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Clandestine Partnerships?: The Link between Human Trafficking and Organized Crime in Metropolitan Atlanta

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CLANDESTINE PARTNERSHIPS?:
THE LINK BETWEEN HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND ORGANIZED CRIME IN
METROPOLITAN ATLANTA

A thesis
submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Criminal Justice and Sociology
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Abstract

Since the enactment of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, which directly criminalized human trafficking, research on human trafficking has significantly increased. While recent studies have analyzed trafficking legislation, characteristics of offenders and victims, and types of human trafficking rings, little data has been collected on human trafficking ties to organized crime. Therefore, this research explores human trafficking and its relationship to organized crime through an analysis of public court records. Specifically, the study includes the 20 federal human trafficking cases in metropolitan Atlanta indicted between 2000 and 2012. It was found that 80% of the 20 human trafficking cases did not involve a tie to organized crime. Three cases involved rings that relied upon an organized crime group to provide services in furtherance of human trafficking. Only one case was operated by an organized crime syndicate. International cases were more likely to include organized crime relationships than domestic cases. Sex trafficking cases overwhelmingly demonstrated a more frequent tie to organized crime. Therefore, researchers should analyze sex and labor trafficking separately, and law enforcement should acknowledge the numerous forms that human trafficking may take.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Imagine a young girl chauffeured against her will from house to house to engage in prostitution or a child forced into domestic servitude without pay or without a way to contact the outside world; this is the often hidden realm of human trafficking. The Trafficking Victims' Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA) was the first U.S. legislation to directly criminalize trafficking of persons. Under the TVPA, sex trafficking is a severe form of human trafficking when the "commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age" (TVPA, 2000, p. 8). The TVPA also identifies labor trafficking, which is defined as "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery," as a severe form of trafficking (TVPA, 2000, p. 8).

Human trafficking has become increasingly evident within the borders of the United States. Statistics on the frequency of trafficked victims in general have risen steadily over the past several years. While estimates in the early 2000s of annual trafficking victims worldwide ranged from 600,000 to 800,000 (U.S. Dept of State, 2005) and as high as 1.2 million (International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour, 2002), IPEC's recent estimate is 20.9 million individuals trafficked globally (ILO, 2012). Victims trafficked into the United States annually are estimated to be between 14,500 and 17,500 (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2008).

An increase in the number of human trafficking cases brought to the attention of U.S. federal law enforcement officials became evident during the 21st Century. In 2001, there were 10 human trafficking cases prosecuted federally as compared to 43 cases in 2009 (U.S. Dept. of

Justice, 2010). The number of defendants charged also increased from 38 in 2001 to 114 in 2009 (U.S. Dept. of Justice, 2010).

As human trafficking cases increase and the crime receives more attention worldwide, it is imperative to analyze human trafficking in its entirety. Human trafficking has received significant, legislative attention throughout the United States, and, as such, scholars have analyzed federal laws related to trafficking in persons (i.e. Kandathil, 2005; Overbaugh, 2009; Payne, 2009). Additionally, scholars have researched victims with an emphasis on their characteristics (i.e. Farrell et al., 2008; Seelke & Siskin, 2008; Vocks & Nijboer, 2000), importance to prosecution (i.e. Clawson et al., 2008; Coonan, 2010), and immigration rights (i.e. Pollock & Hollier, 2010). Some studies focus on countries and particular areas conducive to human trafficking such as Latin America and Eastern Asia (i.e. Seelke, 2010; O'Neill Richard, 1999); however, few studies analyze the perpetrators in-depth or the intricate details of human trafficking rings or cases.

Moreover, there is very little research examining the relationship between human trafficking and organized crime. The existing research neither provides a consensus on the involvement of organized crime in human trafficking rings nor presents sound empirical evidence. For example, some studies declare strong ties between organized criminal groups and human trafficking (i.e. Kandathil, 2005; O'Neill Richard, 1999), and others analyze human trafficking as its own form of organized crime (Truong, 2001). The few studies that exist are either outdated (i.e. O'Neill Richard, 1999) or only touch upon the relationship between human trafficking and organized crime (i.e. Farrell et al., 2008). Since the enactment of the TVPA, an in-depth study concerning the possible connection between organized crime and human trafficking in the United States has not been conducted.

Therefore, this research study expands upon the knowledge of activities carried out by human traffickers with a focus on links to organized crime. Specifically, the paper purports to answer the question, “What relationship exists between human trafficking and organized crime?” To explore this relationship, federal human trafficking cases indicted between 2000 and 2012 in metropolitan Atlanta were examined through an analysis of public court records. In regards to human trafficking, the role of organized crime syndicates and the prevalence of relationships to criminal networks are considered. This paper begins with a review of the existing literature on human trafficking in general. The literature review continues by discussing human trafficking in the U.S. and trafficking trends in Georgia as well as characteristics of victims and perpetrators. The current information regarding a relationship between human trafficking and organized crime is presented. Next, the paper includes the methods used for this study. Finally, findings are discussed and limitations of the study are considered as well as the direction of future research in this area.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING LITERATURE

Before exploring the relationship between human trafficking and organized crime, it is important to fully understand the concept and extent of trafficking in persons. This chapter emphasizes current information on human trafficking patterns, victims, and perpetrators. In this chapter, the researcher presents an overview of human trafficking, including recent estimates of victims. Next, the chapter focuses on U.S. legislation and common forms of trafficking across the U.S. Specifically, human trafficking statistics and trends in Georgia are included to provide a more complete picture of the problem in the sample region. Lastly, the chapter expounds upon characteristics of victims and offenders in order to identify those who commit human trafficking offenses and those targeted by the perpetrators.

Recognizing Human Trafficking Worldwide

Human trafficking is recognized as the second largest criminal activity in the world with an annual profit of \$10 billion (Williams, 2009). Only drug trafficking surpasses the revenue generated by human trafficking (Jenner, 2011). Human trafficking is not limited by geographic, physical, or political boundaries. People are forced into prostitution, involuntary servitude, and debt bondage throughout the world. Labor trafficking typically takes the form of forced labor and varies between domicile servitude and large-scale labor operations on farms or in factories (Overbaugh, 2009). Sex trafficking occurs most frequently in the form of forced prostitution.

Human trafficking can be perpetrated across international borders or within national boundaries, inter- or intra-state. The operation of international human trafficking should not be confused with human smuggling. Human smuggling across international borders is “. . . the importation of people into a country via the deliberate evasion of immigration laws” (ICE, 2011). Although international human trafficking typically involves the circumventing of immigration

laws, it is the focus of *exploitation* not *transportation* that distinguishes it from human smuggling (Gallagher, 2002). Human trafficking involves a continued relationship of exploitation after entry into a country (Garza, 2011) whereas a smuggling relationship ends at the border.

In relation to international human trafficking, there are three types of countries: source/origin, transit, and destination (Seelke, 2011; Hodge & Lietz, 2007). Source countries are the original location of victims and typically include countries in Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America with poor economic conditions (Hodge & Lietz, 2007). Southeast Asia is the largest source region with Bangladesh and Nepal experiencing the highest number of victims (Seelke & Siskin, 2008). Transit countries are often selected because of geography such as large areas of unmonitored land and inadequate human trafficking legislation (Perrin, 2010). For instance, Kazakhstan is a frequent transit country for trafficking in persons between southern Asia and Western countries (Perrin, 2010). Lenient visa requirements may also attract traffickers to use a country as a transition point such as South Koreans smuggling women through Canada to the U.S. for the purpose of sexual exploitation (Perrin, 2010). The United States and other industrialized countries, such as Germany and the Netherlands, are overwhelmingly destination countries due to job opportunities and the lure of a better life (Hodge & Lietz, 2007). A single country can be used for multiple purposes to facilitate human trafficking.

Furthermore, human trafficking, especially international sex trafficking, requires a certain degree of organization and coordination (Abadinsky, 2010; Truong, 2001). Abadinsky (2010) notes that sex trafficking rings operate using a “specialized network of persons” (p. 289) and function as criminal businesses (Kara, 2009). Even scholars who do not explain sex trafficking as large scale organized crime units acknowledge the clandestine networking of recruiters and exploiters (Vocks & Nijboer, 2000). Individuals are needed to facilitate the recruitment,

formation of documents, transportation, and location for the criminal activity (Abadinsky, 2010). There are interrelationships among individuals involved in human trafficking rings from the recruitment phase to the movement and exploitation phases (Kara, 2009; Truong, 2001).

The international community recognized the complexities of human trafficking and the need for worldwide cooperation to curb the perpetration of the crime especially in the 21st century. Prior to 2000, international laws regarding human trafficking were rather weak and inconsistent, and focused primarily on sex trafficking. The United Nations (UN) General Assembly, along with 80 member states, signed into effect the UN Protocol Against Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, a part of the U.N. Convention Against Transnational Crime in 2000 (Potts, 2003). The UN Protocol, also known as the Palermo Protocol, establishes international laws and norms for handling human trafficking. The UN Protocol globally recognized human trafficking, pushed for state to state cooperation on the issue, outlined several important factors such as a solid definition, and emphasized the 3 P's: prosecution, prevention, and protection (Fredette, 2009). "Prosecution" indicates that individual states should pass legislation and prioritize human trafficking (Fredette, 2009). An emphasis on prosecution also highlighted the fact that few states had adequate legislation to handle the crime and the influx of organized crime associated with human trafficking (Fredette, 2009). The second "P," prevention, accentuated the necessity of training for law enforcement officials, cooperation and information-sharing between states, and sensitivity to victim needs (Fredette, 2009). For example, victims should not be treated as criminals and should be given adequate protection (Fredette, 2009). Protection emphasized one of the most difficult parts of the protocol for states to implement. The 3 P's format became the basis of much state legislation including the U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000.

Human Trafficking in the U.S.

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) provided U.S. law enforcement with a tool to prosecute human trafficking cases and protection for human trafficking victims. The TVPA 2000 created five new statutes (18 U.S.C 1589, 18 U.S.C 1590, 18 U.S.C. 1591, 18 U.S.C. 1592, 18 U.S.C 1594) which directly criminalized forced labor, involuntary servitude, sex trafficking of children, and sex trafficking by force, fraud, or coercion. For clarification, sex trafficking of a minor occurs when a person “induces” a juvenile under 18 years of age to perform a commercial sex act (TVPA, 2000, p. 8). “Induces” appears to imply a more lenient standard than force, fraud, or coercion. Additionally, several new statutes criminalized behavior that promotes trafficking such as destruction or confiscation of immigration documents.

The international trafficking focus of the TVPA 2000 also led to the creation of protections for international human trafficking victims. The TVPA introduced Continued Presence and amended the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1184) to include a new nonimmigrant visa, the T Visa. Continued Presence indicates that federal law enforcement officers can grant a victim of a severe form of human trafficking (sex or labor trafficking) Continued Presence when the victim aids in the prosecution of traffickers (TVPA, 2000). Continued Presence allows a victim to remain in the United States for the duration of the trial/prosecutorial efforts but does not change the individual’s permanent immigration status. Continued Presence is only applicable as long as the Attorney General deems the victim’s testimony or assistance necessary for the investigation (TVPA, 2000). While under Continued Presence, a trafficking victim can apply for the T visa which was specifically created for victims of severe forms of trafficking. In order to be granted the nonimmigrant status, the individual must meet four requirements: (1) be a victim of a severe form of trafficking, (2) be physically present in the United States or its territories, (3) comply with law enforcement’s reasonable

requests or has not attained 15 years of age, and (4) would suffer ‘extreme hardship’ if he or she returned home (TVPA, 2000). Under the T Visa, victims may work legally in the U.S., potentially receive social services, and apply for U.S. citizenship (Pollock & Hollier, 2010).

In addition to the new charges and victim protections, the TVPA 2000 created an interagency task force to assist in the fight against human trafficking. Members of the task force include, but are not limited to, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Labor, and the Secretary of Health and Human Services (TVPA, 2000). The task force monitors U.S. progress, promotes cooperation between countries, and engages in cooperation with non-governmental organizations among other tasks (TVPA, 2000).

The TVPA was reauthorized three times in the last decade in order to address a range of inadequacies. For example, the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2005 (TVPRA 2005) was the first TVPA reauthorization to discuss and criminalize domestic trafficking, which is trafficking in persons that occurs entirely within U.S. jurisdiction (TVPRA, 2005). The TVPRA 2005 extended protections, such as shelter and counseling, to domestic human trafficking victims instead of only international victims (TVPRA, 2005).

The TVPA reauthorizations also amended punishments for sex traffickers and their criminal associates. For example, the TVPA 2000 did not have a minimum sentence for an individual convicted of sex trafficking and had a maximum sentence of 20 years if the individual trafficked a victim over 14 years of age. Conversely, the current sentence for a sex trafficking offense involving a child under the age of 14 or involving force, fraud, or coercion is imprisonment for a minimum of 15 years (18 U.S.C. 1591). If convicted of sex trafficking involving a minor who has attained at least 14 years of age, then 10 years is the minimum prison sentence (18 U.S.C 1591). Currently, labor trafficking punishments do not have a minimum sentence, but rather those convicted cannot be sentenced to a prison term longer than 20 years

(18 U.S.C. 1589). The changes to criminal statutes and victim rights have assisted law enforcement in identifying and prosecuting human trafficking rings in its various forms.

Trafficking victims can be seen in all regions of the U.S. and arrive through a variety of methods; they may be trafficked through neighboring borders, or by boat, plane, or truck (Raymond & Hughes, 2001). Victims may be smuggled into the U.S., or they could be U.S. citizens. U.S. citizens would be considered victims of domestic trafficking which is acknowledged in the TVPRA 2005.

Domestic trafficking may occur across multiple states or be committed within the boundaries of one state. Domestic trafficking in the U.S. is just as severe a problem as international human trafficking. For example, of human trafficking victims identified by local law enforcement agencies, U.S. citizens were the second most prevalent nationality (Farrell et al., 2008). Mexican citizens were the most prevalent nationality in U.S. human trafficking cases (Farrell et al., 2008).

Specifically, sex trafficking appears to take on various forms dependent upon the region in which the clientele serves. The Northeast region's sex trafficking can be seen through activities such as street prostitution, brothels, massage parlors, and escort services (Raymond & Hughes, 2001). The Northern Midwest has sex trafficking in the form of high end street prostitution, strip clubs, and "brothels in migrant farm worker camps" (Raymond & Hughes, 2001, p. 8). The West Coast demonstrates a sex "business" similar to the Northeast with street prostitution, escort services, and massage parlors; however the women involved are predominantly Asian on the West coast (Raymond & Hughes, 2001). The Southeast sex industry has brothels, massage parlors, and "houses and trailers in isolated and rural farm worker camps" (Raymond & Hughes, 2001, p. 8). The massage parlors and brothels are similar throughout urban areas in the U.S. Massage parlors typically refer to Asian-run (predominantly Korean)

front businesses that offer sexual services (Hughes, 2005). Brothels are frequently Latino and residentially based (Hughes, 2005).

On the other hand, labor trafficking in the U.S. typically occurs in the form of forced domestic servitude in a residential area or a large scale operation on farms or in factories (Overbaugh, 2009). It is not uncommon for traffickers to confine victims from the outside world by implementing security measures such as barbed wire around the building, bars on the windows, or guards (CA Commission on POST, 2008). Labor trafficking also exists in other industries such as janitorial services, construction, manufacturing, and hotel services (U.S. Dept. of State, 2012). In 2009, almost half of the 43 trafficking cases filed in U.S. federal courts had a labor trafficking connection (U.S. Dept. of Justice, 2010). Twenty of the 47 federal trafficking convictions in 2009 were labor trafficking related (U.S. Dept of Justice, 2010).

Georgia and Human Trafficking

This study focuses on metropolitan Atlanta, Georgia, because of its high levels of human trafficking. The FBI notes Georgia as one of 14 U.S. cities with the highest number of children exploited for prostitution each year (Moore, 2008). Atlanta, in particular, has been acknowledged as the “top city for human trafficking of Hispanic females” (GBI, 2011). Atlanta is a hub for human trafficking due to an international airport, multiple interstates, numerous sporting events, large conferences, and a plethora of adult entertainment venues (Boxill & Richardson, 2007). All of these factors lead to easy access into and out of the city as well as socialization to a culture of commercialized sex. The gravity of trafficking, domestic and international, can be seen as young, pre-adolescent girls are taken from their hometown and prostituted on Atlanta’s streets (Boxill & Richardson, 2007). The Human Trafficking Unit at the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (2011) estimates the average age for involvement in the commercial sex industry is 12-14 years old. Specifically, the average age of children involved in

prostitution on Atlanta's streets is 12 years old, and the girls victimized are frequently U.S. citizens (GBI, 2011). Common Atlanta locations for pimps to recruit girls for prostitution are MARTA stations, bus stops, malls, and Underground Atlanta (Priebe & Suhr, 2005).

Additionally, of the 298 TVPA-related cases prosecuted between 2000 and 2007, the Northern District of Georgia handled approximately 10% of them (Clawson, Dutch, Lopez & Tiapula, 2008). Only California, New York, New Jersey, and Texas prosecuted more cases than Georgia during 2000-2007 (Clawson et al., 2008). Although the cases prosecuted in Georgia include both sex and labor trafficking, no research has been conducted on specific characteristics of forced labor in Georgia. Little information is known on specific cities in relation to human trafficking.

Victims

While traffickers are the focus of this study, it is important to identify the individuals targeted by the traffickers. Victims are generally under the age of 25, with 16% under 18 years of age (Farrell et al., 2008). Sex trafficking victims tend to be younger than those in forced labor situations as 31% of identified sex trafficking victims had not attained 18 years of age (Farrell et al., 2008). Sex trafficking victims are predominantly female, but occasionally males are forced to commit commercial sex acts (Farrell et al., 2008). Male victims of sex trafficking are typically found in the child pornography industry (Jones, 2010).

Labor trafficking victims in the agriculture sector are frequently migrant workers caught in debt bondage or forced to stay through the use of threats (U.S. Dept. of Justice, 2006). Many domestic servitude cases involve females who may also be sexually abused (U.S. Dept. of Justice, 2006). The most prominent ethnicity in the U.S. subjected to labor trafficking is Latino (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011).

The majority of human trafficking victims are not kidnapped by their traffickers (Jahic & Finckenauer, 2005). Instead, traffickers prey upon the extreme poverty and/or limited education of potentially vulnerable victims (Seelke & Siskin, 2008). Victims frequently have limited job skills and are displeased with their current employment situation (Aronowitz, 2001). Traffickers recruit victims with false promises of well-paying employment opportunities, modeling careers, and the overall lure of a way out of a seemingly desperate situation (Seelke & Siskin, 2008). Traffickers may also use promises of marriage as a means to recruit individuals (Raymond & Hughes, 2001). The internet is a common way to attract job seeking individuals (CA Commission on POST, 2008). Many victims initially agree to travel with and work for the traffickers, but, unbeknownst to the victims, the job offers are shams and the love affair is a ploy (Coonan, 2010).

Once the victims have been recruited and forced to perform commercial sex acts or involuntary labor, the traffickers psychologically manipulate and/or physically abuse the victims (Raymond & Hughes, 2001; Vocks & Nijboer, 2000). International traffickers confiscate falsified immigration documents and demand exorbitant repayments for smuggling debts incurred by entering the United States (Coonan, 2010). The traffickers may limit a victim's access to food, suitable clothing, and/or medical care (U.S. Dept of State, 2012). Traffickers may provide the victims with drugs in order to increase his or her dependency upon the trafficker (Preibe & Suhr, 2005). Relationships form in which the victim is compelled to abide by all of the trafficker's demands (Kim, 2011).

Perpetrators

Traffickers do not necessarily fit into a mold or designated set of characteristics. Perpetrators could be friends, relatives, gang members, international smugglers, pimps or madams, massage parlor owners, or labor subcontractors (CA Commission on POST, 2008).

Overall, traffickers tend to be male, but females have become increasingly involved in sex trafficking rings (Farrell et al., 2008). In the Netherlands, ten of 89 cases were located in which the lead offender was female and any males involved in the ring worked for the female trafficker (Siegel & Blank, 2010). Of these 10 cases, all female offenders originated from Ghana or Nigeria (Siegel & Blank, 2010).

Of trafficking cases in U.S. jurisdiction, the traffickers and victims tend to share the same nationality (Farrell et al., 2008). The consistency of the pattern can be seen in the high percentage (48%) of Latinos serving as labor traffickers (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011) and the majority of labor victims being Latino (Farrell et al., 2008). Nationality and gender are not the only characteristics that have been examined by scholars. For example, in 1998, Barnardos (as cited in Hughes, 2005) found that pimps in the United Kingdom typically had long criminal records, possessed illegal firearms, and were drug dependent. Regardless, there is not a typical profile for human traffickers.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF ORGANIZED CRIME LITERATURE

Understanding organized crime in its entirety is necessary to explore its relationship with human trafficking. This chapter acknowledges the various definitions of organized crime in legal statutes and scholarly publications. Two distinct forms of organized crime are identified: organized crime syndicates and criminal networks. This chapter gives characteristics and examples of both organized crime syndicates and criminal networks to further expand upon differences between the two forms. Both organized crime syndicates and criminal networks are important and pertinent to this study.

Definition of organized crime

The definition and concept of organized crime have changed over the past several decades and continue to be debated by scholars. Does the type of crime, the group, the motivations, or a combination of these factors signify the presence of organized crime? The term ‘organized crime’ can be analyzed by the criminal activity, the organizational structure, and/or the system as a whole (Alach, 2011). Therefore, it is necessary to understand how the concept and the groups have evolved.

Traditional definitions of organized crime encompassed the idea that operations were performed much like legitimate businesses with the exception of the illegal nature of goods and services (Lyman & Potter, 2011). One of the earliest U.S. statutes defining organized crime is the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. The Omnibus Act stated that organized crime is “the unlawful activities of members of a highly organized, disciplined association engaged in supplying illegal goods and services, including but not limited to gambling, prostitution, loan sharking, narcotics, [and] labor racketeering . . .” (1968, p. 15). Michael Maltz (1976) notes that characteristics such as disciplined or hierarchical structures

presented in the Omnibus Act are consistent with other definitions in the time period. Other frequent key terms that surfaced in the 1970s and earlier decades for organized crime were violence or threat of violence and corruption (Maltz, 1976).

Maltz proposes a slightly different take on organized crime with a very broad definition. He includes all “crime[s] committed by two or more offenders who are or intend to remain associated for the purpose of committing crimes” to be organized crime (1976, p. 342). The attempts of Maltz and Hagan in the 1980s to define ‘organized crime’ can be summarized to include the following factors: a lack of ideology, hierarchy, continuity, violent behavior or threats, exclusive membership, illicit activities, involvement in legitimate businesses, and corruption (as cited in Finckenauer, 2005, p. 65). The concept of a disciplined membership is present in all of these definitions as organized crime groups were believed for decades to have a rigid hierarchy with a kingpin (Finckenauer, 2005). Amorphous and loosely connected criminal networks, however, appear to be much more common than hierarchies in today’s world (Finckenauer, 2005).

Various agency definitions in use reflect this change in group structure. For example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) considers organized crime to be “any group having some manner of a formalized structure and whose primary objective is to obtain money through illegal activities” (2012). The FBI does not completely disregard the notion of a hierarchical crime organization but rather specifies this type of group as a “criminal enterprise.” The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime defines organized crime as “a structured group of three or more persons existing for a period of time and having the aim of committing a serious crime in order to, directly or indirectly, obtain a financial or other material benefit” (UNODC, 2004, p. 5). A ‘structured group’ refers to one that has not convened in an

impromptu nature to commit a crime (UNODC, 2004). It should be noted that the rigid hierarchy standard has been diluted in these definitions.

The UN acknowledges variations in the structure of an organized crime group. In 2002, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) conducted a pilot survey of 40 different criminal groups in which it discovered the varying structures of organized crime. The UNODC categorized the structures in the following format: rigid hierarchy, devolved hierarchy, hierarchical conglomerate, core criminal group, organized criminal network (2002, p. 19). A rigid hierarchy is similar to the traditional concept of an organized crime group which is headed by a single boss. The devolved hierarchy has a line of command but also incorporates regional groups that carry out daily functions. A hierarchical conglomerate contains one governing body which can “range from an umbrella type body to more flexible and loose oversight arrangements” (UNODC, 2002, p.19). A horizontal structure of members who consider themselves part of the same criminal organization is a core criminal group. Lastly, an organized criminal network revolves around the criminal activities of key individuals. The skills each actor has are the most important attribute to an organized criminal network, and members may not even regard themselves as part of an organized criminal entity (UNODC, 2002).

Individual scholars have also adopted the notion that varying levels of hierarchy and changing structures exist. Once again, some criminal groups, such as motorcycle gangs, still operate with a well-structured line of command, but loosely connected networks among similarly minded criminals are much more common (Finckenauer, 2005). Thus, Finckenauer (2005) proposes a different framework for determining the degree of organization within a criminal group: degree of criminal sophistication, structure, self-identification among members, and strength of reputation. An organized crime group does not need to be strong in all four

categories, but a group devoid of all four elements should not be considered ‘organized crime’ (Finckenauer, 2005).

Bruinsma and Bernasco (2004) analyze organized crime as a social networking structure. They use the following three elements to determine the organization level of a group: overall network structure, specific roles of individuals in the group, and the relationship between networks (Bruinsma & Bernasco, 2004). The structure of the organization is defined as the size, the existing social relationships in the group, and the ‘cohesion’ of the group (Bruinsma & Bernasco, 2004). The scholars acknowledge that there are different types of organized crime that come in a variety of forms. The varying forms are classified as chain, hierarchical, or central (Bruinsma & Bernasco, 2004). Chain networks involve a structure similar to nodes in which people have specialized tasks, and there is little contact between each other. Hierarchy is a formalized chain of command. The centralized network allows individuals to carry out specific tasks that are unrelated to their relationship with others (Bruinsma & Bernasco, 2004).

Furthermore, many scholars agree that at least two people must commit the crime, that there is some form of structure, and that the group is a ‘continuing enterprise’ (Shelley et al., 2005, p. 14). Definitions in literature provide more inclusive definitions as scholars emphasize informal structures and the adaptable nature of organized crime instead of rigid hierarchies and self-perpetration as legal definitions tend to do. There is also a relative consensus in literature that organized crime groups use violence or the threat of violence to achieve the main goals of power and money (Shelley et al., 2005). These more recent scholarly definitions allow organized crime to refer to both criminal activities committed by loosely affiliated members and organized crime syndicates (Hagan, 2006).

Hagan (2006) assists in analyzing how the overarching term organized crime can be used by specifying the difference between what he calls “Organized Crime” and “organized crime.”

He notes that “Organized Crime” refers to specific groups or organizations involved in committing crimes. On the other hand, “organized crime” (all lowercase) refers to illicit activities that are organized such as international trafficking of stolen car parts. Committing “organized crime” does not indicate that individuals are involved in “Organized Crime” syndicates (Hagan, 2006). The distinction is very important, but the capitalization or lack thereof can be a bit confusing. Therefore, for the purposes of this paper, the entire concept of organized crime has been separated into organized crime syndicates (similar to Hagan’s “Organized Crime”) and organized criminal networks for clarification. When the term organized crime is used in this paper, it refers to both organized crime syndicates and criminal networks. Further elaboration on the characteristics associated with each type is presented.

Organized crime syndicates

Organized crime syndicates refer to the traditional depiction of ‘organized crime’ with some type of vertical hierarchy. Organized crime syndicates typically have a single leader or very small leadership group, a clear division of labor, and an internal code of conduct (Lyman & Potter, 2011). These groups can be large, powerful enterprises or small, entrepreneurial operations (Loree, 2002). They often identify through social or ethnic similarities and utilize violence to complete tasks or intimidate others (Lyman & Potter, 2011). Finckenauer (2005) describes criminal organizations in terms of criminal sophistication, clear structure, self-identification, and authority of reputation. Organized crime syndicates should have a substantial representation in most, if not all, of the four categories (Finckenauer, 2005). A group lacking in all four characteristics is not organized crime. Hagan (2006) specifically notes the continuum of organized crime syndicates. Local gangs such as the Crips and Bloods constitute the lowest level with the least sophistication (Hagan, 2006). The Crips and Bloods are predominantly black, opposing, national gangs that began in Los Angeles in the late 1980s (Lee, 2005). Neither gang

appears to have a centralized leadership, but regional divisions of the gang have “shot callers” or a “first superior” who maintain control of gang activities (Lee, 2005).

Next, there are more organized, transnational gangs such as the American Hells’ Angels (Hagan, 2006). Hells’ Angels is one of the largest, international motorcycle gangs (Barker & Human, 2009). The group operates almost as a paramilitary organization with a bureaucratic structure and multiple chapters across the world (Mallory, 2012). Hells’ Angels has sophisticated weaponry and is involved in violent disputes across America for profit and with rival gangs (Quinn & Forsyth, 2011). They are involved in the sex industry, commit money laundering, and are involved in extortion (Quinn & Forsyth, 2011). They participate in drug trafficking and racketeering across the United States (Barker & Human, 2009). Barker and Human (2009) identify drug trafficking and distribution by Hells’ Angels to be an ongoing criminal enterprise used to provide profit to members.

The highest level of organized crime is comprised of groups such as the Cosa Nostra and the Triads (Hagan, 2006). Cosa Nostra, the Italian Mafia, was the strongest criminal enterprise in the 1960s (The Present & Future, 2001). In the U.S., there were approximately 24 groups or *families* of Italian descent that were each led by a mafia “boss” (Roth, 2010). There was a formal succession process when a boss died from natural causes (Roth, 2010). Officially the hierarchy consists of a boss, an underboss, captains, and soldiers (Abadinsky, 2010). Members had to have an Italian or Italian-American father, abided by a code of silence, shared money with the boss, and followed orders (Roth, 2010). Criminal activities included loansharking, murder conspiracy, extortion, gambling parlors, and racketeering offenses (Abadinsky, 2010). According to Finckenauer (2005), the mafia “develops and assumes power where and when government cannot or will not exercise a monopoly on the use of violence” (p. 74). Law enforcement efforts of the 1980s and 1990s along with other factors significantly weakened the

mafia's presence (The Present & Future, 2001), but the organization epitomizes an organized crime syndicate.

Additionally, in the early 1900s, there were approximately 300 Chinese Triads according to Hong Kong police, and today about 50 triad societies exist (Chu, 2005). Triad societies are secret organizations that have similar organizational structures and a strong nationalist identity. Unlike traditional Chinese Triads with strict disciplinary tactics, the ones operating today are decentralized and adaptive with simplified initiation processes (Chu, 2005). The decentralization and flexible nature does not impede the groups' abilities to be considered an organized crime syndicate. Triads still rely on the mysterious nature of their secret society and intimidation tactics in order to survive (Chu, 2005). In recent years, the Triads have been involved to an extent in counterfeiting, international human smuggling, and drug trafficking (Chu, 2005).

Mexican drug trafficking cartels can also be considered organized crime syndicates because of the clear division of labor, corruption of political figures, vertical hierarchy, and well-known reputation. They operate in a different fashion than the previously mentioned organizations, but the cartels are a significant group to acknowledge. The seven main drug cartels in Mexico are the Juárez Cartel, the Tijuana Cartel, the Sinaloa Federation, the Gulf Cartel, Los Zetas, the Beltrán-Levy Cartel, and La Familia Michoacana (Coscia & Rios, 2012). These drug trafficking organizations (DTOs) typically smuggle narcotics (i.e. cocaine, marijuana, methamphetamines) into the U.S. via South Texas and California by means of commercial and noncommercial vehicles (NDIC, 2011). Mexican DTOs may also smuggle drugs using tunnels, trains, and increasingly with ultralight aircraft (NDIC, 2011). The different organizations "own" territories in order to divide markets, but the divisions are not always clear and often result in violent disputes between groups (Brophy, 2008). Drug trafficking is not the only activity in which the organizations participate. The cartels commit extortion, kidnapping,

and bribery of law enforcement and politicians as well as possess sophisticated weaponry (Bonner, 2012). The diversification of criminal activities is also indicative of an organized crime syndicate. Violence, diversity of crimes, and organizational leaders, which are present in Mexican DTOs, are significant factors when determining the existence of organized crime syndicates.

Organized criminal networks

On the other hand, it is not obligatory that organized crime syndicates be involved for an organized criminal activity to be committed. An organized criminal activity can be defined as a criminal process that “requires a coordinated effort of more than one person over a certain period of time with specific resources and skills” (Spapens, 2010, p. 191). Groups that are not organized crime syndicates are capable of carrying out sophisticated crimes. These groups are smaller than organized crime syndicates, have an informal understanding of the rules, and utilize a horizontal structure (Lyman & Potter, 2011). Violence is not a defining feature and there are not always clear leaders (Lyman & Potter, 2011; UNODC, 2002). Members are recruited based upon their skills, resources, and/or talents (Lyman & Potter, 2011). Connections in a criminal network persist and unite around a series of criminal projects (UNODC, 2002). Criminal networks do not frequently have a well-known reputation in the public arena (UNODC, 2002).

For example, private arms brokers participate in the illegal weapons trade by obtaining false documents for cargo shipments, establishing relationships with corrupt government officials, and circumventing laws/embargoes (Stohl, 2005). This signifies that the broker has multiple business partners and has organized the illegal activity around their particular skills indicating that a criminal network exists. The illegal weapons trade facilitated by a straw purchaser, an individual who buys multiple weapons and resells them illegally, would not be considered a criminal network even though an organized criminal activity has occurred.

Human smuggling is another organized criminal activity that does not necessitate an organized crime syndicate. Human smuggling across the Mexican border, for example, can be carried out by large scale smuggling organizations, a small association of smugglers, or individual coyotes (Spener, 2004). Coyotes are the people who physically smuggle individuals into the United States via the Mexican border. Large scale smuggling operations and small associations of coyotes would be examples of organized criminal networks because they utilize multiple people with contacts at the borders and active recruiters. An individual without organized crime associates and who knows the terrain can serve as a coyote as well (Spener, 2004). In the case of a single individual operating as a coyote, an organized criminal network does not exist. Therefore, it is not the criminal activity alone that indicates a network but rather the number of people, coordination between people, and the illegal nature of the crime.

With these examples, the difference between organized crime syndicates and organized criminal activities can be seen through the number of participants, different hierarchies, and group identity. Organized criminal networks do not require loyalty to a group or even a clear leader. They require organization among multiple people, skills, and illegal activities. Conversely, organized crime syndicates strongly identify with their group, abide by codes and rules, and are typically involved in multiple crimes. For the purposes of this paper, both organized criminal networks and organized crime syndicates constitute organized crime. Organized crime in this paper follows O'Neill Richard's (1999) definition of organized crime as "a structured group of three or more persons existing for a period of time and having the aim of committing a serious crime in order to, directly or indirectly, obtain a financial or other material benefit" (p. 7).

Possible definitions of organized crime have been discussed in this chapter as well as types of organized crime. The chapter focuses on characteristics and examples of organized

crime syndicates and organized criminal networks. This elaboration will provide a foundation for understanding the relationship between organized crime and human trafficking.

CHAPTER IV

LINK BETWEEN HUMAN TRAFFICKING & ORGANIZED CRIME-PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In the previous two chapters, I provided a general introduction to human trafficking and organized crime. The present chapter explores previous research that has attempted to examine the possible relationship between human trafficking and organized crime. First, research analyzing human trafficking carried out as a form of organized crime is reviewed. Next, this chapter examines existing literature including information on a link between human trafficking and organized crime. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the major limitations of the existing research.

The terms organized crime and human trafficking appear in numerous media and scholarly publications. News stories about gangs, such as MS-13 and the Crips, forcing young girls into prostitution suggest that there is a connection between organized crime and human trafficking (Johnson, 2011; Thomas, 2012). Presidential press releases (The White House, 2003) and TVPA 2000 quotes allude to the idea that organized crime syndicates play a large role in the orchestration of human trafficking. Some scholarly publications, such as Radović, Durdević, and Lalić (2010), utilize the assumption that organized crime controls human trafficking and develop different models of human trafficking. Radović et al. (2010) separate human trafficking into Russian (business), Chinese (investment), Balkan (violent), Nigerian (slave), and Mexican (supermarket) models, but they do not explicitly explain how the models were divided or provide examples of each type. Perpetrators needed for each human trafficking type are not stated, and exactly how organized crime fits into the model is unclear (Radović et al., 2010).

Furthermore, some scholars may mention a connection between organized crime and human trafficking, but they include human trafficking, human smuggling, and/or prostitution in

the same discussion (i.e. Albanese, 2004; Schweizer, Nishimoto, Salzano & Chamberlin, 2003; Estes & Weiner, 2001). The frequency in which organized crime syndicates involve themselves in human trafficking remains unclear. The relationship with organized criminal networks is uncertain even though scholars previously have attempted to categorize or label different models of human trafficking.

Human Trafficking as Organized Crime

Bruinsma and Bernasco (2004) characterize the social network of Dutch human trafficking groups using Bruinsma and Meershoek's findings of 1999, and determine that human trafficking rings operate based on task specialization. Bruinsma and Meershoek (as cited in Bruinsma & Bernasco, 2004) identified 23 Dutch human trafficking groups from police reports. Bruinsma and Meershoek found that human trafficking can function as a "clique," signifying a division of labor and hierarchical structure, or an "organized criminal group" that employs a large number of traffickers and uses violent means to subdue women. Bruinsma and Bernasco (2004) utilized the previous typology (clique v. organized criminal group) to determine the social cohesiveness of human trafficking groups. They concluded that human trafficking rings do not operate in socially cohesive networks with sustained relationships but rather utilize a "chain structure." A "chain structure" indicates that one group of people begins the trafficking cycle by recruiting workers, and a separate group of individuals actually sells and/or exploits the "workers;" little contact is made between the two groups (Bruinsma & Bernasco, 2004, p.89). The scholars do not provide specific sex trafficking examples to illustrate details of a chain structure. Even though the analysis relies on outdated data and only pertains to Dutch sex trafficking cases, the organized structure of human trafficking discussed reveals how human trafficking can be considered a form of organized crime. Bruinsma and Bernasco's (2004) work

expands upon the notion that sex trafficking can be considered a criminal network, but does not clarify if a connection between human trafficking and other types of organized crime exists.

Other scholars have collected their own data to complete studies regarding the members of human trafficking. In a study of child sexual exploitation in Canada, the U.S., and Mexico, Estes and Weiner (2001) discovered that while some child sex trafficking cases involved large trafficking networks, others involved very few individuals. They identified various types of sex traffickers and trafficking functionalities such as informers and enforcers (Estes & Weiner, 2001). The findings imply that organized crime does not play a role in every sex trafficking case but can be found in some cases.

Estes and Weiner (2001) collected data from 1999 to 2001 via surveys of key members in governmental and non-governmental organizations, interviews with agencies' "key decision-makers" and child victims of sexual exploitation, focus groups, and official records in Canada, the U.S., and Mexico. The findings are presented in a three-fold manner in relation to sex trafficking. First, Estes and Weiner utilized Schloenhardt's 1999 typology (originally for human smugglers) to distinguish between different types of traffickers and located current news article examples for each trafficking type. The three types of traffickers are amateur, small groups of organized criminals, and national and international trafficking networks. Amateur traffickers are individuals who provide a single service in order to facilitate migration (Schloenhardt, 1999). Some examples of amateur traffickers given by Estes and Weiner (2001) are those of a judge selling his daughters into prostitution across state lines and a teacher forcing Mexican boys to travel to Denver for sex. Small groups of organized criminals represent a more specialized unit that guides illegal immigrants from one country to another (Schloenhardt, 1999). The scholars use examples of girls smuggled from India for sex and Mexican women lured to Florida for prostitution. International trafficking networks assist undocumented migrants in all of their

needs such as false documents and transportation to another country (Schloenhardt, 1999). Estes and Weiner (2001) expanded trafficking networks to include large domestic rings as well. Examples are large prostitution operations and gangs importing prostitutes. Estes and Weiner's sex trafficking network examples would qualify as organized crime syndicates, and the small groups of organized criminals are clearly associated with organized crime.

Next, Estes and Weiner (2001) identify examples of the individuals needed to carry out large scale trafficking operations both domestically and internationally. Schloenhardt (1999) identified the different members in relation to human smuggling, and Graycar (1999) expanded the classification to human traffickers in Australia. Schloenhardt's (1999) list includes arrangers/investors, recruiters, transporters, corrupt public officials, informers, guides and crew members, enforcers, supporting personnel and specialists, debt collectors, and money movers (Estes & Weiner, 2001, p. 121-124). The difference between guides and transporters is that guides/crew members are specifically used for transport via sea and/or air. Transporters are used for land, sea, or air passage. Supporting personnel assist illegal migrants at transit points. Estes and Weiner (2001) provide media examples for each of the human trafficking members. However, when and where these particular individuals arrive in the trafficking phase is unclear. It is also not stated which are required for each trafficking ring and which individuals are superfluous.

Lastly, Estes and Weiner (2001) determined that organized crime units do not typically associate with prostitution involving children under age 9 because of their difficult nature. They also note that child sexual exploitation is among many of the criminal activities in which organized crime units participate. In reference to internationally "trafficked" individuals, Estes and Weiner note that many travel through sophisticated networks that provide resources such as false documents, guides, and temporary employment.

While all of Estes and Weiner's examples directly relate to sex trafficking, the roles of each trafficking member are vague and/or overlapping. Also, the authors differentiate between human smuggling and trafficking at the beginning of the report, but types of trafficking rings do not have any separate features from smuggling operations. For example, an 'amateur trafficker,' under the provided definition, participates in smuggling migrants; there is neither a distinction between trafficking victims and immigrants nor a distinction between individuals such as Mexican coyotes and amateur traffickers. This is not surprising as the categorization was originally developed to explain human smuggling (Schloenhardt, 1999).

A vague nature is also present for the individuals identified as necessary for many human trafficking operations. An example given for "corrupt public officials" is a news article accusing corrupt British officials of assisting in the perpetration of illegal immigration; the intent of the immigrants is not provided and, thus, is plausibly legitimate work. All of the examples of types of trafficking rings and members of trafficking operations are identified from media sources not official public records. Additionally, the researchers claim that their findings reinforce ideas that large numbers of internationally trafficked children reside in the U.S., and that "[t]he majority of these children work as domestics in private homes while others clean up restaurant kitchens and work in the laundry rooms of cheap hotels" (p.124). Only one example in the entire trafficking section of the report denotes an individual that was brought into the country for purposes other than prostitution or sexual exploitation. The basis of the researchers' claim that most are domestic servants is not evident.

Most importantly, the findings demonstrate some degree of association between organized crime and human trafficking. Unfortunately, the conclusions are based upon a methodology that even the scholars acknowledge as "fragmented" (p. 125). The lack of

specificity regarding sex trafficking may be due to the fact that the overarching theme of Estes and Weiner's study was child sexual exploitation not sex trafficking.

Connection between Human Trafficking & Organized Crime

Despite Estes and Weiner's study (2001), there is a severe lack of research in which scholars collected their own data in order to specifically describe the connection between organized crime and human trafficking in the United States. Numerous articles claim that organized crime groups control or associate with human traffickers (i.e. Hodge & Lietz, 2007; Risley, 2010; Smith, 2011; Torg, 2006), but few of the studies are empirically based. The following three articles are the only published studies to date that explicitly address the relationship between organized crime and human trafficking in the United States that have an empirical foundation.

In 1999, Amy O'Neill Richard included information on the nexus between human traffickers and organized criminal groups in her intelligence report. She found prominent relationships between organized crime and human trafficking in the United States, specifically international organized crime syndicates. O'Neill Richard (1999) gathered information through a variety of sources: analysis of cases, criminal justice bulletins, press releases, reports, organizational papers (i.e. Congressional documents), films, documentaries, and human trafficking conferences. She also utilized purposive sampling to locate individuals in the public and private sector with experience in human trafficking cases. According to the intelligence report, all types of organized crime, from mafias to gangs to loosely connected groups, have the potential to be involved in human trafficking (O'Neill Richard, 1999). O'Neill Richard suggests that Russian, East European, and Asian criminal organizations are entrenched in human trafficking taking place overseas. Human trafficking that occurs in the United States, however,

is primarily a result of family-led crime groups (O'Neill Richard, 1999). Examples of the crime groups in the U.S. include Asian, Russian, and Latin organized crime syndicates.

Multiple Asian criminal syndicates, such as the Triads and the Yakuza, play a role in running brothels in California, Nevada, and Texas (O'Neill Richard, 1999). These human trafficking groups are not necessarily large, hierarchical organizations but rather vary in size and structure (O'Neill Richard, 1999). Chinese gangs, in particular, are involved in the smuggling and prostitution of women in the U.S., according to O'Neill Richard (1999). Massage parlors are also a frequent form of Asian human trafficking and have associations with large smuggling operations (O'Neill Richard, 1999).

Russian criminal organizations appeared to control human trafficking operations outside of the United States, but Immigration and Naturalization Service agents did not have substantial evidence to support the claim that Russian crime syndicates are controlling human trafficking in the U.S. (O'Neill Richard, 1999). There is not a consensus on the involvement of Russian crime syndicates as Diplomatic Security agents who were interviewed believe that modeling or employment agencies are front businesses for Russian organized criminal enterprises with human trafficking ties (O'Neill Richard, 1999).

Latin American traffickers were not evaluated extensively by O'Neill Richard but appear to operate in ways similar to Asian traffickers. Latin American traffickers utilize human smuggling routes to bring individuals into the U.S. (O'Neill Richard, 1999). They often prostitute women in the form of Latino brothels. Based on the analysis from O'Neill Richard (1999), organized crime syndicates perpetrate human trafficking, especially international rings.

Other scholars have examined the link between organized crime and human trafficking. Raymond and Hughes (2001) conducted an in-depth study of the sex industry in the United States which included data collection on recruiters, traffickers, and pimps. They discovered that

while some females in the sex industry were associated with organized crime, others appeared to have no connection at all. The scholars attempted to provide a detailed description of the U.S. sex industry as well as determine the link between organized crime and the sex industry including trafficking (Raymond & Hughes, 2001). They conducted interviews with international and U.S. women in the sex industry and law enforcement officials, social service employees, and health care workers.

Law enforcement agents believed that organized criminal enterprises control 76-100% of the sex industry in the Northeast and Southeast regions of the U.S. as well as Metro New York and Metro San Francisco. However, in this study, the percentage of organized crime groups controlling prostitution rings versus human trafficking rings is not differentiated. This is an important distinction in order to determine if organized crime syndicates control involuntary prostitution or prostitution of children. In metro New York, the sex industry thrives in places such as Koreatown which are often maintained by Korean-run organized crime syndicates. Russian criminal organizations appear to control the sex industry in New Jersey (Raymond & Hughes, 2001). Sex venues in Atlanta, Georgia seem to be headed by individuals involved in organized crime (Raymond & Hughes, 2001).

Additionally, forty women in the sex industry were interviewed, and ties to organized crime can be seen. It is important to note again that not all of the women were trafficked, but approximately half of the international women were trafficked into the U.S. for prostitution, and approximately twenty-seven percent of the women can be considered domestic trafficking victims (Raymond & Hughes, 2001). Recruitment tactics illustrate varying degrees of a relationship with organized crime. Nineteen of the women (48%) identified criminal networks, such as motorcycle gangs and the Italian Mafia, as a form of recruitment. On the other hand, ten of the forty women (25%) stated that their husband or boyfriend had acted as a pimp (Raymond

& Hughes, 2001). Five of the women (13%) claimed no association with organized crime or even a pimp. Thus, only 48% of the women can assuredly be confirmed as having a link to organized crime. These statistics are reflective of all sex industry workers not solely trafficking victims.

Through interviews with the women in the sex industry and others, Raymond and Hughes report that recruiters, traffickers, and pimps are involved, at times, in drugs, immigration fraud, and arms dealing among other crimes. Gambling was specifically mentioned in the Southeast. It is important to note the various crimes that pimps and traffickers commit because the aforementioned crimes have the propensity to provide insight into the relationship between organized crime and human trafficking. Arms dealing would be considered an organized criminal activity and possibly involve an organized criminal network. Immigration fraud and drugs have the potential to be connected to organized crime groups dependent upon the number of people involved and level of sophistication. Therefore, the information in the study is interesting, but yields itself to further examination due to the vague representation of an association between human trafficking and organized crime.

In Farrell et al.'s 2008 assessment of law enforcement responses to human trafficking, the scholars included information on human trafficking associations with other crimes. Farrell et al. (2008) found that numerous law enforcement agencies reported an explicit link between "organized crime" and human trafficking. Other agencies reported a relationship with specific crimes such as drug trafficking and arms dealing which demonstrates a possible link to organized crime (Farrell et al., 2008).

In order to evaluate law enforcement responses and characteristics of human trafficking, questionnaires were randomly mailed to state and municipal law enforcement agencies (Farrell et

al., 2008). The scholars requested that any agency that had participated in a human trafficking case complete a second survey (Farrell et al., 2008).

Among the questions posed to law enforcement officials was which crimes were associated with human trafficking (Farrell et al., 2008). Identifying additional crimes associated with human trafficking can assist in illustrating the involvement of organized crime. Specifically, crimes, such as arms dealing, human smuggling, and gang activity, denote a possible connection to organized crime. The extent of the connection or relationship cannot be determined without specific case details. Law enforcement officials in Farrell et al.'s study identified drug trafficking as the second most prominent crime associated with human trafficking (Farrell et al., 2008, p. 77). Forty-six percent of agencies (54 of 118) reported a connection between human trafficking and falsified documentation (Farrell et al., 2008). Falsified identification increases the likelihood of the presence of organized crime, but does not ensure its presence because falsification of documents could be carried out in a business-like manner with multiple offenders or by an individual. Other crimes identified by at least 8 agencies that indicate a possible connection with organized crime are conspiracy, gangs, corruption, arms dealing, and terrorism (Farrell et al., 2008).

Forty-three of 118 (36%) agencies explicitly reported a link between human trafficking and the crime of "organized crime" (Farrell et al., 2008). A conceptual definition of organized crime was not provided to the respondents. Additionally, six agencies reported Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) charges in addition to TVPA violations which directly signifies a relationship with organized crime as the federal government defines it (Farrell et al., 2008). Based on these observations, it appears that there is a link between human trafficking and organized crime, but the extent of the relationship is unclear.

Limitations of Previous Research

Studies by O'Neill Richard (1999), Raymond and Hughes (2001), and Farrell et al. (2008) lay the foundation for analyzing the relationship between human trafficking and organized crime. All three of the studies propose that there is a degree of association between the two entities but without a clear consensus. O'Neill Richard's (1999) report demonstrates strong ties to organized crime, but leads one to believe that all human trafficking rings are a subset of international criminal syndicates. She acknowledges that there are discrepancies in the idea that international criminal organizations control the crime (i.e. opinions of INS agents differing from Diplomatic Security agents). This is not unlikely considering the methodology used was neither systematic nor consistent. She pulled information from a variety of sources (i.e. interviews, articles, conferences), but concerting reliable findings that are generalizable would be difficult with this pattern. Additionally, O'Neill Richard disregards the concept of domestic human trafficking in her analysis. This is not surprising as the study was published in 1999, and domestic trafficking was not directly acknowledged in a federal capacity until the TVPRA 2005.

Next, Raymond and Hughes (2001) provide insight into recruitment methods of the sex industry and present a large range of perspectives; however, recruiters, traffickers, and pimps were all considered relatively the same profession and were not distinguished throughout most of the study. The sex industry as a whole was analyzed, but differentiation between forced sexual acts and voluntary sexual services was difficult to determine. Other crimes associated with human trafficking such as immigration fraud and money laundering are typical for international human trafficking rings to function and may not necessarily be part of another organized criminal group as they suggested. It is possible that human trafficking operates as an organized criminal activity but lacks a connection to other organized crimes. For example, a family of three that entices an individual to travel internationally and work as a domestic servant in their

house is committing an organized criminal activity. They may instruct the individual to obtain a visa under false pretenses and buy his or her ticket to America. The number of people involved, the illegal nature of the activity, the motive for money, and the planning indicate that an organized criminal activity has taken place. However, the family is not an organized crime syndicate. The family is also not connected to another organized criminal network such as drug distribution or falsification of documents. Thus, a connection between human trafficking and organized crime would not exist in this example.

Last, the information in Farrell et al.'s study (2008) is pertinent to this research proposal, but is not without limitations. Farrell et al. (2008) note that the top five crimes linked to human trafficking (prostitution, drug trafficking, false identification, money laundering, organized crime) are characteristic of criminal networks. However, being a common characteristic of organized crime does not indicate that human trafficking rings associate with other organized crime syndicates or criminal networks. Multiple "additional crimes" such as money laundering and false identification are expected when handling human trafficking cases, especially international cases. Many of the associated crimes listed are supplemental charges that prosecutors may be able to secure in addition to human trafficking charges dependent upon the case.

On the other hand, the identification of gangs and arms dealing in Farrell et al.'s study demonstrate a link to organized crime which is not discussed by the scholars. The extent of the association between the additional crimes and human trafficking is uncertain, but a relationship exists in some cases. Even if a relationship is present, Farrell et al.'s study only examined state and municipal cases of human trafficking. Federal human trafficking cases were not the focus of the study which indicates that more information needs to be gathered on federal cases. A human trafficking case was also determined by each individual agency completing a survey. Farrell et

al. did provide the standard TVPA definition for human trafficking at the outset of each questionnaire, but ultimately the respondent decided if a human trafficking case had been investigated in their jurisdiction. If an investigation had taken place, it was once again at the discretion of the respondent to determine if he or she has found that human trafficking is linked to additional crimes. Little more information is given regarding a possible connection between organized crime and human trafficking.

Overall, the present studies are outdated and lack methodological rigor. Farrell et al. (2008) employs more current information, but does not focus on the relationship between organized crime and human trafficking. Current information is imperative as the structure of organized crime syndicates is adapting as noted previously. The organized crime syndicates of the 1990s do not have the same presence as they did during O'Neill Richard's study. Globalization and technological advancements have drastically changed in the last 12 years, and undoubtedly influence the type and formation of human trafficking that is prevalent. As the economic, political, and social worlds change, so will the tactics and responses of the criminal world.

These studies also exhibit an overwhelming emphasis on sex trafficking. Estes and Weiner (2001) and Raymond and Hughes (2001) focus entirely on sexual exploitation. O'Neill Richard (1999) mentions both labor and sex trafficking but emphasizes the role that international organized crime syndicates play in involuntary prostitution. Sex trafficking is an important segment to analyze, but labor trafficking deserves equal attention. A lack of attention for labor trafficking necessitates more information and comparisons between the types of severe forms of human trafficking.

In order to improve upon the methodological weaknesses of previous research, this study utilizes a standardized methodology for identifying human trafficking cases. Human trafficking

and smuggling are clearly differentiated. The scope of the study is smaller, but it is empirically based including current information and guidelines that do not promote subjectivity or bias from researchers. This research paper expands upon previous knowledge of links between organized crime and human trafficking. The study characterizes the relationship between organized crime and human trafficking in metropolitan Atlanta and explores both domestic and international trafficking cases. The study differentiates between labor and sex trafficking trends offering a unique perspective compared to previous studies. The present research also provides a regional perspective to acknowledge the differences in victims and human trafficking rings across the United States.

Specific methodological improvements and tactics as well as clear definitions are provided in the next chapter. Detailed descriptions of the research questions, variables, and possible relationships are duly discussed.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

The preceding chapters have focused on previous research on human trafficking, organized crime, and the relationship between the two. This study expands upon previous research by examining the link between human trafficking and organized crime through an analysis of public court records. This section begins with an overview of the research design and research questions. Second, this chapter gives an explanation of the sample cases used in the study. Third, this chapter provides the specific procedure used to obtain information and data. Lastly, the information extracted from each case and the variables used to answer the research questions are presented. Included in the last section is the coding system for each variable. This chapter also describes in detail the typology for relationships between organized crime and human trafficking.

Design

In order to study existing relationships between human trafficking and organized crime in metropolitan Atlanta, public court records of all-identifiable TVPA cases indicted between 2000 and 2012 were analyzed. First, the role that organized crime syndicates play in human trafficking in metropolitan Atlanta was assessed. Next, the proportion of human trafficking cases also involving other organized criminal networks was examined. By analyzing both organized crime syndicates and organized criminal networks, a more complete understanding of organized crime's involvement in human trafficking can be determined. It is important to consider that the possible organized crime relationship with labor trafficking may be different than organized crime's possible link to sex trafficking. Differences in organized crime relationships may exist between international and domestic trafficking schemes as well. To fully explore these themes, the following research questions have been developed:

- 1) What proportion of the specified human trafficking cases involves organized crime?
- 2) What type of relationship is most prevalent between human trafficking and organized crime in metropolitan Atlanta?
- 3) What types of organized crime demonstrate a relationship with human trafficking in the specified cases?
- 4) What differences, if any, do the specified sex trafficking and forced labor cases exhibit in regards to their relationship with organized crime?
- 5) What differences, if any, do the specified international and domestic human trafficking cases exhibit in regards to their relationship with organized crime?

Sample

In order to determine the link between human trafficking and organized crime, all TVPA-related cases indicted in metropolitan Atlanta between October 2000 (the enactment date of the TVPA) and July 2012 were included in the study. I located twenty identifiable TVPA cases, and used those cases as the study's sample. No other TVPA cases could be identified in Atlanta. The unit of analysis is the individual case which represents each trafficking ring/incident. Using the 2010 U.S. Census Bureau standard, metropolitan Atlanta encompasses the following 28 counties: Barrow, Bartow, Butts, Carroll, Cherokee, Clayton, Cobb, Coweta, Dawson, DeKalb, Douglas, Fayette, Forsyth, Fulton, Gwinnett, Haralson, Heard, Henry, Jasper, Lamar, Meriweather, Newton, Paulding, Pickens, Pike, Rockdale, Spalding, and Walton. Any federal human trafficking cases prosecuted in these Metropolitan Atlanta counties are handled by the Northern District of Georgia or the Middle District of Georgia.

A TVPA-related case is any federal case indicted or prosecuted under one or more of the following statutes pertaining to involuntary servitude, forced labor, or sex trafficking: Peonage (18 U.S.C. 1581), Enticement into slavery (18 U.S.C. 1583), Sale into involuntary servitude (18

U.S.C. 1584), Forced labor (18 U.S.C. 1589), Trafficking with respect to peonage, slavery, involuntary servitude, or forced labor (18 U.S.C. 1590), Sex trafficking of children, or by force, fraud, or coercion (18 U.S.C. 1591), Unlawful conduct with respect to documents in furtherance of trafficking, peonage, slavery, involuntary servitude, or forced labor (18 U.S.C. 1592), and General Provisions-Attempting to violate one of the previously mentioned statutes (18 U.S.C. 1594). The aforementioned statutes were either created or amended by the TVPA and/or its subsequent reauthorizations. As a database of TVPA prosecuted cases is not readily available, cases were identified through a variety of sources similar to Clawson et al.'s study (2008). As in Clawson et al. (2008), attempts to locate cases were made through Department of Justice bulletins, reports and press releases, Internet research, law review articles, and legal newspapers. Thus, purposive sampling was used.

Procedure

Once all relevant cases were identified through open sources such as FBI press releases, public court records were accessed through the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia.¹ To retrieve documents from the Northern District Court of Georgia, I went to the courthouse in Atlanta, Georgia, specifically to the Clerk's Office. Entering the defendant's name into the public records system and running the "docket report" for each defendant shows the case number. I viewed documents in the file via the computer there, or physical copies were pulled by the clerks using the case number. There is not a fee for viewing documents at the Clerk's Office.

¹ Public court records are also accessible through the Public Access to Court Electronic Records (PACER) if the case is not older than 10 years. PACER is an electronic version of the public record system that can be accessed via any computer. The only difference between PACER and the system at the Clerk's Office is that PACER charges a fee for each search made and document viewed based upon the number of pages in each search and/or document.

Cases more than 10 years old were not available via the computer and had to be viewed in their physical form. When a defendant's name appeared in multiple cases, the case identified as "et al" was selected. For example, Aimee Allen was entered into the court record system and multiple cases appeared; the case *U.S. v. Norris et al* was selected for review instead of *U.S. v. Aimee Allen*. This pattern occurred for all cases with more than one defendant. By choosing the "et al" case, information on all the defendants in the case was available electronically due to the fact that all documents related to any individual involved in the case was uploaded to the electronic file. The paper files did not follow the same pattern. At times all defendants' files had to be viewed to gather information on separate plea agreements, trial transcripts, and judgments. Since no devices with cameras are permitted in the courthouse (i.e. cell phone, computer, iPad, etc), data was transcribed by hand. Transcriptions and viewing of all relevant documents for each case took between 30 minutes and 4 ½ hours dependent upon the nature of the case. More defendants and charges increased the length of time needed to locate the appropriate information.

For each case, I used information reported in indictments, superseding indictments, magistrate complaints, arrest warrants, affidavits, jury trial transcripts, witness depositions, plea agreements, judgments, and sentencings to collect data on the type of human trafficking, degree of trafficking, and the relationship to organized crime. The following information was collected from each document in order to assist with classifying the relationship with organized crime: number of defendants, number of victims, additional charges, clients/buyers of illegal products (i.e. sex, drugs), recruitment tactics, and transportation methods.

Specifically, I used these data to create the following variables: 1) type of human trafficking, 2) degree of human trafficking, 3) involvement of organized crime in human trafficking, 4) relationship type between human trafficking and organized crime, and 5) type of

organized crime. After leaving the courthouse, all collected data were entered into Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

Variables

The type of human trafficking case is a categorical variable that indicates whether the case involved sex trafficking, labor trafficking, or both. If a case included a charge of Enticement into slavery (18 U.S.C. 1583), Sale into involuntary servitude (18 U.S.C. 1584), or Forced labor (18 U.S.C. 1589), then it was classified as a labor trafficking case and coded 0. If a case included a charge of sex trafficking of children, or by force, fraud, or coercion (18 U.S.C. 1591), then it was classified as a sex trafficking case and coded 1. If a case involved both a sex trafficking charge and one of the three labor trafficking charges, then it was classified as both a sex and labor trafficking case and coded as 2. Cases with a peonage charge (18 U.S.C. 1581), a charge of “Trafficking with respect to peonage, slavery, involuntary servitude, or forced labor” (18 U.S.C. 1590), and/or a “Unlawful conduct with respect to documents in furtherance of trafficking, peonage, slavery, involuntary servitude, or forced labor” charge (18 USC 1592) could be either labor or sex trafficking cases dependent upon the nature of the crimes (i.e. prostitution for sex; domestic servitude for labor). Therefore, if a case had one of those three charges, then the nature of the servitude was examined to determine whether sex or labor trafficking had occurred and was coded accordingly.

For this study, the degree of trafficking is a dichotomous variable that indicates whether the case was an international or domestic human trafficking case. If a case occurred entirely in U.S. jurisdiction from the recruitment to the exploitation phases, then it was classified as domestic and coded as 0. If a case involved the illegal importation of persons into the United States for the purposes of exploitation, then it was classified as international and coded as 1.

Next, the involvement of organized crime in human trafficking cases is a dichotomous variable. Using O'Neill Richard's (1999) definition, organized crime is defined as "a structured group of three or more persons existing for a period of time and having the aim of committing a serious crime in order to, directly or indirectly, obtain a financial or other material benefit" (p. 7). The definition is not only applicable to large, organized criminal syndicates but also organized criminal networks. If a case demonstrates a link to a third party organized crime group or is an organized crime syndicate, then it involved organized crime and was coded as 1. Contrarily, if a case lacks 3 or more defendants (requirement for an organized criminal syndicate) or does not demonstrate an association with a group meeting O'Neill Richard's (1999) definition of organized crime, then a relationship with organized crime does not exist, and the variable was coded as 0.

Using an adapted version of Shelley et al.'s (2005) categorization of the links between transnational organized crime and international terrorism, I created a nominal variable to classify the type of relationship between human trafficking and organized crime. Shelley et al.'s (2005) classification represents varying levels of intensity for a relationship, but groups do not necessarily proceed from one category to the next in a fluid pattern (Shelley et al., 2005). The adapted, condensed version allows for classification into one of four categories: nonexistent, business, symbiotic, entrenchment. If no relationship is present between human trafficking and organized crime, then the case is classified as 'nonexistent.' If a link to organized crime is determined to be present, then the case is classified into one of the 3 relationship types:

Business.

The link is classified as a business relationship if the trafficker(s) relied upon a third party functioning as organized crime to provide illicit services needed to carry out the human trafficking (i.e. production of falsified immigration documents). In other words, a business

relationship indicates behavior similar to outsourcing (Shelley et al., 2005). A business relationship is not a long-term, extensive association. It can be short-lived or a one-time job. For example, human traffickers may only utilize an individual associated with an organized crime syndicate for production of falsified immigration documents. The business relationship signifies that an organized crime group (network or syndicate) is able to offer human traffickers a service or trade such as credit card fraud or fraudulent identification. In short, it is merely an exchange of goods or services with money as the primary incentive for the organized crime group. If the case meets one of the following standards, then it is classified as having a business relationship with organized crime and coded as 1:

- The defendant(s) utilizes individuals involved in organized crime to recruit and/or transport victims (i.e. obtained the victim via another pimp operating a separate human trafficking ring categorized as organized crime; smuggled into U.S. via an individual involved in organized crime)

AND/OR

- The defendant(s) buys illegal goods (i.e. drugs/weapons) or services from an individual involved in organized crime in furtherance of human trafficking

Symbiotic.

The relationship is considered symbiotic if the human trafficker(s) continually rely on a third party organized crime group for a service and the trafficker(s) regularly provide a service for the organized crime group as well. A symbiotic relationship reveals a mutual dependence between groups (Shelley et al., 2005). Human trafficking members regularly work with another crime group such as a drug trafficking ring. Mutual dependence signifies that a deeper, sustained relationship is present that benefits both human traffickers and another criminal enterprise. In the most basic form of a symbiotic relationship, human trafficking co-occurs with other

organized crime. There may be a structure or sophisticated process for business transactions, but this is not a requirement. Individuals in the human trafficking group may complete tasks for trafficking in persons and commit other organized criminal activities. Criminal charges, such as drug trafficking or weapons trafficking present in the case files, would be considered when determining the status of mutual dependence. To qualify as a symbiotic relationship, the following conditions must be met:

- The human trafficking ring and at least one organized crime group are present

AND

- Regular exchange of goods/services between traffickers and other individuals involved in organized crime (outside of the human trafficking ring)

A symbiotic relationship was coded as 2 in SPSS.

Entrenchment.

The third type of relationship has been altered slightly from Shelley et al.'s (2005) model. Instead of being labeling 'hybrid,' the relationship is deemed 'entrenchment.' The relationship is classified as entrenchment if there are 3 or more traffickers/defendants who are members of an organized criminal syndicate. An organized criminal syndicate is a group of 3 or more individuals existing for a period of time with an "identified hierarchy or comparable structure," "engage in multiple criminal activities," "have extensive supporting networks," and use violence or the threat of violence to carry out criminal acts (FBI, 2012). Organized criminal syndicates can be identified through the presence of RICO charges or previous acknowledgement as a criminal enterprise by the FBI such as the Chinese Triads. Entrenchment denotes that the human trafficking group is controlled entirely by an organized criminal syndicate such as MS-13. Human trafficking is just one of many crimes that the organized criminal syndicate commits. In other words, human trafficking is *a subset of the larger criminal enterprise*. Therefore, a human

trafficking case was determined to be a part of an organized crime syndicate, deemed entrenchment, and coded as 3 when several criteria are met:

- 3 or more people involved in the human trafficking operation

AND

- At least 3 defendants are known members of an organized crime syndicate AND/OR a RICO charge is present

AND

- Violence or threat of violence were used to carry out acts

These criteria were used to evaluate each case in the selected sample. The sample, procedures, and variables required to answer all five research questions have been presented in this chapter. This chapter discussed specific criteria utilized to classify the relationship between human trafficking and organized crime. In the next chapter, case statistics and the results of analyses are provided.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS

To explore the human trafficking and organized crime relationship, I examined federal court documents for 20 human trafficking cases indicted in metropolitan Atlanta between 2000 and 2012. In this chapter, I provide descriptive statistics for the cases and then present the findings of my study. Specifically, I use frequency distributions and bivariate analyses to answer the research questions. I utilize frequency distributions to demonstrate what proportion of human trafficking cases involved organized crime and which relationship is most prevalent. A discussion of the types of organized crime (i.e. human smuggling, drugs) that were found associated with human trafficking proceeds next. Then, the differences in established organized crime relationships between sex and labor trafficking are presented to describe any trends. Differences between domestic and international trafficking links to organized crime are presented.

Descriptive Statistics for Case Characteristics

While I provide brief case summaries for each of the 20 human trafficking cases in Appendix B, I present descriptive statistics for the 20 cases in order to illustrate the types of human trafficking federally prosecuted in metropolitan Atlanta over the last decade. Consistent with previous research (i.e. Clawson et al., 2008; Farrell et al., 2008), sex trafficking is indicted more commonly as 70% of the cases can be considered sex trafficking. Labor trafficking does exist and is prosecuted in Atlanta, but only 20% of cases are considered labor trafficking. An additional 10% involved both sex and labor trafficking changes. Domestic trafficking cases are indicted more often than international trafficking in metropolitan Atlanta as 60% of the cases involve only U.S. citizens. Table 1 illustrates these statistics:

Table 1: Type and Degree of Human Trafficking Cases

Case Description	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Type</i>		
Sex Trafficking	14	70%
Labor Trafficking	4	20%
Both	2	10%
Total	20	100%
<i>Degree</i>		
International Trafficking	8	40%
Domestic Trafficking	12	60%
Total	20	100%

Defendant and victim characteristics are also relevant because they expose innate features of each trafficking ring. Table 2 summarizes the characteristics of the 60 defendants and the 120 victims identified in the cases. The majority of the cases (60%) in Atlanta had less than three defendants involved, and only one case involved more than 10 defendants. Greater than 50% of the trafficking crimes were committed by U.S. citizens. The second most common nationality for defendants was Mexican. Victims of human trafficking were predominantly U.S. citizens with 70% originating from the United States. Nationalities of the victims of international trafficking operations include Mexican, Nigerian, Indian, and Swazi. Although not shown in Table 2, it is interesting to note that Hispanic sex trafficking rings are the only international sex trafficking operations that have been federally prosecuted in metropolitan Atlanta. An Hispanic sex trafficking ring indicates that all defendants and victims involved in the case identify as Latino/Latina.

In regards to gender, twelve (20%) of the defendants charged with human trafficking in Atlanta were females. In the *Bello* case, a female is the only defendant charged. Females still tend to be overwhelmingly victims of both labor and sex trafficking operations as 99% of the victims were female.

Table 2: Defendant & Victim Characteristics in Atlanta Human Trafficking Cases

Defendant characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Number of defendants in the ring</i>		
1-2	12	60%
3-10	7	35%
Greater than 10	1	5%
Combined Total	60	100%
<i>Nationality</i>		
U.S.	38	63%
Mexican	13	22%
Nigerian	1	2%
Hispanic-Nation not specified	8	13%
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	48	80%
Female	12	20%
Victim Characteristics		
<i>Number of victims in the ring</i>		
0*	1	5%
1-4	13	65%
5-10	4	20%
Greater than 10	2	10%
Total	120	100%
<i>Nationality**</i>		
U.S.	84	70%
Mexican	15	12.5%
Nigerian	2	1.7%
Swaziland	1	.8%
Indian	1	.8%
Hispanic-Nation not specified	17	14.2%
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	1	.8%
Female	119	99.2%

*Considered zero when a plan existed to recruit an individual, but the plan was not carried out.

**Nationality was presumed U.S. if the victims were recruited in the U.S. and citizenship was not specifically discussed in the case file.

Furthermore, analyzing specific charges in each case assists in determining how human trafficking was carried out, whether across international borders by land, by air, or by sea or if traffickers entirely operated in the United States. Additional charges can also provide insight into the recruitment tactics of each trafficker such as kidnapping charges. There were 23

different, additional charges located throughout the 20 federal cases, and Table 3 denotes the six most common charges. Eight (40%) of the cases involved conspiracy to defraud the United States due to the commission of human trafficking crimes. Seven (35%) of the cases involved bringing in and harboring undocumented/falsely documented immigrants which includes both labor and sex trafficking cases. It is not surprising to see Mann Act charges in 25-30% of the cases as the laws originally could be used to prosecute sex trafficking.

Table 3: Most Common Charges Other than TVPA

Charge	Frequency	Percentage
Conspiracy to commit offense or defraud the U.S. (18 USC 371)	8	40%
Bringing in & harboring certain aliens (8 USC 1324)	7	35%
Coercion & Enticement (18 USC 2422)- <i>Mann Act</i>	6	30%
Principals (18 USC 2)	5	25%
Transportation generally (18 USC 2421)- <i>Mann Act</i>	5	25%

In reviewing the characteristics of the cases, the data indicate that sex trafficking charges are most common for cases indicted under the TVPA in Atlanta between 2000 and 2012. Domestic trafficking rings are most frequently indicted in Atlanta which indicates that U.S. citizens are predominantly the defendants and victims in the cases. The majority of trafficking cases in Atlanta operate with only one or two defendants. The descriptive statistics serve as a framework for understanding the relationship between organized crime and human trafficking.

Descriptive Statistics for Human Trafficking and Organized Crime Relationship

Any involvement with organized crime.

The first step in determining the relationship between organized crime and human trafficking is to evaluate whether organized crime is involved in any way to the human

trafficking operation. Contrary to previous research which suggested organized crime operated almost all human trafficking rings, only four (20%) of the cases in metropolitan Atlanta demonstrated any type of connection to organized crime (see Table 4). Thus, only a small proportion of the cases involved defendants who were members of an organized criminal syndicate or defendants who utilized services provided by an organized crime group to carry out human trafficking. Table 4 summarizes key characteristics of all 20 cases in metro Atlanta including the case's relationship to organized crime.

Table 4: Key Characteristics of Atlanta Human Trafficking Cases

Case Name/Year Indicted (U.S. v. ...)	Type of Trafficking	Degree of Trafficking	# of Defendants	Defendant Nationality	# of Victims	Victim Nationality	Relationship to organized crime
<i>Almonte et al</i> (2011)	Sex	International	8	Hispanic	17	Hispanic	None
<i>Babb et al</i> (2009)	Labor	International	2	U.S.	1	Swaziland	None
<i>Bidemi Bello</i> (2010)	Labor	International	1	Nigerian	2	Nigeria	None
<i>Timothy Chappell</i> (2010)	Sex	Domestic	1	U.S.	1	U.S.	None
<i>Desautu</i> (2011)	Sex	Domestic	1	U.S.	1	U.S.	None
<i>Garrett et al.</i> (2008)	Labor	International	3	U.S.	1	Indian	None
<i>Demetrius Homer</i> (2010)	Sex	Domestic	1	U.S.	3	U.S.	None
<i>Jimmie Lee Jones</i> (2005)	Sex	Domestic	1	U.S.	8	U.S.	None
<i>Mendez Guzman et al.</i> (2002)	Sex	International	4	Mexican	3	Mexican	Business
<i>Mustafa et al</i> (2011)	Sex	Domestic	2	U.S.	6	U.S.	None
<i>Norris et al</i> (2005)	Sex	Domestic	3	U.S.	9	U.S.	None
<i>Pipkins et al</i> (2001)	Labor	Domestic	15	U.S.	50+	U.S.	Entrenchment
<i>Pressley</i> (2009)	Sex	Domestic	1	U.S.	1	U.S.	None
<i>Pruitt et al</i> (2009)	Sex	Domestic	2	U.S.	1	U.S.	None
<i>Rojas et al.</i> (2003)	Sex	International	3	Mexican	2	Mexican	Business
<i>Rosa Tort et al.</i> (2008)	Sex	International	6	Mexican	10	Mexican	Business
<i>Cheshire Robinson</i> (2010)	Sex	Domestic	1	U.S.	1	U.S.	None
<i>Sims et al.</i> (2004)	Sex	Domestic	3	U.S.	1	U.S.	None
<i>Carl Skow</i> (2011)	Sex	International	1	U.S.	0	Guatemalan	None
<i>Dmarcus Ward</i> (2010)	Sex	Domestic	1	U.S.	2	U.S.	None

As shown in the last column of Table 4, only 4 of the 20 cases (20%) had a connection to organized crime. The 16 cases that do not have a human trafficking and organized crime relationship include charges of sex trafficking, labor trafficking, or both. Some cases without a relationship to organized crime were domestic trafficking whereas others were international trafficking. Five of the eight (63%) international trafficking cases did not involve a relationship with organized crime. These five cases, which include *Almonte et al.*, *Babb et al.*, *Bello*, *Skow*, and *Garrett et al.*, involved cases with U.S. defendants as well as defendants from foreign countries. Also, these international cases without a connection to an organized criminal network or organized crime syndicate included victims from various nations such as Swaziland, India, and Mexico.

Given these findings, it is clear that connections to organized crime are not necessary to facilitate international labor trafficking. For example in the *U.S. v. Garrett et al.* (2008) case, which is an international trafficking case for domestic servitude, one of the three defendants traveled to India with the intent of finding an Indian national to falsely promise a well paying job in America. The defendants did not use smugglers or sophisticated channels to traffic their victim into the United States. The Garrett family simply instructed the female Indian national to apply for a tourist visa, wrote her prominent sponsorship letters, and lied about the true intention of her travel. Upon arrival, they forcibly kept the Indian female as a domestic servant.

Furthermore, as shown in the last column of Table 4, 11 of 12 (92%) domestic trafficking cases did not involve organized crime. In these 11 cases, which include *Chappell*, *Desautu*, *Homer*, *Jones*, *Mustafa et al.*, *Norris et al.*, *Pressley*, *Pruitt et al.*, *Robinson*, *Sims et al.*, and *Ward*, 15 defendants and 34 victims were U.S. citizens. The traffickers in the 11 cases operated in multiple Georgia counties and recruited females through kidnapping, seduction, and other means.

Therefore, domestic trafficking does not necessitate organized crime involvement. For instance, there was no human trafficking and organized crime relationship in the *Mustafa* domestic sex trafficking case which involved the recruitment of females through ads on craigslist.org and backpage.com. Internet ads solicited “women who were interested in making money, becoming an escort, or seeking sexual and/or romantic relationships” (*U.S. v. Mustafa et al.*, 2011, p. 4). Once females responded to the online solicitation, Solomon Mustafa or his co-defendant, Kalandra Wallace, would transport the victims from the original meeting point and force them to perform sexual acts with each of the 2 defendants and other clients. Through all case information, it appears that the Internet supplied a forum to conceal the true purpose of the advertisements, and that the two defendants acted without the assistance of organized crime. It is clear that a relationship to organized crime is not necessary, or common, in perpetration of human trafficking in metropolitan Atlanta.

Type of relationship.

While 80% (16) of the human trafficking cases did not exhibit a relationship between organized crime and human trafficking, 20% (4) of the cases did include a connection to organized crime. More specifically, 15% of cases (3) had a human trafficking and organized crime relationship identified as a business relationship and 5% of the cases were classified as entrenchment. As the last column of Table 4 shows, the three cases exhibited a business transaction relationship, which indicates that the defendants used a third party functioning as organized crime in order to further human trafficking, include *U.S. v. Mendez Guzman et al.* (2002), *U.S. v. Rojas et al.* (2003), and *U.S. v. Rosa Tort et al.* (2008). Only one case, *U.S. v. Pipkins et al.* (2001), revealed a relationship that could be classified as entrenchment. In other words, only one human trafficking ring exhibited characteristics congruent with an organized crime syndicate. None of the Atlanta human trafficking cases demonstrated a symbiotic

relationship with organized crime. Thus, when there is a human trafficking and organized crime relationship, the business relationship is most common as 75% of the cases with a link between human trafficking and organized crime were classified as business relationships.

The first case, *U.S. v. Mendez Guzman*, was an international sex trafficking case originating from Mexico. The four defendants in *Mendez Guzman* recruited three individuals in Mexico and transported the females across the U.S.-Mexico border by using human smugglers called *coyotes*. Specifically, one of the defendants, Jose Luis Lopez, paid a man named “Marcos” (not indicted) to smuggle victims into the U.S. and to make travel arrangements from California to Georgia for several of the victims. Although one individual can smuggle migrants as a *coyote*, it is more common for small scale criminal networks to make sophisticated arrangements extending past the immediate border town such as booking flights in America (Spener, 2004). For instance, small scale smuggling networks and larger smuggling organizations tend to move large numbers of people across the border, have contacts throughout the region, can make travel arrangements in the U.S., and may supply false identification documents (Spener, 2004). The ability of “Marcos” to make travel arrangements across the border and throughout the United States indicates that he was most likely not working alone nor was he solely recruited because he was familiar with the terrain. It is not clear whether the defendants regularly hired “Marcos” or if it was a one-time affair. Therefore, the relationship is categorized as a business transaction rather than symbiotic.

Next, *U.S. v. Rojas et al.*, an international sex trafficking case involving 3 Hispanic defendants and 2 Hispanic victims, was classified as a business transaction relationship for two reasons. First, the *Rojas* case demonstrated a relationship with smugglers similar to that in the *Mendez Guzman* case. Juan Rojas Reyes paid a smuggler to transport the victims, to provide false identification documents and to provide airline tickets. Once again, previous research (i.e.

Spener, 2004) expresses that an individual coyote hired solely because he or she knows the terrain does not typically have access to identification documents and U.S. airline tickets. It is clear that the smuggler was connected to others and/or operated the smuggling as a business. Secondly, the *Rojas* defendants had connections in New York, Tennessee, and Georgia. The extent or purpose of these connections was not clarified in the case file. There were also “drivers” who would transport the females to locations around metropolitan Atlanta and who were not indicted. It is possible that this case was larger and more complicated than the case file demonstrates, but, as the evidence is not clear, only a business transaction relationship could be determined.

U.S. v. Rosa Tort et al., another international sex trafficking ring involving 6 Hispanic defendants and 10 Hispanic victims, followed a similar pattern to *U.S. v. Rojas et al.* Arrangements were made multiple times for individuals to smuggle females across the border and for birth certificates to be altered. The frequency in which the defendants made arrangements leads one to believe that the traffickers were using individuals who operated smuggling rings or falsified documents as a business. Therefore, the sex trafficking ring was classified as a business transaction relationship.

The three aforementioned international sex trafficking rings all involved human smuggling as a type of organized crime, and two of the cases utilize falsified documentation connected to organized crime. Recall that human smuggling is “the importation of people via the deliberate evasion of immigration laws” (ICE, 2011) and is not a necessary component for a human trafficking charge. Thus, human smuggling is the most common form of organized crime associated with human trafficking in metropolitan Atlanta. The second most common form of organized crime tied to human trafficking in metropolitan Atlanta is falsified documentation.

On the other hand, an organized crime syndicate was located in Atlanta. *U.S. v. Pipkins et al.*, a domestic labor trafficking case, can definitively be characterized as entrenchment. There were 15 defendants and at least 50 victims in the human trafficking ring. Prosecutors charged the defendants with a racketeering/RICO charge due to the operation of a criminal enterprise involving kidnapping, extortion, distributing controlled substances, and murder threats. Additionally, the enterprise was deemed criminal because its purpose was prostituting and transporting juvenile females in Georgia and in other states. RICO charges indicate that the federal government acknowledged the ring's presence in organized crime. There were over 40 extortion charges, 14 kidnapping charges, 8 falsified document charges, and 14 charges for distribution of drugs to minors. *Pipkins et al.* was the only case in Atlanta to involve drug distribution charges. Violence emanated from the human trafficking ring. Disobedience from females was met with burns, torture, and humiliation. There were "breakers" who would break a girl's will using any means necessary including "pistol-whipping her, drugging her, and having her repeatedly gang raped" (*U.S. v. Pipkins et al.*, 2001, p. 7). One defendant even tied a girl to a bed and fired shots at her when she tried to escape. Weapons such as an Olympic Arms AR-15 with a .37 millimeter launcher were located in several of the defendants' residences. There was a hierarchy of prostitutes with the "bottom girl" being the most senior prostitute. Defendants regularly obtained false documents including driver's licenses, social security cards, and birth certificates. The defendants held conventions with other pimps, sold females to other prostitution rings, and traveled across the United States. Human trafficking operations in *Pipkins* can be considered part of an organized criminal syndicate due to a large number of defendants, a RICO charge, violence, business transactions for falsified documents, and distribution of drugs.

Overall, the 3 trafficking cases connected to organized crime demonstrate a business transaction relationship and 1 operates as an organized crime syndicate. Collectively, the

varying rings included human smuggling, false documentation, drug distribution, RICO, and a multitude of other charges that assisted in classifying a relationship to organized crime. After reviewing the details of the human trafficking cases with a relationship to organized crime, it is important to examine if there are any differences by type of trafficking (sex, labor, both) and by degree of trafficking (domestic or international).

Bivariate Analysis: Type of Relationship & Type of Human Trafficking

After analyzing the relationships to organized crime, I examined the type of relationship (none, business, symbiotic, entrenchment) by the type of trafficking (sex, labor, both). As shown in Table 5, sex trafficking and labor trafficking rings demonstrate a statistically similar relationship to organized crime. One ring of the four (25%) characterized as labor trafficking due to the TVPA charge has a link to organized crime and 21% of sex trafficking cases involve organized crime. However, the manner in which sex or labor cases incorporate organized crime varies. The labor trafficking case with an organized crime link was determined to be entrenchment. The entrenchment case was *U.S. v. Pipkins et al.* which provided sexual services to clients. Therefore, no domestic servitude cases were identified as having a relationship with organized crime.

On the other hand, 21% of the sex trafficking cases had a business transaction relationship with organized crime. This indicates that 11 of the 14 (79%) sex trafficking cases did not exhibit a relationship to either organized criminal networks or organized crime syndicates. This does not include cases with both a sex trafficking and labor trafficking charge. These combined cases did not show signs of a relationship with organized crime. Therefore, only cases with a sex trafficking charge *or* a labor trafficking charge had a relationship to organized crime.

Table 5: Type of Relationship by Type of Trafficking in Atlanta

Type of Trafficking	Type of Relationship				
	None	Business	Symbiotic	Entrenchment	Total
Sex	11	3	0	0	14
Labor	3	0	0	1	4
Both	2	0	0	0	2
Total	16	3	0	1	20

All of the cases involving a business relationship were sex trafficking cases. The only case characterized as entrenchment was a labor trafficking cases. Neither of the two cases, which involved both labor and sex trafficking charges, had a relationship with organized crime.

Bivariate Analysis: Type of Relationship & Degree of Human Trafficking

Domestic and international trafficking data also expose differing trends. Table 6 illustrates differences that international and domestic human trafficking rings exhibit in regards to their relationship with organized crime. Of the 12 domestic trafficking cases, only one (8.3%) demonstrated a relationship to organized crime, *Pipkins et al.* On the other hand, of the 8 international trafficking cases, 3 (38%) involve organized crime as a business relationship. No international cases revealed a relationship that could be categorized as entrenchment. Thus, there is no indication that the international trafficking rings are associated with organized crime syndicates such as the Mafia or motorcycle gangs.

Table 6: Type of Relationship by Degree of Human Trafficking in Atlanta

Degree of Trafficking	Type of Relationship				
	None	Business	Symbiotic	Entrenchment	Total
Domestic	11	0	0	1	12
International	5	3	0	0	8
Total	16	3	0	1	20

Overall, the majority of human trafficking cases in metropolitan Atlanta do not exhibit links to organized crime. Fifty-five percent of the human trafficking cases in Atlanta were domestic trafficking cases that did not involve organized crime. Twenty-five percent of the cases were international trafficking rings not connected to organized crime. Of the 20 cases indicted in Atlanta, 15% were international trafficking connected to organized crime.

Human trafficking can be perpetrated by one individual, a couple, several people, or an entire crime syndicate. There is not one model that human trafficking cases follow but rather a multitude of options. Organized crime exhibits varying relationships between international and domestic cases. Organized crime more frequently appears in international trafficking, but not all international cases involve organized crime. There are distinct differences between sex and labor's relation to organized crime with sex trafficking more commonly linked to organized crime. When a relationship does exist, business relationships are most popular with the organized crime group providing a single service to traffickers. Although they exist, organized crime relationships with human trafficking do not appear consistent or uniform in human trafficking cases in metropolitan Atlanta.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

The previous chapter explained the results of this study. It established that the link between human trafficking and organized crime is inconsistent and infrequently found in Atlanta human trafficking cases. This chapter analyzes the findings in more detail including how the results relate to previous research as well as the implications of the findings. I present the limitations of this study and future research suggestions.

Analysis & Implications

This research explored the extent to which human trafficking is connected to organized crime. It offered a current analysis with an empirical foundation for the claim that organized crime controls human trafficking. Analyzing Contrary to the results from previous research (i.e. O'Neill Richard, 1999; Raymond & Hughes, 2001), the results from the present study indicate that the majority of human trafficking cases in metropolitan Atlanta do not involve organized crime. Domestic, international, labor and sex trafficking all have varying relationships to organized crime, and a clear pattern for organized crime involvement in human trafficking does not appear to exist. A specific type of human trafficking (i.e. international, sex) does not guarantee the involvement of organized crime. The results may differ from previous research because current literature is outdated (i.e. Raymond & Hughes, 2001, O'Neill Richard, 1999) and lacks methodological rigor (i.e. O'Neill Richard, 1999; Estes & Weiner, 2001). Instead of collecting data from any and all available sources, this study created an easily replicated, standardized method of determining the relationship between organized crime and human trafficking. The new standard along with current cases may have revealed a different type of human trafficking and organized crime dynamic in Atlanta.

Taking both bivariate analyses into consideration, the cases in metro Atlanta most frequently associated with organized crime are international sex trafficking cases. A link between international sex trafficking and organized crime is consistent with previous research such as O'Neill Richard's (1999) findings; however, O'Neill Richard's (1999) study suggests that organized crime syndicates control human trafficking rings in their entirety. Controlling a human trafficking ring would qualify as entrenchment. In this study, it was not found that international human trafficking rings offering sex or labor services were part of organized crime syndicates.

It appears that international trafficking in Atlanta includes smaller criminal networks in a handful of cases. Three of eight (38%) international trafficking cases involved organized crime. The three cases involving organized crime were all international sex trafficking rings and all involved Hispanic perpetrators and victims. As previous research does not analyze in-depth the relationship between Hispanic human trafficking rings and organized crime, it is not possible to compare Atlanta results to earlier trends in the Southeast or U.S. Potentially, the results of the study are not generalizable for international sex trafficking originating from other regions. It cannot be concluded whether other ethnicities or nationalities, outside of Hispanic, are not as involved in the sex industry/sex trafficking of Southeastern states as once was presumed or if they are not being detected/prosecuted by federal authorities in Georgia. Regardless, it is clear that some Hispanic sex trafficking rings in Atlanta carry out human trafficking through business relationships with organized criminal networks. The offenders utilize the specialized skills of human smugglers (i.e. familiar with terrain, avoid police detection) and document forgers. The type of human smuggler or coyote used in the cases was not always apparent. Thus, there should be further examination into whether traffickers prefer individual, familiar coyotes, or those in an organized criminal network.

In general, entrenchment was uncommon as only *Pipkins*, a domestic trafficking ring, demonstrated behavior consistent with an organized crime syndicate. It is important to note that U.S. attorneys prosecuted *Pipkins et al.* in the early 2000s which is the same time period that scholars emphasized the role of organized crime syndicates in human trafficking, particularly sex trafficking (i.e. O'Neill Richard, 1999). It is possible, though not definitive, that studies conducted in the 1990s and early 2000s with concluding evidence that organized crime controlled the majority of human trafficking were valid. It seems, however, that recent publications discussing human trafficking and the role of organized crime throughout the U.S. may be relying on outdated data (i.e. Aronowitz, 2001; Hodge, 2008; Torg, 2006) as Atlanta's human trafficking-organized crime relationship does not mirror previous research. Further research needs to be conducted in order to determine if these results are nationwide or specific to Atlanta, Georgia.

Furthermore, the majority of the cases in Atlanta were not international trafficking but rather domestic trafficking cases. Of the domestic cases, *Pipkins* is the only one that conclusively shows evidence of organized crime involvement. The majority of the human trafficking cases in Atlanta do not have RICO enterprise charges or even a diverse array of criminal charges such as human trafficking, drug distribution, and witness tampering in the same case. Diversity of crimes serves as a key factor in qualifying as an organized crime syndicate. Additionally, 60% of the human trafficking rings operated with less than 3 defendants. As the operational definition of organized crime requires at least 3 participants, human trafficking rings with only 1 or 2 defendants cannot be considered organized crime syndicates. No domestic trafficking ring, except *Pipkins*, operated with more than 3 defendants which reveals small human trafficking groups carrying out the majority of these criminal acts in metropolitan Atlanta.

Also, the emphasis on sex trafficking in existing literature is understandable as more sex trafficking cases are prosecuted and more involve organized crime, but 20% of the cases were labor trafficking and another 10% were combined labor and sex trafficking cases. Although not the most prominent form of human trafficking, forced labor occurs and should be analyzed. Forced labor and sex trafficking should not be assumed to have similar motivations or activities. For example, both forms of international trafficking may involve false identification or illegal travel into the U.S., but the tactics vary greatly. In this study, sex traffickers tend to illegally transport their victims into the U.S., occasionally using criminal networks. Instead of using smuggling or organized crime connections, perpetrators of international labor trafficking frequently utilize legitimate avenues such as visa applications to transport victims into the United States. The act becomes illegal because the intentions of the travel are not conveyed to immigration services, and the victims are frequently forced to overstay their visas making their presence in the U.S. illegal. The transportation methods require different skills, diverse knowledge, and unique criminal associations. As such, they require different legal reactions. Taking legal reactions into consideration, future research should analyze whether Citizenship and Immigration Services agents are aware of “red flags” or indicators of human trafficking during visa applications and interviews.

Organized crime plays a larger role in sex trafficking than labor trafficking, and this should be acknowledged by all law enforcement agencies. It should also be recognized that human traffickers are just as likely, if not more likely, to be romantic couples than criminal networks or organized crime syndicates in Atlanta. The Atlanta result of smaller human trafficking rings may be true for other cities as well. The assumption perpetrated by the media and scholarly publications that organized crime controls human trafficking should be more thoroughly tested through studies similar to this one.

Limitations

Although this study produced results demonstrating a lack of organized crime involvement, extrapolating the results should be done with caution due to several limitations. Including only TVPA-related cases has three limitations. First, there is not always enough evidence to pursue a TVPA conviction, and the prosecution may choose to charge an offender using similar legislation such as the Mann Act used to prosecute individuals for transporting women across state lines for prostitution (Coonan, 2010). The cases may still fit the criteria for a human trafficking case, but could not be prosecuted as such. Next, TVPA convictions exclude state level prosecutions which are increasingly present as states have enacted specific trafficking statutes. Last, only the rings that have been discovered can be analyzed using this standard. It is inevitable that human trafficking rings exist unbeknownst to law enforcement. These human traffickers are outside of the scope of this study. Even with these limitations, using only TVPA-related cases was selected because it eliminates a degree of subjectivity by creating a standard that does not leave the researcher to determine which cases can be classified as ‘human trafficking.’ The standard can be easily replicated in future studies which aids in comparison of data.

Another limitation was the identification of cases through media sources. It is possible that a case was overlooked, but it is unlikely that the case involved high profile offenders or organized crime syndicates as an exhaustive search of media publications was executed. All media sources and publications with a list or a single defendant’s name associated with a possible human trafficking case were checked in the Northern District of Georgia’s public court records. Despite these efforts, there is not a guarantee that all cases were located.

The small number of cases included in the study (20) limits the generalizability of the results to other regions. Also, only four cases had a relationship with organized crime which

indicates that strong conclusions cannot be drawn regarding the classification of such relationships. More research throughout the entire state of Georgia and the United States as a whole should be conducted for more in-depth classification results.

By selecting only one metropolitan area for the study, the results should not be extrapolated to other cities without further examination. Lack of generalizability does not impede the validity of this study. As previously mentioned, the types of human trafficking rings vary dependent upon the region. Metropolitan Atlanta is a significant area of study for human trafficking due to the conducive environment and national recognition as a human trafficking hub. The location makes the information valuable, but not generalizable to other regions or even other types of human trafficking (i.e. Asian massage parlors; Russian prostitution rings). The findings demonstrate that, contrary to previous research and media publications, the relationship between organized crime and human trafficking is weak in Atlanta. Due to the easily replicated methodological approach of this study, more research can be conducted to determine if other cities and regions follow the same pattern as metropolitan Atlanta.

Future Research

Future research should focus on differences across the nation concerning the type of relationship between human trafficking and organized crime. A nation-wide study including all federal level human trafficking cases should be conducted in order to create a more complete picture of the relationship between organized crime and human trafficking in the U.S. Further research endeavors should also take state-level cases into consideration as more states enact legislation specifically designed to combat human trafficking. International and domestic trafficking rings should be analyzed separately and together in order to decipher patterns and significant differences regarding organized crime. Labor trafficking should be included and compared to sex trafficking in future regional and national studies.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Human trafficking is a grave problem that affects millions of people each year as traffickers force individuals into domestic servitude and sex work (ILO, 2012). Human trafficking is not discriminatory but rather involves men, women, and children of all ages and nationalities. The perpetrators do not appear to fit a pattern or mold (CA Commission on POST, 2008). Such a far-reaching crime occurring in the United States and abroad deserves legal and scholarly attention in order to effectively combat it. As state and federal laws have developed (i.e. TVPA, 2000) and descriptive studies have been conducted (i.e. Hodge & Lietz, 2007; Seelke & Siskin, 2008), the next step in research is to offer studies with strong empirical foundations to support claims about human trafficking.

A common claim by both scholars and media sources is that organized crime is frequently involved in human trafficking and often controls the entire human trafficking ring (i.e. Radović et al., 2010; Johnson, 2011; Thomas, 2012). This study explored the activities of human traffickers in relation to organized crime in metropolitan Atlanta and offered empirical evidence to understand the human trafficking-organized crime dynamic. The study expanded upon the intensity and the consistency with which the associations occur and found that links between the two are inconsistent. Even using a broad definition of organized crime (organized criminal networks and organized crime syndicates), more than half of the cases could not be linked to organized crime in any way. In the few cases that did include organized crime, a relationship occurred most frequently in the form of a business transaction such as human smuggling or falsification of documents. The perpetration of human trafficking by organized crime syndicates exists, but does not appear as frequent as was once assumed.

This study's findings reveal that more research must be conducted to fully understand the extent and nature of human trafficking. More research can lead to greater awareness throughout the United States and abroad. Citizens, policy makers, and law enforcement should be aware that traffickers are not solely members of the mafia or gangs, but rather take on a multitude of forms such as friend, judge, or married couple as the cases in this study confirmed. Law enforcement, in particular, must be cognizant of the various types of human trafficking and perpetrators. Some law enforcement agencies undergo human trafficking training (i.e. Clawson et al., 2008; GBI, 2011), but the training curriculum may be relying on outdated research concerning the relationship between organized crime and human trafficking. More research in this area could improve the skills and knowledge offered through the trainings. Understanding the crime and the traffickers is essential to combating human trafficking in order to raise awareness, ensure an educated police force, and assist in preventive efforts.

Appendix A:
Federal Human Trafficking Cases in Metropolitan Atlanta, GA
2000-2012

20 cases, 60 defendants

1. *U.S. v. Almonte et al.*
 - a. *U.S. v. Jose Miguel Almonte*
 - b. *U.S. v. Luz Gutierrez*
 - c. *U.S. v. Epifania Sanchez Delarosa*
 - d. *U.S. v. Maria D. Rodriguez Herrera*
 - e. *U.S. v. Romualda Resendiz Perez*
 - f. *U.S. v. Taina Calderan*
 - g. *U.S. v. Saul Morales Villareal*
 - h. *U.S. v. Oscar LNU aka Peluche*
2. *U.S. v. Babb et al.*
 - a. *U.S. v. Juna Gwendolyn Babb*
 - b. *U.S. v Michael J. Babb*
3. *U.S. v. Bidemi Bello*
4. *U.S. v. Timothy L. Chappell*
5. *U.S. v. Desautu*
6. *U.S. v. Garrett*
 - a. *U.S. v. Malika Garrett*
 - b. *U.S. v. Russell Garrett*
 - c. *U.S. v. D. William Garrett, Jr*
7. *U.S. v. Demetrius D. Homer*
8. *U.S. v. Jimmie Lee Jones*
9. *U.S. v. Mendez Guzman et al.*
 - a. *U.S. v. Noe Quetzal Mendez Guzman*
 - b. *U.S. v. Alejandro Mendez Ramos*
 - c. *U.S. v. Samuel Mendez Romero*
 - d. *U.S. v. Jose Luis Lopez*
10. *U.S. v. Mustafa et al*
 - a. *U.S. v. Soloman M. Mustafa*
 - b. *U.S. v. Kalandra A. Wallace*
11. *U.S. v. Norris et al*
 - a. *U.S. v. Harrison Norris Jr.*
 - b. *U.S. v. Aimee Allen*
 - c. *U.S. v. Cedric Lamar Jackson*
12. *U.S. v. Pipkins et al*
 - a. *U.S. v. Charles Floyd Pipkins*

- b. *U.S. v. Andrew Moore, Jr.*
 - c. *U.S. v. Linda Moore*
 - d. *U.S. v. Michael J. Davis*
 - e. *U.S. v. Herman Gordon Hutson, Jr.*
 - f. *U.S. v. Terrance Machill Ramsey*
 - g. *U.S. v. Dominic Terry*
 - h. *U.S. v. Bryant Weaver Bell*
 - i. *U.S. v. Terrance Anderson*
 - j. *U.S. v. Dwayne Comer*
 - k. *U.S. v. Deunbray Rucker*
 - l. *U.S. v. Sandy Anthony Bell*
 - m. *U.S. v. Eugene Burson, Jr.*
 - n. *U.S. v. Camari Burrough*
 - o. *U.S. v. Landreaka Herndon*
13. *U.S. v. Christopher Pressley*
14. *U.S. v. Pruitt et al*
- a. *U.S. v. Lawrence Edward Pruitt*
 - b. *U.S. v. Marvis Nichole Harris*
15. *U.S. v. Rojas et al*
- a. *U.S. v. Juan Reyes Rojas*
 - b. *U.S. v. Jose Reyes Rojas*
 - c. *U.S. v. Raul Reyes Rojas*
16. *U.S. v. Rosa Tort et al*
- a. *U.S. v. Edison Wagner Rosa Tort*
 - b. *U.S. v. Amador Cortes-Meza*
 - c. *U.S. v. Francisco Cortes-Meza*
 - d. *U.S. v. Juan Cortes-Meza*
 - e. *U.S. v. Raul Cortes-Meza*
 - f. *U.S. v. Otto Jaime Larios Perez*
17. *U.S. v. Chesire Martinez Robinson*
18. *U.S. v. Sims et al*
- a. *U.S. v. Mariece Sims*
 - b. *U.S. v. Dwayne B. Thigpen*
 - c. *U.S. v. Olivia Glosson*
19. *U.S. v. Carl Skow*
20. *U.S. v. Dmarcus A. Ward*

*Cases with more than one defendant have the defendants listed in the order they appear in the case file. (i.e. Jose Miguel Almonte is defendant 1 in *U.S. v. Almonte et al.*)

Appendix B:
Federal Human Trafficking Case Summaries (Metropolitan Atlanta, GA)
2000-2012
20 cases, 60 defendants

1. *U.S. v. Almonte et al.* 2011; (International sex trafficking)
At least 8 members operated a prostitution ring in Marietta, Georgia in 2010 and 2011. Hispanic females were recruited, harbored in 3 houses, and transported between Georgia, Florida, and Alabama. There were male “housekeepers” who were instructed to maintain the residence and protect the females. At least one male was recruited under false pretenses. Luz Gutierrez controlled at least 7 females. Epifania Delarosa also operated one of the brothels. Almonte transported women between houses. Maria recruited, transported, and paid rent. Herrera, Villareal, Calderon, and Almonte pled guilty to conspiracy to commit sex trafficking. Romualda, Gutierrez, and Oscar LNU pled guilty to conspiracy to commit interstate transportation for immoral purposes.
2. *U.S. v. Babb et al.* 2009; (International labor trafficking)
From March 2005 to February 2007, the wealthy, married couple Juna Gwendolyn Babb and Michael J. Babb recruited and exploited an individual from Swaziland. A young female known as T.H. entered the U.S. on a tourist visa per the request of the Babbs. Mr. and Mrs. Babb recruited T.H. under the false pretense that she would cater a wedding and instructed T.H. not to tell immigration officials that she planned to work in the U.S. The Babbs’ true intent was to use T.H. as a housekeeper and nanny without pay. Mr. Babb also used T.H. for construction and home renovation labor. Throughout her time in Dekalb County, T.H. was physically and emotionally threatened. Juna Babb pled guilty to harboring aliens for commercial and private gain (8 U.S.C. 1324). Michael Babb pled guilty to count one of a criminal information (8 U.S.C. 1324).
3. *U.S. v. Bidemi Bello* 2010; (International labor trafficking)
Bidemi Bello exploited two separate females from Nigeria between 2001 and 2006 under the pretense that they would serve as nannies. She obtained false identification for the girls and traveled with the girls from Nigeria. Bello used physical force, the threat of violence, isolation, and the threat of deportation in order to keep the girls under her control. Bello was found guilty of forced labor, trafficking with respect to forced labor, document servitude, harboring for financial gain, and procurement of naturalization unlawfully.
4. *U.S. v. Timothy L. Chappell* 2010; (Domestic sex trafficking)
An adolescent female, C.B., met Chappell, who was a registered sex offender in Cobb County, through craigslist.org. She originally spoke with Chappell’s brother, Steve. An

unknown man drove C.B. from her residence in Carrollton to Hilltop Inn in Conley, Georgia to meet Chappell. The juvenile C.B. spent two nights at the hotel in which she engaged in sex with Chappell. Chappell forced C.B. to have sex with two other men for money and a ride home. Chappell pled guilty to two counts of commission of a felony offense involving a minor by a registered sex offender.

5. *U.S. v. Desautu** 2011; (Domestic sex trafficking)

Marcelo Alejo Desautu agreed to care for a friend's 12 year old daughter. Instead, he provided the young girl with drugs and alcohol and prostituted her to adult men between December 2007 and March 2008 throughout metropolitan Atlanta. Desautu spent money the female received on drugs and alcohol. In 2012, Desautu pled guilty to sex trafficking.

6. *U.S. v. Garrett et al.* 2008 (International labor trafficking)

The Garrett family conspired to entice a young Indian female into being a domestic house servant in Cherokee County, Georgia. Malika Garrett traveled to India to select and recruit an Indian female. The Garretts promised the victim, R.S., a job as a maid and nanny. The Garretts instructed R.S. to apply for a tourist visa, and Malika arranged for R.S. to have a visa interview at the American Consulate in Kolkata, India. R.S. was given explicit instructions to not disclose the purpose of her trip to U.S. officials. Russell Garrett, a police officer in Forsyth County, and D. William Garrett Jr., a magistrate judge of Fulton Superior Court, provided sponsorship letters for R.S.'s visa application. Both men falsely stated that R.S. was coming for a visit with their family. Once R.S.'s visa expired, the Garretts forced R.S. to live in inhuman conditions in the basement. She was rarely paid, and was threatened with potential jail time if she went to the police. When R.S. escaped to neighbors, the Garretts claimed that R.S. was lying. The family reported R.S. to the authorities on false claims of terrorism-related activities and an undocumented immigration status. D. William Garrett Jr. pled guilty to a criminal information in 2009. The charges were dismissed against Russell Garrett and Malika Garrett.

7. *U.S. v. Demetrius D. Homer** 2010 (Domestic sex trafficking)

Homer recruited three minors for the purposes of prostitution using seduction. He utilized internet sites to solicit clients for the underage girls and transported the victims to hotels in the metro Atlanta area. He physically abused and threatened the females. Homer pled guilty to one count of sex trafficking.

8. *U.S. v. Jimmie Lee Jones** 2005 (Domestic sex trafficking)

Jones recruited 8 victims between 2000 and 2008 by posing as a modeling agent. He sexually abused the girls and threatened violence in order to force them into prostitution. Two of the 8 females were minors. The scheme was discovered when two victims came forward to report the victimization. All charges were dismissed in 2008.

9. *U.S. v. Mendez Guzman et al.* 2002; (International sex trafficking)
Four defendants were involved in a prostitution scheme in which they recruited females in Mexico and arranged for their transportation into the U.S. illegally. Noe Quetzal Mendez Guzman threatened one of the victims with violence if she did not travel to the U.S. to work for him. The ring operated as a brothel with drivers to transport the females to various locations in metropolitan Atlanta. Samuel Mendez Romero pled guilty to sex trafficking, but the remaining defendants are not in custody.
10. *U.S. v. Mustafa et al.* 2011; (Domestic sex trafficking)
Solomon Mustafa and Kalandra Wallace conspired to force females to engage in commercial sexual acts. The defendants placed advertisements on sites such as craigslist.org and backpage.com for females interested in an escort service or sexual and/or romantic relationships. Once a female would respond to the ad, Mustafa or Wallace would transport the woman to a location and force her to engage in sexual acts through physical force and restraint. The defendants would confiscate identification documents and physically and sexually assault the victims. The victims were forced to ingest cocaine. Mustafa raped one victim as he held a gun to her head. Wallace pled guilty to conspiracy to commit sex trafficking. Mustafa was found guilty by a jury of general provisions (18 USC 1594), conspiracy to commit sex trafficking, two counts of sex trafficking, four Mann Act violations, two counts of kidnapping, and one count of document servitude.
11. *U.S. v. Norris et al.* 2005; (Domestic sex trafficking)
Harrison Norris Jr., the former professional wrestler, and his two associates, Aimee Allen and Cedric Lamar Jackson, forced or attempted to force 9 young women into prostitution in and around the Atlanta area. From April 2004 to August 2005, the young women were coerced and lured with false promises such as the possibility of becoming female professional wrestlers. At times, females were kidnapped. Norris, Jackson, and Allen all participated in recruiting women that they forced to dance in nightclubs and engage in prostitution. The women were sexually and physically abused and kept at two different houses in Cartersville, GA. "Team leaders," who were seasoned prostitutes, assisted in controlling other women. In 2005, federal authorities discovered the ring and prosecuted the three individuals. Allen and Jackson pled guilty to conspiracy to defraud the United States (18 U.S.C. 371). Harrison was found guilty of conspiracy to defraud the United States, peonage-involving aggravated sexual abuse, forced labor, trafficking for peonage and forced labor, sex trafficking through force, fraud, or coercion, witness tampering, and obstructing peonage investigation.
12. *U.S. v. Pipkins et al.* 2001; (Domestic labor trafficking)

A minimum of 15 members operated a sophisticated prostitution ring in Atlanta, Georgia involving at least 50 victims. The defendants recruited, enticed, solicited, and kidnapped juveniles to serve as prostitutes. Defendants recruited females from middle schools, strip clubs, chat lines, public transportation stops, and word of mouth. Juveniles were shown videos such as *Pimpology* and *Pimping in Da South* which depicted the pimp lifestyle and expectations. The ring included breakers who would break a girl's will and ensure obedience. There was a hierarchy of prostitutes with a "bottom girl" being the most senior prostitute. Disobedience was punished by burning, torture, and humiliation. The defendants provided various juveniles with marijuana, cocaine, hydrochloride, crack-cocaine, and alcohol. Pipkins forced and employed girls aged 10 to 16 to engage in prostitution. Andrew and Linda Moore acted as pimps to girls aged 12 to 15. Andrew kidnapped at least one girl and shot at her as she tried to escape. Numerous defendants provided false documents to the girls. The defendants transported girls to various states, including Florida and Mississippi, to engage in prostitution. There were intricate rules describing how females could be sold to other pimps. Sometimes girls were taken to Las Vegas and sold to pimps there as well. The 265-count superseding indictment included RICO charges, Mann Act violations, racketeering, kidnapping, extortion, involuntary servitude, falsification of documents, and distribution of drugs to minors. Most defendants pled guilty to racketeering charges, but Pipkins and Moore elected to go to trial. Pipkins and Moore were found guilty of racketeering, Mann Act violations, involuntary servitude, and distribution of drugs to minors. Pipkins was also found guilty of falsification of documents.

13. *U.S. v. Christopher Pressley** 2009; (Domestic sex trafficking)

Pressley posted nude pictures of a minor on Internet sites to recruit and provide potential clients of prostitution for her. It appears that he ran a prostitution ring including underage females via Craigslist and other online advertisement sites. Other individuals were associated with Pressley and posted pictures at his directive, but they were not indicted. Pressley operated in metropolitan Atlanta. He pled to a criminal information.

14. *U.S. v. Pruitt et al.* 2009; (Domestic sex trafficking)

Lawrence Edward Pruitt, and his girlfriend, Marvis Nichole Harris, were indicted April of 2009 for sex trafficking of a minor. The victim was recruited by an unknown individual, but the defendants posted nude pictures of the victim, M.C., on an erotic classified ads site and recruited potential clients for M.C. They communicated via telephone with clients and transported M.C. to hotels to engage in prostitution. The defendants instructed M.C. to say that she was 19 years old. Pruitt pled guilty to sex trafficking of a minor, and Harris pled guilty to conspiracy to commit sex trafficking.

15. *U.S. v. Rojas et al.* 2003; (International sex trafficking)

Three defendants recruited and smuggled two young Mexican females into the U.S. for prostitution. Juan Reyes Rojas seduced both victims in Mexico. The three defendants housed the females in several apartments, but had drivers to transport them to “appointments.” The victims were expected to have 10-25 clients per night, and drivers kept half of the money earned. The three defendants kept the other half of the money. Juan pled guilty to two counts of sex trafficking (18 USC 1591). One of his accomplices, Jose Reyes Rojas, pled guilty to one count of sex trafficking. The third defendant, Raul Reyes Rojas, has not been apprehended.

16. *U.S. v. Rosa Tort et al.* 2008; (International sex trafficking)

A sex trafficking ring involving at least 6 members and 10 victims operated in Bartow County from 2006 to 2008. The ten females were recruited in Mexico with promises of jobs and marriage by Amador Cortes Meza, Francisco Cortes Meza, and Juan Cortes Meza. The girls, as young as 15, were smuggled into the U.S. using coyotes. The defendants used physical, emotional, and sexual violence to subdue the victims. At one point, a defendant threw an iron at one of the females’ head and struck her. The recruiter kept the money for each girl and split it with the driver. Edison Rosa Tort, Amador Cortes Meza, and other unknown drivers booked “appointments” for several of the females. Rosa Tort, Otto Jaime Lairos Perez and Raul Cortes Meza served as drivers. One of the victims revealed that she had a quota of 20 to 30 men per night and charged \$25 per client. Francisco and Raul each pled guilty to one count of sex trafficking. Rosa Tort pled guilty to conspiracy to commit sex trafficking by force, fraud or coercion. Otto pled guilty to false statements to law enforcement. Juan pled guilty to one count of sex trafficking and one count of importation of an alien for immoral purposes. Amador went to trial and was found guilty of conspiracy to commit sex trafficking, two counts of sex trafficking of a minor, two counts of sex trafficking by force, fraud, or coercion, four counts of importation of an alien for immoral purposes, four counts of principals (18 USC 2), one Mann Act violation, and five counts of bringing in and harboring illegal aliens.

17. *U.S. v. Chesire Martinez Robinson* 2010; (Domestic sex trafficking)

Chesire Martinez Robinson and another person known to the grand jury conspired to harbor, transport, and commercially exploit a minor. The minor was a runaway before she met the defendant. Robinson posted pictures of females, including a minor, on escort and erotic classified ad sites such as backpage.com and cityvibe.com. Robinson arranged for clients and the women to meet at various hotels and truck stops in Atlanta. The defendant kept all cash earned from the commercial sex acts. He physically abused the victim and caused serious injuries to her face. Robinson was found guilty of two counts of sex trafficking of a minor and one Mann Act violation.

18. *U.S. v. Sims et al.* 2004; (Domestic sex trafficking)

Three defendants kidnapped at least one underage female to engage in prostitution. They transported the female from El Dorado, Arkansas, to Atlanta, Georgia. Mariece Sims and Dwayne Thigpen sexually abused and threatened the female in order to force her to perform sexual acts. During the trial proceedings, Mariece and Olivia Glosson attempted to intimidate the female to recant her statements. A jury found Dwayne guilty of a Mann Act violation and Mariece guilty of kidnapping, sex trafficking, and three Mann Act violations. Olivia Glosson was found not guilty.

19. *U.S. v. Carl Skow* 2011; (International sex trafficking)

An undercover Immigration and Customs Enforcement agent responded to an ad for adult services by saying that he could provide young girls to the defendant. The undercover agent and Skow corresponded and coordinated to transport a fictitious 15 year old Guatemalan girl to the U.S. Skow understood that the act would qualify as human trafficking and expressed concern that the girl may be in danger if trafficked; however, he consented to the plan. He prepared a list of “do’s and don’ts” for the girl when she arrived including sexual and housekeeping requirements. Skow was arrested and indicted for Mann Act violations, attempt to commit sex trafficking, and possession of sexually explicit images of a minor. The case is still ongoing and preparing for trial.

20. *U.S. v. Dmarcus A. Ward* 2010; (Domestic sex trafficking)

Ward was indicted on two counts of sex trafficking of a minor. Two victims were sexually exploited by Ward, and at least one was transported from Atlanta to Birmingham, Alabama to engage in prostitution. Ward was found guilty of a Mann Act violation.

*Some of the information was obtained through FBI press releases in order to provide a more complete understanding of the ring.

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