This may require googling the name and looking at Google images, or searching for news articles on the case. Sometimes this information is also indicated in the indictment. If the defendant was sentenced to time in prison, the inmate locator can be used to find race. The Bureau of Prisons inmate locator will only indicate if the defendant is white, black, Asian, or American Indian. If a defendant is Hispanic, the inmate locator will list them as white so you may still have to use your best judgment sometimes, based on the name and information of the victim.

Country of Origin:
For each defendant, list the country of origin. Obtain this information from the indictment and/or news articles (more often found in news articles). Often, if the country of origin is not explicitly stated, it is the USA but this still requires you to use your best judgment. If it is difficult to determine a country of origin, leave this blank.

Birth Year:
The year the defendant was born. Sometimes the birthdate of the defendant can be found in the indictment. If you cannot find it in the indictment, then search the Bureau of Prisons inmate locator if the defendant was sentenced to time in prison. This will give you their current age and you can subtract that from the current year. For example, if the defendant is 56 and the current year is 2016, then do 2016 – 56 = 1960. The birth year is 1960. If none of these methods work, search the news articles for the age of the arrest or sentencing and then use the same math as before but using the arrest year or sentencing year, respectively. If none of these work, leave this blank.

Arrest Age:
The age of the defendant when he/she was arrested. If this information is readily available, then insert age. If not, and you have the arrest date and birthdate, you can figure out the age at arrest. If these fail, then you should look up news articles about the arrest of the defendant and find the arrest age from the news articles.

Charge Date:
Date the government filed the charges/indictment. Search the docket for "indictment" and report the date that the original indictment was filed (no need to report the subsequent dates of the superseding indictment(s)). Make sure the charge date is for that defendant. Some defendants may not be charged until a superseding indictment. Although rare, there are some cases that the docket may not have the date the original indictment was filed.

With these cases, look for the date the complaint was filed by searching for "complaint" or a bill of information by searching for "information." When searching for an information, make sure it is the document that was used for the formal charging of the defendant.

Arrest Date:
Date the defendant was arrested. Search the docket for "arrest as to" or for "warrant returned executed" and report the date of the arrest/warrant executed.

Detained:
Indicate if the defendant was detained between arrest and first hearing, or if they were released. Search the docket for "order of detention" to determine if they were detained. Also search for "conditions of release" to see if they were released. If they were temporarily detained, this should still be coded as detained.

Bail Type:
Type of bail amount the defendant was required to pay, if any. If the defendant was detained (as indicated by previously coding detained), then this cell remained blank, unless it was a temporary detention that led to a release. If the defendant was released, the docket will indicate if they are required to post bail. If the docket indicates a "personal recognizance" or "own recognizance (OR)" or "Release on Recognizance (ROR)" bond, then code as personal recognizance. Code surety or non-surety based on what the docket states.

Personal Recognizance – A no-cost bail where the defendant is only required to sign a written promise that they will appear in court.

Surety – Where someone else (often a bail bondsperson) guarantees the amount of bond if the defendant fails to appear when required to show up in court.

Non-Surety – Where the defendant's signature alone guarantees the amount of the bond and they are not required to post any property or obtain the services of a professional bail bondsperson as collateral.

Bail Amount:
The bail amount the defendant is required to pay. Do not include dollar sign or comma in the bail amount. If the bail amount is $10,000, then code 10000. For those defendants that were detained, this cell should remain empty. For those with personal recognizance bonds, this cell will be 0 because the defendant was not required to pay any bail.

Date Terminated:
Enter the date the case was terminated. If separate defendants are terminated at different times, then enter the date terminated specific to each defendant, which can be found under the defendant's name in the docket. This date will not necessarily be the same across all defendants in a case.

Sentenced Date:

This is the date the defendant was sentenced. You should search the docket for "sentencing hearing as to FIRST LAST." If the defendant was never sentenced (i.e. all counts are dismissed), then code the sentencing date as the same date as the termination date. If the defendant does not have a sentencing or termination date, leave this blank.

Total Sentence:
This is the total number of months sentenced (if consecutive, then adds up all consecutive sentences, if concurrent, then total concurrent months). This can be found in the "Disposition" column next to the defendant's name on the docket. If the total sentence is "Time Served" then code 0. If they are sentenced for life, then code 1200 months (100 years). This should not be coded for probation, only time they were sentenced to prison. Occasionally, a defendant may be re-sentenced through appeals or because the sentence may be amended (due to new evidence or other factors) – in these cases, use the most up-to-date sentencing.

Restitution:
This is the total amount the defendant is required to pay in restitution. This can be found in the "Disposition" column next to the defendant's name. Do not include a dollar sign or commas in the restitution column. For example, if defendant is to pay restitution in the amount of $100,000, then you would code 100000. If there are cents in the amount of restitution, do not worry about coding the cents.

Asset Forfeit:
If the defendant has been required to forfeit any assets at all, then code yes. If the defendant is not required to forfeit any assets, then code no. This can be found in the "Disposition" column next to the defendant's name. This may also be indicated if there was an "asset forfeiture provision" in the indictment and the docket indicates that the asset forfeiture provision was ordered through for that defendant. There are also situations where there may be a forfeiture allegation listed under a charge on the docket – if this charge is sentenced then that is considered asset forfeiture.

Appeal:
The top of the docket will have the appeals court case number if the case has been appealed. However, that does not mean that all defendants have appealed their sentence. Thus, to determined whether a specific defendant has appealed, search in docket "Notice of appeal by FIRST LAST"

Supervised Release:
Total number of months the defendant received supervised release. If they are supervised release for life, the code 1200 months (100 years).

Probation:
Total number of months the defendant received probation. This is NOT the same as supervised release. If a defendant received probation for life, then code 1200 months (100 years).

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Felonies Charged:

The total number of felonies charged. Obtain this information from the docket. (The information actually comes from the indictment but the docket is usually a more organized version of the felonies being charged, so we use the docket for the most part when counting the number of felonies charged – exceptions are listed in the following paragraphs). Under each defendant's name, there are pending charges and/or terminated charges. Count the total number of DIFFERENT federal statutes (pending and/or terminated – do NOT count charges under the complaints section) under which the defendant is being charged. We are not interested in the number of counts for each statute here – only the number of different statutes from the last superseding indictment. For example, if there are three counts of 1324 and two counts of 1591 then that is only two different statutes (felonies) charged. You count only the charges from the most recent indictment (indicated by s after the statute number). Some cases have no superseding indictments, and some cases can have 4 (indicated by ssss). You need to make sure that you are coding based on the most recent superseding indictment (if one exists). Be sure you are not double-counting the same statute, and be sure you are using the charges ONLY from the superseding indictment, and not any previous indictments.

There are some situations where there is a subsequent superseding indictment filed in order to dismiss charges, but the pending or sentenced charges are still under a prior indictment. In those cases, proceed with coding pending or sentenced charges per prior indictment, and terminated charges with both prior and most recent superseding indictments. (i.e. do not code ONLY based on the most recent superseding indictment as in most cases with straightforward charges).

There are some situations where a superseding indictment replaces a statute with another statute. For example, the first indictment may indicate the first charge under statute 371, which would look like this: "18:371: CONSPIRACY (1)" but the superseding indictment replaces that charge with a different statute, which would look like this: "18:1591: SEX TRAFFICKING OF CHILDREN BY FORCE, FRAUD AND COERCION (1s)." The number 1 at the end of each charge indicates that it is the first charge but the "s" at the end of the second charge shows that the superseding indictment replaced that specific charge with a different statute. When this happens, only count the charge on the most superseded indictment. Do not count statute 371 in the example above, only statute 1591.

For extra clarity, there are some situations that you may see the person was charged with two statutes on one count. Here are two examples: 1591 and 1594 or 1324 and 2. Both of these examples would be counted as two separate felonies charged. Note that "2" can also appear as "18:2" just as 1591 and 1594 (or other statutes) can appear as "18:1591 & 18:1594" where the 18 is referring to Title 18 of the US Federal Code.

If a statute is listed twice under the same count, it is likely referring to different sub-sections of the same statute and that statute is only counted once for that specific count. This is only if the same statute is listed multiple times under the same count.

Felonies Sentenced:

The total number of felonies sentenced. Obtain this information from the docket in the disposition column to the right of the pending/terminated charges column. If the disposition for a charge has any sort of sentence (prison time, fines, restitution, etc.) indicating that they have either pleaded guilty or have otherwise been found guilty of this charge, then count that as a felony sentenced. If the disposition column indicates that the charge has been dismissed or terminated or defendant has otherwise been found not guilty, then DO NOT count this in the count of felonies sentenced. If the defendant has not yet been sentenced and/or the case is still pending, then code 999.

Under Statute

Statute:
Was the defendant charged under this federal statute? If yes, code yes. If no, code no. If no, then all remaining columns associated with that statute remain empty. If yes, then proceed to fill out the remaining columns associated with that statute. IF THERE IS A DISCREPENCY BETWEEN CHARGES IN DOCKET AND CHARGES IN INDICTMENT, USE THE DOCKET CHARGES FOR CODING.

Counts:
Number of counts charged under the statute. You count only the charges from the most recent indictment (indicated by s after the statute number). Some cases have no superseding indictments, and some cases have four+ (indicated by ssss). You need to make sure that you are coding based on the most recent superseding indictment (if one exists). You count the number of times the defendant is charged in the last superseding indictment under that particular statute. If the defendant was charged under multiple sections of the same statute for the same count, then that still counts as one count for that statute. For example, if the a count reads as "18:1594C.F, 18:1591(e)(2), 18:1591(a)(1) and 1591(a)(2), 18:1594(c)" then that is read as two statutes charged (1591 and 1594) and one count of 1591 and one count of 1594.

Counts Nolle Prossed:
This is the number of counts under that statute that were dismissed, dismissed with prejudice, dismissed without prejudice, or termed. If a charge was dismissed pursuant to a plea agreement, do NOT code for those here.

Plea Dismissed:
The number of counts dismissed pursuant to plea bargain. If there is a plea agreement indicated in the indictment for that defendant, and there were charges dismissed at sentencing, then those charges dismissed are counted here.

Plea Guilty:
The number of counts to which the defendant plead guilty.

Trial Guilty:

The number of counts to which the defendant has received a guilty verdict in a trial.

Trial Not Guilty:
The number of counts to which the defendant has received a not guilty verdict by trial.

Fines:
This is an actual fine assessed to the defendant. Do not include a dollar sign or commas in the fine. For example, if the fine is $100,000, the you would code 100000. This is NOT the special assessment. Almost all defendants have to pay a special assessment of $100, but this is not a fine. If the fine was waived or if there is no fine, then code 0.

Sentence:
This is the number of months the defendant is sentenced to prison for a specific charge (not the total number of years). If they received a life sentence, then code it for 100 years, or 1200 months. If the sentence is "Time Served" then code 0 months.

Probation:
This is the number of months a defendant got probation. If they got probation for life, then code for 100 years, or 1200 months. Probation is often imposed as a substitute for imprisonment. This is NOT the same as supervised release, which is imposed in addition to imprisonment. Here we are coding only for probation, not for supervised release.

Victim Countries

The known countries of origin of the victims. If the victim country is the United States, then put the United States.

Under Criminal Methods

Mode:
This is the method by which the victims were transported during trafficking. There can be up to four methods.

International:
Is the trafficking international? If the victims are foreign but the traffickers did not bring them to the US, as in the traffickers took advantage of them already being in the US and only trafficked them in the US, then it is NOT international.

Inter-state:
Once in the US, did the trafficking occur in more than one state?

Entry Method:
Did the victims enter the country legally or illegally?

Legal Method:
Only complete if victims entered legally. How did the victims enter the United States? This is meant to understand if they are using legal means to get people into the United States. So this can still false visas that were obtained through legal means.

Illegal Method:
Only complete if victims entered ILLEGALLY. How did the victims enter the United States? This would include fraudulent, forged, or stolen visas. This would also include "coyotes" or "guides" or "smugglers."

Entry Port:
Name of the port/location where victims entered the United States (e.g. DFW Airport, JFK Airport, Mexico-US Border, Canada-US Border, etc.). If the airport listed is not an international airport then it cannot be an entry port, list the actual port that they used to enter the US from another country. If they entered through the Mexican or Canadian border, then state that under "name" and if possible, list the US state that they entered into.

Base Location:
The location of the primary criminal base of operations. There can be more than one but this is where the organization of the criminal activity takes place. Some examples: The location of the businesses owned by the criminals of an illegal enterprise; the location of the houses where traffickers keep the trafficked people; the location of a man's house where he kept a minor female, where the victims were harbored, etc.

Crime Locations:
Locations of the forced labor (hotels, farms, etc.) and/or sex trafficking (strip clubs, hotels, streets, etc.). The base locations can also count as crime locations. Include as many crime locations as possible and be as specific as possible. For examples, look at these cases: USA v. Baravik; USA v. Yang (2005).

APPENDIX C: LETTER TO INMATES

MM/DD/YYYY

      Re: Request for an interview

Dear JANE DOE (INMATE NUMBER):

You are invited to take part in a study being conducted by Texas Christian University. As part of this study, we will be talking with inmates to learn more about their activities prior to incarceration. You have been selected to participate in a one-on-one interview with me and one other researcher. The interview will last approximately 30 minutes.

We will be coming to your facility DATE TO DATE. At that time, we will give you more information about the study and you will have time to ask questions about it. Then you can decide if you want to participate – the choice is up to you. If you do not want to participate, you will be free to leave. Please note that your willingness or refusal to participate has no positive or negative consequences for your incarceration.

If you do choose to participate, the information you give us will be kept completely secret. We will combine the information you give us with responses from everyone else we interview. Your name or details about you will never be used in a report. The interview will be kept confidential and anonymous, and no one will ever be able to trace back information to you.

Studies like this one are an important source of information. We hope you will join us to learn more about the study.

Sincerely,

Vanessa Bouché, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor

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APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT

Informed Consent Form

My name is Vanessa Bouché and I'm a professor at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Texas. We are doing this study for the U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice. Our goal is to learn about your employment history prior to incarceration and your involvement in any underground economies such as drug dealing, pimping, promoting prostitution or the selling of fake goods or services.

The following things will happen in this interview:

You will be asked, in private, about your employment history prior to incarceration and your involvement in any underground economies such as drug dealing, pimping, promoting prostitution and the selling of fake goods or services. We will talk about your business and the people you worked with before going to prison. This interview will take about 60 to 90 minutes. You may refuse to answer any question and you may stop the interview at any time. If you want to speak with a counselor at any point during or after the interview, we will contact the appropriate person(s) to make sure you can speak to someone right away.

We promise you the following things:

Confidentiality: Everything you say will be kept confidential. Nobody outside of the Texas Christian University team will be told your name and any other information about you without your permission. That means that the government, such as the Bureau of Prisons and FBI, and other people, such as the general public, will not know what you say to us. We are going to combine what you say with everyone else we talk with. That way no one will be able to figure out who said what.

Any information that you tell us cannot be used to change your status here in _____ Federal Facility. Talking to us will not change the programs or services you get in prison or when you go home.

The confidentiality is protected by law under Title 28 Part 22 of the Code of Federal Regulations. That means that information discussed in the interviews (except as otherwise mentioned) are fully protected from law enforcement investigation. We also ask that you not discuss new or unprosecuted criminal activity during today's interview. If you begin to talk about these activities, we will stop you from continuing to do so. Everyone who works on this project must sign a contract to make sure they do not to tell anyone outside of the research team anything about you.

There is one exception to our promise of confidentiality. We will tell someone if you tell us specific information about child abuse, your plans to commit a future crime, or your plans to hurt yourself or others. But we don't plan to talk about those things.

Security of information: In addition to confidentiality, all of the information provided in this interview will be held securely. All paper documents from this interview will be shredded. All original transcript information with personal identifiers will be scanned and stored locally in an

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encrypted archive file on a desktop computer that requires a domain login from the original user to be accessible. The computer itself is located in the locked personal office in a university building and accessible only to authorized personnel. A copy of each interview transcript without any personal identifiers will be generated and used for our analysis to prevent disclosure of sensitive information. These documents will be treated as a restricted-use collection. Access to the information will be granted only to the research team members, consultants, and to qualified researchers upon inquiry.

Voluntary Participation: You may refuse to answer any questions or provide any information whenever you want. You may stop the interview at any time. If you do not answer our questions, we will not tell anyone here in [name of the facility]. Talking to us will not change the programs or services you get in prison or when you go home. Same if you don't talk to us.

Possible Risks or Discomforts: Some of the interview questions are personal and it is possible that they may make you feel uncomfortable or upset. There are no right or wrong answers and you can skip any questions you do not want to answer. If you become upset for any reason, you can ask to stop the interview. If you want to take a break at any time during the interview, please let us know. I can also alert your case counselor who can meet with you if you feel that would be helpful.

If you have any questions about the interview or the study, you can write to:

Texas Christian University, Department of Political Science Attn: Dr. Vanessa Bouché, 2855 Main Dr., Fort Worth, Texas 76129

By signing this form, I agree to participate in this interview process as described above:

Individual's Name:_____ (Please Print)

Individual's Signature:_____

Date:_____

APPENDIX E: INMATE INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Interview Protocol

Background Questions

1. How long have you been in this facility?

2. What is/are the main offense(s) you are currently serving time for?

3. How old are you?

4. What race do you identify yourself as?

5. What is the highest level of education you completed?

Business Structure

6. Prior to incarceration, did you see yourself as running or being involved in running a business?

7. Were you involved in the production or procurement of material or people? If not, were you involved in the distribution and or marketing of the product and/or people? Or both?

8. How did you recruit individuals to work for you?

9. How did you get started in your business?

10. Did you have a business model that you followed? If so, could you describe it?

11. Was your business a one-person operation or did it involve partnering with others?

12. What cities did that business operate in?

13. Which city was best in terms of business?

14. If you rank that city as a 10 on a scale of 1-10, how would you rank the other cities (in terms of business)?

15. If you worked with others: How many people did you work with directly?

    a. Can you describe them (e.g. age, race, etc.)? We are not interested in any identifying information such as names, addresses, etc.

16. How many people did you work with indirectly?

     a. Can you describe them (e.g. age, race, etc.)? We are not interested in any identifying information such as names, addresses, etc.

17.   In what capacity did you work with others? (Time, location, tasks, etc.)

18.   How did you communicate with others? (e.g. texting, phone conversations, social network sites, multi-player video game chats, etc.)

19. Who did what? How was that decided?

20. How was responsibility divided?

21. Did everyone cooperate?

22. How was conflict resolved?

23. How did you manage work relationships?

24. Were there certain rules or regulations that you enforced with your employees?

25. How often did people/employees come and go?

26. How were new employers, employees or partners found?

27. If you worked alone, how did you manage that?

a. How large was your business?

b. How do you find suppliers (of labor or material)?

c. How do you find and manage customers?

28. How did your (business) involvement change over time?

a. Was that business better at the time of your arrest than it was 5 years prior?

b. How would you rate it on a scale of 1-10?

29. Did you have business competitors?

a. If yes: How many did you have?

b. How many did you do business with?

c. Were there more competitors at the time of your arrest than there were 5 years prior?   (For

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whichever is higher, if that is a 10 on a scale of 1-10, what was it at the other   time?)

d. Can you tell me about them, especially how they were similar to or different from your
operation? We are not interested in any identifying information.

30. How would you compare the size of your business with those of your competitors?

a. Can you rate their businesses in comparison with the one you were involved in on a scale of 1-10 at the time of your arrest?

31. Has the number of competitors changed over time?

Technical Organization

32.   How many transactions would you make in a typical day?

33.   What kinds of transactions were most typical? How much money did that bring in?

34.   Where did you work? (What part of the city, etc.)

35.   How many apartments/buildings/etc. did you/your business maintain? What was the cost
of   that?

36.   Did you work there with others (or perhaps others you worked with worked elsewhere?)

37.   What kind of hours did you work? What about others?

38.   What kind of money were you making?

39.   What forms of payment did you accept (e.g. cash, credit, etc.)?

40.   How did you move people/goods from place to place?

41.   How was security maintained?

42.   What kinds of security precautions did you take?

42.   In your business, did you use any things like computers, vehicles, security equipment,
communications devices, etc.?

43.   How much did all of that cost you?

44.   Can you tell me about an unusual business related expense?

45.   How did you find clients?

       a. Did you use certain kinds of social networking websites?

47.   How/what did you do to ensure or encourage they return as customers?

48.   How would you describe your clients (race, ethnicity, jobs, etc.)?

49.   How did you publicize your business?

       a. What did that cost you?

50.   How did you distribute your goods/humans?

51.   How did you manage your money?

       a. Did others help you with that?

       b. If so, who?

       c. How did you chose these individuals?

       d. Were there any types of financial services or products you needed and could only
           get   with one bank/institution? (e.g. online access, pre-paid cards with higher
           limits,   ePayment capability, merchant processing, etc.)

52.   What problems did you have with money management?

53.   What did you spent your money on?

54.   How much money did you reinvest back into the business?

55.   Did you use certain methods to hide your money (e.g. green dot cards)?

56.   What losses did the business suffer?

57.   Did you have any long-term plans on what you wanted to do with your money?

58.   How did you deal with risk?

a.   Did you consider the work risky?

b.   What were some of the risks that you thought about (prison, arrest, loss of business)
          and   how did these compare to each other?

c.   What sorts of activities (transporting people, finding new clients, renting hotels) did you   think were most risky?

d.   What were the risks of these activities?

e.   How did you respond to risk? What measures did you take to protect yourself from these risks?

f.   Do you think that other individuals in a similar business as yours know the risks before they enter the business?

Other Illicit Network Questions

59.   What other businesses/individuals were important to maintaining your business?

60.   How frequently were you in touch with them?

61.   How long have you known them?

62.   Did you exchange goods or services with them? Did they with you?

Other

63.   How did you get the girls/individuals working for you to continue to work for you?

64.   Do you feel the representation of "pimps" or "organized crime group" (or applicable term) in the media is accurate?

65.   How would you compare those images with your perception of yourself?

66.   Have you known people that did fit the media representations of "pimps" (or applicable term)?

67.   How would you describe differences and similarities between yourself and the way you did your business with others in the same line of work who you knew or were aware of?

68.   What was an average day in your life like while involved in (activity)?

69.   What was an exceptional day like?

70.   On a scale of 0-10, with 10 being the best, how are you adjusting to prison life?

71.   Realistically speaking, what would make you go up just one point higher on that scale?

72.   What are your plans for the future?

        a.   One week from now?

        b.   Upon release?

        c.   One year post-release?

73.   What are your best "lessons learned" from the experiences that brought you to prison?

74.   What would you tell a young person interested in joining this business or organization?

75.   What would you tell a person who is interested in working as an employee of an organization or business similar to yours?

Thank you very much for your time and participation

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