DOMESTIC HUMAN TRAFFICKING, PIMPING, AND PROSTITUTION

ENFORCEMENT IN SAN DIEGO: A POLICY

ANALYSIS AND CASE STUDY

A Thesis

Presented to the

Faculty of

San Diego State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

in

Criminal Justice and Criminology

by

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Spring 2012
SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Peter and Kathy Morgan. Without them, this thesis would not have been possible.
Be the change you want to see in this world.

-Mahatma Gandhi
ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Domestic Human Trafficking, Pimping, and Prostitution Enforcement in San Diego: A Policy Analysis and Case Study
by
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Master of Science in Criminal Justice and Criminology
San Diego State University, 2012

This research aimed to understand the scope, dynamics, and characteristics of domestic human sex trafficking in San Diego County. The methodology included a content analysis of 17 pimping case investigations, 12 face-to-face interviews with experts in the field, and an examination of the county’s current policy and programming responses to these issues. The results of this study are limited due the small sample and lack of direct contact with pimps or prostitutes. This study found that the extent of pimping in San Diego County is greater than previous research indicated. Respondents who work in the field also noted that the rate of gang-related pimping appears to have significantly increased over the past five years and rival gangs are believed to share information and resources to maximize profits resulting from the sexual exploitation of young women. Additionally, major gaps in victim services were noted, such as lack of beds in safe houses, minimal 24- hour emergency services, and scant availability of programs tailored to juveniles and victims with children.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank all my family and friends who helped me in various ways to complete this research. I would also like to thank everyone at the San Diego Vice Unit and the Human Trafficking Advisory Council for their support, time, and sharing of information. Last but not least, I would like to thank my thesis committee for aiding in the thesis writing process, especially Dana Nurge for all her time and effort to make this thesis what it is today.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In late 2008, a 19-year-old female told a common tale to vice detectives in San Diego. She met Vinnity, a band promoter, through a friend and began hanging out with him. A short time later, Vinnity told her that he would buy her nice shoes, clothes, purses, and other items if she were to become his girlfriend. She was captivated and, over the next few days, they have consensual sex in a hotel room. Not long after, Vinnity told her he was really a pimp. Although a bit uneasy, she convinced herself there's no way Vinnity would “pimp” his own girlfriend. This all changed one week later when Vinnity stopped at a convenience store, bought a box of condoms, explained the rules and told her she would now be working the streets. She was shocked and repeatedly said that she did not want to do it, but her pleas fell on deaf ears. With the help of Vinnity’s other “girlfriends” (prostituted victims), she learned how to make multiple deals with Johns (sex solicitors) on the streets or via the internet. Over the next few months, Vinnity forced her to work every night and typically made her walk miles home, unable to spend money she earned on a bus or a taxi. She went on to explain that she often had severe blisters on her feet, had little or nothing to eat for days, and was frequently allowed only two hours of sleep at a time. Once when Vinnity saw her talking to another girl, he threatened to bash both her and her sister's teeth in to the point they'd be drinking their meals through a straw. After the mother of one of Vinnity’s other victims reported her daughter missing, she was found by a vice detective from the San Diego Police Department and placed in a safe house (San Diego Police Department, 2008).

In 2000, President George Bush signed The Trafficking Victims Protection Act, which defined human trafficking as “sex trafficking in which a 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” (U. S. Department of State, 2000, p. 9). Essentially, this Act established a political framework within the United States to further identify the scope of the domestic human sex trafficking problem, aid prostituted victims, and prosecute traffickers. Since the signing of the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act, various
governmental agencies and social service institutions have developed numerous policies and protocols to aggressively wage a ‘moral crusade’ against human sex trafficking, which generally refers to crimes that were previously labeled as prostitution and pimping (Weitzer, 2006).

Pimping and prostitution have been around for centuries, but were recently relabeled as human sex trafficking, which has attracted more interest from policy makers and citizens (Brennan, 2008). Denise Brennan (2008) researched this issue through observations and interviews with trafficked victims, social-service providers, labor organizers, immigration attorneys, and law enforcement personnel throughout the United States. Brennan noted that since the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act in 2000, Congress has been inquiring about where the allocated funds have been going since there have been so few identified victims (Brennan, 2008; U.S. Department of State, 2010). As a result, in 2005 there was an increase in the development of anti-prostitution policies in order to quickly identify victims (Brennan, 2008). These anti-prostitution policies have defined who the prostituted victims are, who is worth rescuing, which groups should receive funding, and which cases should be prosecuted (Brennan, 2008). Consequently, these changing ideas of prostitution became so widely embedded in American society that the definition of human sex trafficking changed to include domestic issues as well (Brennan, 2008).

Pimping and prostitution is a lucrative business and rough estimates put the annual worth of this type of trafficking anywhere between $32 billion and $91 billion worldwide (Kara, 2009; U.S. Department of Justice, 2007b). These numbers were formulated through interviews with hundreds of sexually trafficked slaves, and are merely estimates because of the clandestine and illegal nature of the industry and lack of available research (Kara, 2009; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002; U.S. Department of Justice, 2007b). In 2003, Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage stated that if, left unchecked, “human sex trafficking will become the most lucrative of the three criminal industries [i.e. drugs, guns, and trafficking] within 10 years” (McKelvey, 2004, p. 2). One reason for the growth in human sex trafficking can be attributed to the re-use of a prostitute, whereas selling contraband or guns is a one-time transaction (McKelvey, 2004).

In 2007, San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG) conducted a local level study on prostitution through surveys and interviews of nearly 200 teenage females who were
considered at risk in San Diego County (Burke, Correia, Sievers, & Keaton, 2007). These young women were located in a variety of settings including drop-in centers and shelters (Burke et al., 2007). Researchers concluded that the problem of prostitution in San Diego appeared to be increasing in the last few years due to involvement of gangs, organized crime, and the growth of technology and the internet (Burke et al., 2007). The SANDAG study also examined the effect of prostitution on the community. Researchers surveyed fifteen businesses in National City in areas commonly used for prostitution activities and found that eleven of the businesses had observed fighting, seven had observed other acts of violence, and five had witnessed defecating/urinating in public at some point in the past (Burke et al., 2007). Furthermore, the business owners believed that pimps and prostitutes were likely to be participants in these negative activities, while Johns, or customers, were perceived to be involved in these activities much less frequently (Burke et al., 2007).

**DEFINITIONS OF RELEVANT TERMS**

It is important to clarify the definitions of the many terms used in this study. This study will limit the focus to female victims of prostitution, as they are more prevalent in pimping recruitment and domestic human sex trafficking, whereas, young men are predominantly exploited internationally (Burke et al., 2007; Guillen, 2006). The population of prostituted victims tend to be between 13 and 25 years old and this age group will be referred to as young women throughout the study, with the exception of the distinction between minors and adults in the law.

*Prostitution* is defined by California law as an exchange of any lewd act for money or other considerations (Legislative Council of California, n.d.e). The California Penal Code in §647b states an individual is guilty of prostitution when:

A person agrees to engage in an act of prostitution when, with specific intent to so engage, he or she manifests an acceptance of an offer or solicitation to so engage, regardless of whether the offer or solicitation was made by a person who also possessed the specific intent to engage in prostitution. No agreement to engage in an act of prostitution shall constitute a violation of this subdivision unless some act, in addition to the agreement, is done within this state in furtherance of the commission of an act of prostitution by the person agreeing to engage in that act. (Legislative Council of California, n.d.e)

A prostitution offense in California is a misdemeanor; if found guilty, a first time offender is sentenced to a maximum of 30 days in county jail (Legislative Council of California, n.d.e).
For purposes of this study, *youth prostitution* refers to the prostitution of females under the age of 18 (Legislative Council of California, n.d.c). This study will use the term *prostituted victim* to refer to a prostitute. Referring to a prostitute as a prostituted victim is becoming more common due to the understanding of the circumstances that lead to her to prostitution. The prostituted victim may knowingly break the law, but typically does so through the coercion and control of a pimp/trafficker.

In §266h, the California Penal Code describes a *pimp* as a person who deprives personal liberty from another by collecting their earnings from sexual acts for money. The legal definition for pimping is:

> Any person who, knowing another person is a prostitute, lives or derives support or maintenance in whole or in part from the earnings or proceeds of the person's prostitution, or from money loaned or advanced to or charged against that person by any keeper or manager or inmate of a house or other place where prostitution is practiced or allowed, or who solicits or receives compensation for soliciting for the person, is guilty of pimping, a felony, and shall be punishable by imprisonment in the state prison for three, four, or six years. (Legislative Council of California, n.d.c)

*Human Trafficking* is defined by California Penal Code, in §236, as:

> Any person who deprives or violates the personal liberty of another with the intent to effect or maintain a felony violation of Section 266, 266h, 266i, 267, 311.4, or 518, or to obtain forced labor or services, is guilty of human trafficking. (Legislative Council of California, n.d.b)

The law further delineates that in order to charge human trafficking there must be:

> Unlawful deprivation or violation of the personal liberty of another includes substantial and sustained restriction of another's liberty accomplished through fraud, deceit, coercion, violence, duress, menace, or threat of unlawful injury to the victim or to another person, under circumstances where the person receiving or apprehending the threat reasonably believes that it is likely that the person making the threat would carry it out. (Legislative Council of California, n.d.b)

The penal code *mandates* that a person found guilty of human trafficking can be sentenced to state prison for three to five years. If the victim is under the age of 18, the sentence to state prison is four to eight years (Legislative Council of California, n.d.b).

Human sex trafficking and pimping are terms that are often used interchangeably due to the nature of the crime. In order to successfully convict a charge of human trafficking, the prosecutor has to prove coercion or fraud. This differs from pimping, which refers to the monetary gain an individual receives from a prostitute. However, the reality is that girls from
the United States are being recruited into prostitution by manipulation, coercion, and abuse and their recruiter is typically a pimp who profits from them (Grace, 2010; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). Therefore, for the most part, human sex trafficking and pimping co-occur. Throughout the study, pimping and human trafficking offenses will be referred to as domestic human sex trafficking.

Another criminal offense discussed in this research is pandering. While the definition of pimping refers to a person’s act, pandering refers to the act itself. In California, pandering is defined in §266i(2) as an individual who, “promises, threatens, violence, or by any device or scheme, causes, induces, persuades, or encourages another person to become a prostitute” (Legislative Council of California, n.d.b). In other words, pandering can be charged against a pimp who recruits and teaches a prostitute the ‘rules of the game’ of prostitution (Legislative Council of California, n.d.c). In 2009, due to variation in pimping rules, the California Appellate court decided in People v. Wagner to expand pandering to include a prostitute’s new pimp, even if she had been taught the ‘rules of the game’ by a different pimp (Court of Appeal, Fourth District, 2009). Essentially this means that even if a young woman has been the victim of a previous pimp, the law defines that the new pimp can be charged for pandering since his rules may differ from another pimp’s rules.

**Purpose of This Study**

The research undertaken for this thesis aims to address three questions: (1) What is the nature and extent of domestic human sex trafficking in San Diego County? (2) What are the laws, policies, procedures, and practices being used to address this issue and what are system practitioners’ views on their effectiveness? (3) What laws, policies, and services are needed to better address this issue?

This study will build on previous San Diego research on domestic human sex trafficking. In 2007, Burke and her colleagues found through 200 interviews of homeless, runaway, and other vulnerable youth that half (52%) of the sexually exploited youth who exchanged sex for money reported giving their earnings to a pimp. The current study aims to understand the scope and the characteristics of -- and risk factors for -- domestic sex trafficking in San Diego. Although findings are limited to San Diego they may have
applicability to other major cities with pimping and prostitution issues (Shared Hope International, n.d.).

**CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORY AND DOMESTIC HUMAN SEX TRAFFICKING**

Various criminological theories can be applied to pimping behavior. One criminological explanation of this behavior would be deterrence/choice theory. Deterrence theory was first introduced by Jeremy Bentham in 1789 and considers crime to be a rational choice made by an individual based on their analysis of the risks and rewards (Bentham, 1907). This utilitarian calculus measures what decisions and actions should be taken to produce the highest reward (Bentham, 1907). In 1976, Gary Becker expanded on Bentham’s utilitarian calculus suggesting that the perpetrator may be deterred from committing the crime based on the certainty, severity, and swiftness of the corresponding punishment (Becker, 1976; Bentham, 1907). For instance, an individual may be involved in pimping behaviors due to a high monetary reward, weak state laws, and a low risk of being apprehended.

In 1985, Ronald Clarke added to the Rational Choice perspective by noting the importance of the individual’s choice in committing a crime. He argued that when criminal opportunities present themselves, not all individuals will engage in criminal behavior (Clarke & Cornish, 1985). Clarke focused on crime prevention and stated that issues such as morality and fear are the largest contributors in deterrence (Clarke & Cornish, 1985). In Clarke’s Rational Choice theory, it is assumed that individuals are purposive and goal oriented, have a set of hierarchically ordered preferences, and make rational calculations in choosing lines of behavior (Clarke & Cornish, 1985).

Routine Activities Theory offers another theoretical explanation of pimping. In 1977, Felson and Cohen developed Routine Activities theory, which suggests that crime is more likely to occur when there is a suitable target, a motivated offender, and lack of capable guardian. They suggest that violent and property crimes must involve direct contact between the offender and the target, which create the convergence of time and space for a motivated offender, suitable target, and absence of a capable guardian to prevent the crime (Felson & Cohen, 1977). Consistent with deterrence and rational choice, they explained that crime is normal in society (Becker, 1976; Bentham, 1907; Clarke & Cornish, 1985; Felson & Cohen,
For instance, when property is not adequately protected, a viable opportunity exists for criminals canvassing the area. Petty theft and corporate crime are also examples of the types of theft that can easily be explained by routine activities theory. Felson and Cohen note that crime rates increased in the 1960s due to changes in daily routine activities, such as an individual being away from the home more often and unable to act as a guardian to protect their property (Felson & Cohen, 1977). In relation to pimping, girls are suitable targets for motivated pimps who endeavor to build their enterprise using manipulative and coercive recruiting tactics. Furthermore, the lack of guardianship on the growing internet adult sites could account for increasing internet prostitution, as these websites not closely monitored by law enforcement (Latonero, 2011).

Another theory that can be used to describe why individuals engage in pimping and prostitution is Merton’s general strain theory (Merton, 1938). Merton modified Durkheim’s anomie theory, describing crime as a result of a breakdown in the bonds between society and the individual, and applied it to American society. Merton argues that society defines the value of success but then limits the abilities of certain groups to achieve those goals. Merton explains that deviance is due to the unachievable societal pressures on certain individuals, especially in the lower socioeconomic classes. American society encourages and rewards individuals who acquire wealth, which causes increased strain from the culture’s disproportionate emphasis on attaining these goals (Merton, 1938). When these goals cannot be met legitimately, an individual turns to crime (Merton, 1938).

Merton further explains that there are five ways that an individual can respond to this strain in terms of means and goals: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, or rebellion (Merton, 1938). Conformity refers to an individual who accepts the cultural goals and the institutional means of achieving wealth. This person has legitimate employment despite whether or not they succeed (Merton, 1938). An innovator accepts cultural goals of achieving wealth, but rejects institutional means to create their own methods to acquire wealth (Merton, 1938). Ritualism, also known as adaptation, consists of an individual who rejects the culturally accepted goal of wealth, but maintains institutional goals such as hard work and honesty (Merton, 1938). Retreatism occurs when an individual rejects both the cultural goals and institutional means while rebellion refers to when an individual creates new cultural goals (Merton, 1938). In terms of human sex trafficking, a pimp would be classified by
Merton as an innovator. Pimps have rejected the socially accepted ways to earn money and have turned to an illegal lucrative business (Kara, 2009).
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The profession of prostitution was first documented on Sumerian clay tablets in Southern Mestopotomia in 2400 B.C and has been addressed differently in every country (Bullough & Bullough, 1987; Ringdal, 2004). In the United States, laws on prostitution appeared in the early 1900s in response to morality issues brought forth by Progressives (Langum, 2007). Not all countries have outlawed prostitution but throughout the past century various legal policies were enacted in order to combat this issue (ProCon.org, 2009). For example, in 1919 Russia created a prostitution re-education program that sent girls to labor colonies to be trained in professions such as nursing and other trades (ProCon.org, 2009). More recently, in 1999, Sweden created laws against customers, or Johns, buying sex while the women selling sex were not criminalized (ProCon.org, 2009). Currently around the world, there are varying opinions on the legalization of prostitution. The Netherlands, Germany, and Taiwan have legalized brothels and certain forms of prostitution, whereas the United States (with one exception), England, and Canada have yet to legalize these acts (ProCon.org, 2009). There are 11 counties in the state of Nevada that have legalized prostitution in brothels (ProCon.org, n.d.).

CHARACTERISTICS OF PROSTITUTED VICTIMS

In 2010, Mitchell, Finkelhor, and Wolak conducted a study to identify the prevalence and characteristics of juvenile prostitution nationwide. Their data was collected from arrest data on 132 juvenile prostitution cases throughout the United States, which included interviews with the leading investigator for each case (Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2010). An analysis of their data found common characteristics among the victims: 89 percent were over 14 years old; 90 percent were female; all juveniles were United States citizens; and 59 percent of the victims were white and 36 percent were black (Mitchell et al., 2010). Furthermore, 60 percent had history of running away and 36 percent had criminal records.
(Mitchell et al., 2010). Lastly, 53 percent lived in urban communities and 23 percent lived in suburban communities.

**PROSTITUTION: EARLY PREDICTORS**

Researchers have studied predictors that contribute to young women’s risk of sex trafficking victimization (Hughes, 2008; Mitchell et al., 2010). Mitchell and her colleagues’ research revealed that the most significant predictor of female prostitution is whether the child was maltreated in the home (Mitchell et al., 2010). They found that other predictors of juvenile prostitution include: a history of running away, participation in gangs, and drug addiction (Mitchell et al., 2010). The conclusions of this research emphasized that multiple agencies and approaches are needed to address this problem and respond to victims who come from a variety of situations (Mitchell et al., 2010).

Another common characteristic of victims of sexual exploitation is that they tend to come from abusive households; however, the type of abuse differs (Burke et al., 2007; Mitchell et al., 2010; O’Leary & Howard, 2001). Between 2000 and 2001, researchers at the Center for Impact Research in the Chicago area conducted a study on the prevalence of prostitution by talking with key informants who currently worked or have worked as prostitutes, collecting arrest data, interviewing 124 social services providers, and studying online and print advertisements on prostitution-related services (O’Leary & Howard, 2001). They found that 62 percent of prostitution victims reported experiencing domestic violence in their home as a child and 40 percent of the cases were considered serious and involved beatings, rape, and threats with a weapon (O’Leary & Howard, 2001). Mitchell and colleagues’ research found similar results in 2010. In child sexual abuse cases where payment for prostitution was involved, “the first obvious subcategory is where a family member is the abuser” (Mitchell et al., 2010, p. 26). In a similar study, Raphael and Shapiro (2002) trained 12 survivors of prostitution to interview 222 women who were victims of prostitution and sexual exploitation in Chicago. They found that of the 210 victims who responded to the questionnaire, two-thirds stated that someone in their household was frequently hit, slapped, pushed, grabbed, or had objects thrown at them (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002).
In San Diego, Burke and her colleagues studied 200 homeless and vulnerable youth under 25 years old through surveys and interviews in 2007. Their research found that victims of sexual exploitation were 84 percent more likely to report being abused in the past by either a family member or a family friend than the other interviewees (Burke et al., 2007). Of those sexually exploited victims who reported being abused, 83 percent reported have been hit, slapped, choked or pushed; 79 percent reported having experienced verbal abuse; 53 percent having feared their safety; 30 percent noted they had been touched inappropriately; and 23 percent reported they had experienced at least one forced sexual interaction (Burke et al., 2007).

**Prostitution and Drug Use**

Research has revealed a link between prostitution and drug use. Sexually exploited girls tend to come from homes where addiction and drugs were present and often become involved in drug use as well (Burke et al., 2007; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002; Yakusho, 2009). Raphael and Shapiro’s 2002 study in Chicago found that 86 percent of the 222 prostituted victims admitted having used some sort of drugs or alcohol in their childhood household and 83 percent reported the presence of drugs or alcohol in their household. Researchers wanted to assess the prevalence of prostitutes’ drug use while working. They found that of the respondents who used alcohol during this time, approximately one-third drank more than three times a week (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). Almost 76 percent reported using marijuana and 31 percent smoked it on a daily basis (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). Cocaine and heroin was used by 36 percent and 23 percent of respondents, respectfully (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). Thirteen percent of cocaine users used it on a daily basis and nine percent of those who used heroin did so daily (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002).

In San Diego, Burke and her colleagues (2007) found that 78 percent of prostitutes reported having previously used either drugs or alcohol. Through their surveys and interviews they discovered that on average, substance abuse started at age 12 for alcohol and age 15 for methamphetamine (“meth”) and ecstasy (Burke et al., 2007). Of the respondents who were sexually exploited and reported a history of drug use, alcohol (96%), marijuana (93%), and meth (52%) were the most commonly used drugs (Burke et al., 2007). When asked if they had used drugs or alcohol in the past 30 days, 57 percent had reported they used
alcohol, 54 percent had used marijuana, and 43 percent had used meth, (Burke et al., 2007). Other drugs used that were not as commonly reported include ecstasy, cocaine, illegal prescription, LSD, PCP, and heroin (Burke et al., 2007). These numbers are comparable to other at-risk juveniles in San Diego. In 2011, SANDAG released a report on drug use of 131 arrested juveniles in 2010 (Burke, 2011). Through interviews, they found that in the past 92 percent reported drinking alcohol, 89 percent used marijuana, and 22 percent used meth (Burke, 2011).

In summary, research reveals that there are multiple inter-related risk factors for young women and girls who are recruited for prostitution, including: a history of abuse by a family member, running away from home, and drug use (Mitchell et al., 2010; O’Leary & Howard, 2001; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). The research by Burke and her colleagues (2007) confirmed the presence of these risk factors among prostituted victims in San Diego. The following section presents an overview of what is known about the consumers of prostitution, commonly known as Johns.

**BUYERS/JOHNS**

Research on prostitution has generally focused on females and the ‘supply’ side of the issue (Hagan, 2008; Sullivan, 1992). In the 1980s, the United States and Canada began to focus on the ‘demand,’ for prostitution: the John (Wortley, Fischer, & Webster, 2002). A John, short for the anonymous John Doe, is the universal name for an individual client who exchanges money for a sexual act (Carroll & Wolpe, 2007). A John is not necessarily a male purchasing sex from a female, though that is the most typical scenario (Carroll & Wolpe, 2007).

Currently in California, the laws for a John are the same as for prostitutes. Under the California Penal Code, a John is charged with 647(b) when he or she agrees to act in prostitution or participate in a lewd act (Legislative Council of California, n.d.e). In order to be charged, three violations must be in place: (1) an offer for money must be made, (2) along with an offer of a lewd act, and (3) an act or agreement of furtherance of the commission of the act (Legislative Council of California, n.d.e). Without all three of these components, there cannot be an arrest for prostitution. If a John does not commit all three of these acts, he is typically arrested for violating Section 653.22 of the California Penal Code, defined as
when a person is arrested for loitering with the intent to commit prostitution (Legislative Council of California, n.d.e). The circumstances through which a person can be arrested for loitering with the intent of committing prostitution is if he: “repeatedly beckons to, stops, engages in conversations with, or attempts to stop or engage in conversations with passerby, indicative of soliciting for prostitution” (Legislative Council of California, n.d.e).

These soliciting prostitution offenses are misdemeanors and first time offenders typically do not serve any jail time. However, first time offenders must report to court and are usually sentenced to probation and mandatory Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) testing (International Sex Worker Foundation for Art, Culture and Education, n.d.). Repeat offenders frequently face more serious consequences, such as a 45 or 90 day stay in jail and the suspension of their driver’s license (International Sex Worker Foundation for Art, Culture and Education, n.d.). In 2005, to further prevent Johns from soliciting sex, the United States House of Representatives passed the End Demand for Trafficking Bill. This provides federal grants to programs that effectively help to reduce human sex trafficking, including solicitation (Best Practices Policy Project, n.d). One type of program aimed at reducing the solicitation of prostitutes, John Schools, is described next.

**JOHN SCHOOLS**

As an alternative to jail time, diversionary programs were created to educate Johns about the harms associated with soliciting prostitution. These programs are commonly known as “John Schools” and attempt to educate arrested Johns about prostitution, the laws, and the harms associated with it (Monto & Garcia, 2001; Wortley et al., 2002). According to Wortley and colleagues (2002), these schools were formed as “an innovative solution to street prostitution – while simultaneously reflecting the current social and political orientation toward more cost-effective, victim-oriented and de-institutionalized criminal justice measures” (p. 371). The first school created for educating Johns was formed in San Francisco in 1995, followed by another in Toronto, Canada a few years later (Monto & Garcia, 2001; Wortley et al., 2002). The first John school sought to create an alternative method to address the growing prostitution problem in San Francisco (Brunschat, 2003). Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE), the San Francisco Police Department Vice Crimes Unit, the
District Attorney’s Office, the San Francisco Department of Health, and the courts, collaborated to create and implement the school (Brunschat, 2003).

In San Francisco, this early John program was known as the First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP) (Hughes, 2007). It was found that before the implementation of this program, the majority of first offenders did not go to court but opted for pre-trial diversion programs, such as fines and community service (Brunschat, 2003; Hughes, 2007). The John schools varied based on the demographics and culture of the area. The typical ‘blueprint’ for these classes consists of six main curriculum components: (1) an introduction to the law and the offense, (2) sentences that correspond with the offense, (3) the various health risks involved in prostitution, (4) testimonials from those previously involved in the trade, (5) effects on the community, and (6) information about pimps (Brunschat, 2003). By encompassing all of these aspects, the program attempts to create a sense of personal and community shame, consistent with the restorative justice model (Wortley et al., 2002). In addition to these components, FOPP clients have access to individual case management, legal advocacy, and referrals to a variety of health, education, legal, housing, trauma and substance abuse recovery resources (The Sage Project, n.d.). Currently, there are over 50 John Schools in the United States, 10 in Canada, and 8 in Great Britain (Branch, 2009).

Various studies have researched the effectiveness of John Schools, especially their usefulness in preventing Johns’ recidivism. Early Canadian studies revealed John schools were effective; they found a recidivism rate of 10 percent among men who attend the course (Brunschat, 2003; Monto & Garcia, 2001; Shively et al., 2008; Wortley et al., 2002). Wortley et al. (2002) conducted pre-program and post-program surveys and interviews with 366 participants in John Schools from 13 different locations in Toronto. Their study revealed that participants were: more likely to accept responsibility for their actions; more likely than John arrestees who did not attend the class to admit that they might have a sex addiction; and less likely to report favorable attitudes towards prostitution (Wortley et al., 2002). Limitation of this study is that the pre- and post-surveys were not compared to other schools in different locations.

In 2008, Abt Associates, a research organization in Boston, published an evaluation of nine First Offender Prostitution Program John Schools in San Francisco (Shively et al., 2008). A variety of methods were used in this study including: visits to nine schools in San
Francisco, interviews with participants in First Offender Prostitution Program and other John School programs, analysis of arrest data, and observations from ride alongs with the San Francisco Police Department vice and narcotics units during sting operations (Shively et al., 2008). The study found that the program was effective in informing Johns about the consequences of participating in prostitution (Shively et al., 2008). Furthermore, researchers compared these findings to other John arrest data in California and found consistencies between San Francisco and other cities. They found that between 2000, when the First Offender Prostitution Programs were implemented in San Francisco and 2008, there was a sharp decrease (50%) in recidivism rates. This low recidivism rate remained consistent between 2000 and 2008 (Shively et al., 2008).

Despite the decreased recidivism rates, some researchers are hesitant to conclude that the school is effective for a multitude of reasons (Wortley et al., 2002). First, many of the first time offenders were frequently caught by undercover police sweeps and these men were not regular customers and were therefore unfamiliar with police strategies (Monto & Garcia, 2001; Shively et al., 2008; Wortley et al., 2002). Second, lower arrest rates for Johns could be due to reduced funding within the state budget for police arrest operations for Johns (Shively et al., 2008). Third, the John schools are believed to be teaching Johns about the nature of prostitution and consequently how to avoid being caught (Shively et al., 2008). A major criticism of the John School program is that it disproportionally targets working-class and immigrant populations (Wortley et al., 2002). It is suggested that these disproportionate numbers are due to police bias and enforcement patterns (Wortley et al., 2002).

**Research on Pimping**

There is no consensus on the number of prostituted victims who are controlled by pimps but researchers are attempting to gain a better estimate of the scope of the pimps’ involvement (Burke et al., 2007; Mitchell et al., 2010; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). Mitchell and her colleagues’ (2010) interviewed with prostitutes revealed that 57 percent were controlled by a third-party exploiter. Of these cases, 82 percent were controlled by a pimp, 14 percent were controlled by acquaintances, and 3 percent by family members (Mitchell et al., 2010). Raphael and Shapiro (2002) found that women who gave a percentage of their
money earned from prostitution to a third party were significantly less likely to leave prostitution than those who kept their earnings.

Burke and colleagues (2007) found similar numbers in San Diego; 52 percent of the prostitutes reported giving the money they earned prostituting to someone else. Of this percentage, 76 percent gave their money to a pimp (Burke et al., 2007). These numbers are lower than those reported in the United States Department of Justice report, which stated that involvement in youth prostitution is at “epidemic proportions” and that at least 75 percent of those formally involved are controlled by a pimp (U.S. Department of Justice, 2007a, p. 1). After reviewing the literature, Donna Hughes, a professor of women’s studies at University of Rhode Island, argued that the numbers of pimp-controlled prostitution are even higher. Of the women involved in prostitution, 80 percent have had experiences that would qualify as sex trafficking by a pimp (Hughes, 2007).

Force and coercion are two tactics used to recruit young women into the business (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). An example of coercion is if a pimp posed as a photographer or a music executive and offered young women a promising career by pretending to be a professional who would provide them work (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). In a 2007 special report for the United States Department of Justice, Jay Albanese found, through an evaluation of case studies, that seduction is the most common method of recruitment. He stated that recruitment and seduction was commonly done at bus stations, schools, arcades, and shopping malls; he noted, “Eventually, pimps use the children’s emotional and financial dependency to coerce them into selling sex for money that is turned over to the pimp. In time, the relationship becomes less emotional and more ‘contractual’ as the pimp sets a minimum on the child’s earnings” (Albanese, 2007, p. 3). In another study, Burke and colleagues (2007) found that 15 key informants believed other forms of recruitment are used in San Diego. Of the 15 respondents, 13 believed pimps used psychological manipulation, 11 believed pimps used enticements or other prostitutes, and 10 thought pimping was conducted by gang members (Burke et al., 2007). Six of the respondents believed that physical threats were a recruitment method by pimps, which correlates to the emerging comparison of sex trafficking to domestic violence due to the nature of the relationships between pimps and their prostituted victims.
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN RELATION TO PIMPING

Simmons, Lehmann and Collier-Tenison (2008) studied the relationship between male domestic violence perpetrators and their involvement in the sex industry, specifically their use of pornography and visits to strip clubs. The study was conducted by interviewing 2,135 women living in a domestic violence shelter (Simmons et al., 2008). Researchers contacted the interviewee within 24 hours of their arrival and asked questions regarding their partner’s use of the sex industry, their partner’s use of controlling behaviors, and the types of abuse they received (Simmons et al., 2008). The aim of the research was to assess the relationship between use of the sex industry and domestic violence behaviors (Simmons et al., 2008). The study revealed that women reported male domestic violence offenders who utilized the sex industry tended to exhibit more forms of aggressive violence than those who did not (Simmons et al., 2008). Researchers also found that the men who utilize the sex industry were more likely to engage in sexual violence, marital rape, and stalking (Simmons, et al., 2008).

Simmons and colleagues found evidence that a link exists between domestic violence and the sex industry; however, other researchers have compared the relationship more closely to sex trafficking (Raymond & Hughes, 2001; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). In 2002, Williamson and Cluse-Tolar published a study on pimp-controlled prostitution through 21 interviews with former street prostitutes in the Mid-west between 18 and 35 years old. They found that violence from the pimp was directly related to how well she followed his rules (Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). In 2001, Raymond and Hughes conducted a study on sex trafficking in the United States by interviewing 123 individuals including: 35 female victims of sex trafficking, 32 law enforcement officials, 43 services providers, and 13 health care workers. They found that 28 percent of the American women described their pimp as their husband or their boyfriend (Raymond & Hughes, 2001). Furthermore, victims stated that every one of these partner-pimps were physically violent and sexually and emotionally abusive (Raymond & Hughes, 2001). In conclusion, domestic violence issues are only one aspect of human trafficking, but due to pimping tactics there is a relationship between the two issues.
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE LEGISLATION

The California domestic violence law in Penal Code §273.8, states that in order to be charged with domestic violence, the abuser must “present a clear and present danger to the mental and physical well-being of the citizens of the State of California” (Legislative Council of California, n.d.d, p. 1). Furthermore, if an individual is charged with domestic violence they will be charged under Penal Code §273.5, which states:

(a) Any person who willfully inflicts upon a person who is his or her spouse, former spouse, cohabitant, former cohabitant, or the mother or father of his or her child, corporal injury resulting in a traumatic condition, is guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment in the state prison for two, three, or four years, or in a county jail for not more than one year, or by a fine of up to six thousand dollars ($6,000) or by both that fine and imprisonment. (Legislative Council of California, n.d.d, p. 1)

Depending on the severity of the crime, perpetrators of domestic violence can either be charged with a misdemeanor or a felony and receive from four days to multiple years in prison as punishment for these crimes (Ho, 2000). Domestic violence cases can be charged by the prosecutor even if the victim decides not to press charges (Ho, 2000).

PIMP AND POPULAR CULTURE

In the past decade the act of pimping, or being a pimp, has been commercialized and glorified and the term is now used in everyday vernacular (Shared Hope International, n.d.). The term pimp has woven itself into popular movies and created a culture of tolerance. Due to this culture of tolerance, the word pimp has developed a positive connotation and has become something young men may aspire to be called (Shared Hope International, n.d.). Moreover, it has enabled and condoned prostitution (Shared Hope International, n.d.). Pimping and prostitution are present throughout every media industry (television, video games, and music). For example, in 2004, Music Television (MTV) created a television show called “Pimp My Ride” about improving cars with new ‘hip’ accessories (Shared Hope International, n.d.). Video games and online games, like Pimpwar.com, aggressively use the idea of a pimp to “‘scout for whores,” “produce crack (to keep the ‘hos happy)”, and “discipline ’hos.’” (Shared Hope International, n.d., p. 93). There are no age limitations on these games; therefore, young children are being exposed to the legitimacy of sexual exploitation at young ages.
In 2007, the song “It is Hard Out Here For a Pimp”, performed by 3-Six Mafia, won an Oscar for the film Hustle & Flow (vBulletin Solutions, Inc., n.d.). Although “It’s Hard Out There For a Pimp” was the first ‘pimp song’ to win an award, it was not the first song to portray pimping as cool and normal. In 2003, popular rapper 50 Cent’s song P.I.M.P. hit number three on the Billboard Top 100. The lyrics include this verse:

Now Nik my bottom bitch, she always come up with my bread/ The last nigga she was with put stitches in her head/ Get your ho out of pocket, I'll put a charge on a bitch/ Cause I need 4 TV's and AMGs for the six/ Ho make a pimp rich, I ain't paying bitch/ Catch a date, suck a dick, shiiit, TRICK. (50 Cent, n.d.)

Rapper Too Short has an entire album dedicated to pimping lyrics, with guest stars including some of society’s most popular rappers (CD Universe, n.d.). 50 Cent and Too Short are not the only rappers to talk about these issues in their music; it is so embedded in Hip Hop culture that when it plays on the radio, most people do not even realize the meaning of the lyrics they are hearing (Thompson, 2003). Rachael Lloyd, a former sexually exploited teenager who now runs a home for exploited young girls, notes that just about every hip-hop song has a reference to pimping (Thompson, 2003).

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GANGS AND PIMPING**

The causes for domestic human sex trafficking cannot be attributed to one single factor. Just as domestic violence plays a role, so does the involvement of gangs and gang members. Before the relationship between gangs and human sex trafficking are explored, it is important to define gangs and gang membership.

**DEFINING GANGS AND MEMBERS**

Currently, Section 186.22 of the California Penal Code defines a gang member as:

Any person who actively participates in any criminal street gang with knowledge that its members engage in or have engaged in a pattern of criminal gang activity, and who willfully promotes, furthers, or assists in any felonious criminal conduct by members of that gang, shall be punished by imprisonment in a county jail for a period not to exceed one year, or by imprisonment in the state prison for 16 months, or two or three years. (Legislative Council of California, n.d.a, p. 1)

The California Penal Code further explains that “criminal gang activity” is to be defined as the, “commission of, attempted commission of, conspiracy to commit, or solicitation of, sustained juvenile petition for, or conviction” of two or more of the following offenses: assault with a deadly weapon, robbery, homicide, sale or manufacture of a
controlled substance, shooting at an unoccupied dwelling or vehicle, shooting a firearm from a vehicle, arson, or any of the 27 other felonies listed (Legislative Council of California, n.d.a, p.1). Not all states have the same definition of gangs in their penal code. Only 39 states and Washington, D.C. have gang laws specifically listed in their legislation (National Gang Center, 2011). Furthermore, 21 states have laws against public nuisance in relation to gang activity and 22 states have laws that define gangs and schools (National Gang Center, 2011). While there are similarities in definitions among different states within the United States, the lack of consistency creates problems in accurately assessing and researching the scope of the gang problem (National Gang Center, 2011).

GANG POLICY IN SAN DIEGO

Currently, San Diego has its own gang enforcement policy, which includes ten teams of uniformed officers and criminal investigators working to combat gangs in the area (City of San Diego, n.d.). The teams are split into three categories: Gang Suppression Teams, Graffiti Strike Force, and Gang Investigations (City of San Diego, n.d.).

The current policy through which a gang member is documented in the San Diego Police Department system requires three separate encounters with law enforcement and the suspect must meet one of the eight criteria on each occasion. These criteria include:

1. the individual admitting to being a member of a gang,
2. being arrested alone or with other gang members for participating in known criminal gang behavior,
3. being identified as a gang member by a reliable source,
4. being identified as a gang member by an untested informant,
5. being seen associating with known gang members,
6. being seen displaying known gang signs or hand symbols,
7. individual frequents gang areas,
8. individual wears gang related attire, or
9. individual has gang related tattoos (City of San Diego, 2006).

The San Diego Police Department defines a gang as meeting four criteria:

1. the gang has a name or identifiable leadership,
2. claims a “turf, territory, neighborhood, criminal enterprise, or causes or contributes to the deterioration of a community through a pattern of criminal activity,”
3. the group associates on a regular basis, and
4. the group is involved in criminal activity (City of San Diego, 2006, p. 2).

**GANGS IN SAN DIEGO**

William Sanders studied gangs in San Diego in the 1980’s by conducting ethnographic research, participating in police ride alongs, and interviewing informants (Sanders, 1994). According to interviews with current gang members, Sanders reported that the first gangs in San Diego appeared in the southern areas of San Diego during the early 1970s (Sanders, 1994). Due to the city’s proximity to the border, the gangs consisted mostly of individuals of Mexican descent who were working and living in lower class neighborhoods, or barrios (Sanders, 1994). Gangs in San Ysidro, Otay Mesa, and Imperial Beach, were gaining notoriety in the 1980s due to constant fighting between each other (Sanders, 1994). During the 1990’s, African-American and Latino gangs became increasingly violent. Some of the Latino gangs linked with gangs over the border in Tijuana, Mexico (Soto, 2006).

In 2009, the San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG) conducted a research study to more closely examine gang arrestees in San Diego (Burke, 2010). For this study, researchers conducted interviews and surveys with 83 adults and 35 juveniles recently arrested, who were part of the Substance Abuse Monitoring (SAM) program (Burke, 2010). They found that one in every four arrestees reported having some sort of gang affiliation and two-thirds of these individuals reported that another family member was affiliated with a gang (Burke, 2010). Arrestees who admitted to being a gang member also admitted to: associating with other members (98%), getting drunk or high with other members (95%), getting into fights (81%), committing a robbery (50%), and participating in motor vehicle theft (37%) (Burke, 2010). In addition, those affiliated with a gang were more likely than other arrestees to have prior arrests and to have spent time in prison (Burke, 2010). Juvenile gang members were more likely than non-members to: have a sibling who had prior police or court contact, bring a weapon to school, and have a history of substance abuse (Burke, 2010).

The data revealed that San Diego gang members typically joined their group around age 13 (Burke, 2010).
ASSESSING THE LINK BETWEEN GANGS AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

There have been a limited number of studies examining a relationship between gangs, pimping, and sex trafficking. In 2009, Dorais and Corriveau conducted an unspecified number of in-depth interviews with former youth prostitutes, parents, educators, police, and community organizations in Quebec, Canada. The interviews revealed that the gangs recruited young women for prostitution, often before the age of fourteen (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009). Their research findings suggest that some gang members have become experts in finding and exploiting the most vulnerable young. They concluded that victim services and law enforcement response to pimping young women is inadequate (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009).

To date, there is no published research on this issue in the United State, but officials are beginning to recognize increases in gang-related pimping (Tintocalis, 2011). Law enforcement officials in San Diego County believe that prostitution is the second most profitable business for gangs (dealing drugs is considered the most profitable criminal business) (Tintocalis, 2011). A San Diego sheriff who heads the San Diego Regional Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force noted during an interview with KPBS that girls can make anywhere between $500 to $1,000 per night for gang members and explained that the internet is making it easier for gang members to pimp girls (Tintocalis, 2010). He goes on to explain that the task force is trying to create a paradigm shift of cultural norms to define these girls as victims (Tintocalis, 2010).

In 2010, SANDAG conducted research on San Diego gang membership by interviewing members of the Substance Abuse Monitoring Program within 24 hours of being arrested (Burke, 2010). They found that of those individuals arrested with gang affiliations, 15 percent admitted to being a pimp, compared to only 4 percent of arrestees with non gang affiliation (Burke, 2010). Law enforcement officials in San Diego report that gangs and pimps are more comfortable prostituting victims than selling drugs because they feel there is a lower likelihood of getting arrested (Burke et al., 2007).

To combat the growing problem of gang-related pimping, officials in San Diego are trying to add pimping to the list of crimes for which gang members can be prosecuted in California Assembly Bill 918. This bill would allow for longer sentences and to enhance
parole conditions for gang members involved in pimping (City News Service, 2011). The legislation would also allow for longer sentences for pimps or Johns arrested near schools (Tintocalis, 2011).

**HUMAN TRAFFICKING INDICTMENTS IN SAN DIEGO COUNTY**

In a federal sting operation in April 2011, dubbed “Operation Vice Grip,” 38 gang members from three gangs, usually at odds with each other, were indicted for running a juvenile sex trafficking ring in Oceanside, California (United States of America v. Rodney Dwight Traylor, 2011). The federal indictment showed evidence that these gang members made a truce in order to conduct pimping and gang related business together. Gang members from the Insane Crip Gang, The Deep Valley Crips, and Crook, Mob, Gangsters (collectively known as Eastside CMG), were aggressively acting as pimps, creating a profit-driven enterprise (United States of America v. Rodney Dwight Traylor, 2011). The pimps enforced strict ‘rules of the game’ on their prostituted victims including: forcing them not to speak to or look at other pimps, branding the victim with tattoos, and collecting all the money earned during interactions with clients, or Johns (United States of America v. Rodney Dwight Traylor, 2011). While conducting business, members of different gangs frequently pooled resources, such as sharing vehicles used to transport victims, computers for internet postings, and motel rooms for ‘dates’ (United States of America v. Rodney Dwight Traylor, 2011). Furthermore, they shared resources for the recruitment of young girls by coercion, manipulation, drugs, false promises of a luxurious lifestyle, and/or violence (United States of America v. Rodney Dwight Traylor, 2011). The defendants were found guilty and sentenced to a maximum of 20 years in federal prison, a $250,000 fine, and 3 years of supervised release (United States of America v. Rodney Dwight Traylor, 2011).

Federal indictments are paving the way for prosecutors to charge pimps with a multitude of offenses. For example, in United States of America v. Dominica West (2009), prosecutors from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the San Diego Police Department successfully charged three defendants with conspiracy to engage in sex trafficking of juveniles. This charge comes with a mandatory minimum sentence of ten years. For instance, the indictment charged one defendant:
The Grand Jury charges that Dominick West aka “Mike”, defendant herein, between on or about December 24, 2007, on or about January 11, 2008, in and affecting interstate commerce, knowingly did recruit, entice, harbor, transport, provide, and obtain by any means, a person, to wit: a 15 year-old girl identified as “Vanity,” knowing that force, fraud, and coercion would be used to cause the person to engage in a commercial sex act, or knowing that the person had not attained the age of 18 years and would be caused to engage in a commercial sex act in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Sections 1592(a)(1). (United States of America v. Dominica West, 2009, p. 1-2)

Subsequently, West received 10 years to life imprisonment, a fine of not more than $250,000, and a 5-year term of supervised release (United States of America v. Dominica West, 2009). Along with the harsh penalties, the indictments illustrate the effect of enhanced collaboration between federal and local police to combat the issue of domestic human sex trafficking of minors.

**THE ROLE OF THE INTERNET IN PIMPING AND PROSTITUTION**

There is a lack of research on the extent to which online technologies are used for sex trafficking, pimping, and prostitution. In 2011, Mark Latonero studied the role of social networking sites and online classifieds using literary reviews, field research, and interviews from around the country. He noted that sites such as Craigslist, Backpage, and Myspace are catalysts for sex trafficking and social websites such as Facebook and Twitter are also susceptible (Latonero, 2011). There are as many as 5,000 suspected sites that directly or indirectly facilitate sex trafficking within the United States alone (Shared Hope International, n.d.). On December 21, 2010, Craigslist officially removed the adult services section from their website after years of pressure from anti-prostitution groups (Reitz, 2010). In 2010, from their adult services section alone, Craigslist amassed profits in excess of $36 million. Profits of this magnitude provide strong evidence as to why Craigslist repeatedly resisted removing adult services from their site (Van Grove, 2010).

Latonero argues that the internet has accelerated sex trafficking because it can rapidly connect Johns with prostituted victims while simultaneously distancing the pimp from the criminal transaction (Latonero, 2011). He also notes that legal definitions of online postings of prostituted victims and sex workers are blurred and limited (Laterono, 2011). Latonero (2011) analyzed online postings by domestic human sex trafficking victims and found four
particular patterns: (1) online classified sites are commonly used to post prostituted victims, (2) prostituted victims are recruited through social networking sites, (3) law enforcement investigations are often begun by findings a post of a juvenile online, and (4) many of the prostituted victims identified through online sites are runaways. Remaining a step ahead of a pimp’s online techniques presents a constant challenge to law enforcement (Latonero, 2011). To combat the problem and slow the spread, Latonero recommends more detailed research and the development of technologies that can be used to monitor and combat trafficking online.

**COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF PIMPING AND PROSTITUTION IN SAN DIEGO**

In 2005, SANDAG published community survey results on female teen prostitution in San Diego (Burke, Keaton, & Doroski, 2005). In this study, 87 surveys were administered to local service providers (35%), law enforcement (43%), court personnel (i.e. probation and prosecution) (12%), and schools (10%) (Burke et al., 2005). Researchers found that 93 percent of respondents considered prostitution to be a serious problem in San Diego County and 49 percent felt the issue had emerged in the past three years (Burke et al., 2005). Additionally, 62 percent of the respondents felt that is “common” or “very common” for prostitutes to have a pimp (Burke et al., 2005). Respondents noted that the majority of prostitutes (86%) engage in acts of prostitution at least once a week and oral sex is most frequently involved in these acts (99%), followed by hand jobs (91%), vaginal intercourse (88%) and anal sex (16%) (Burke et al., 2005). Only one in five service providers in the county felt their agency was able to meet the needs of these girls (Burke et al., 2005). When asked what the largest gaps in services were, mental health needs and trauma needs were noted to be the services most lacking (Burke et al., 2005). Although this study did not survey victims of prostitution or analyze the scope of the issue, it provided local practitioners and business owners’ experiences and views on the issue.

**DOMESTIC HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN THE NEWS**

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act in 2000 was the first human trafficking policy in the United States. Since the passing of this act, in 2003 the Innocence Lost Initiative was formed in conjunction with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice Child
Exploitation and Obscenity Section, and National Center for Missing and Exploited Children to address the growing problem of sexually exploited children (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2009; Fong & Cardoso, 2010). There are 39 Innocence Lost Task Forces that consist of FBI agents, local law enforcement, and social workers (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2009). Their investigations have led to the successful arrests of hundreds of pimps nationwide (Fong & Cardoso, 2010). In 2008, through federal and local investigations, the task forces reportedly rescued 577 children from sexual exploitation and arrested more than 300 pimps (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2009). Their enforcement efforts and successes in addressing sexual exploitation have been published in the media.

**Role of the Media in Human Trafficking Awareness**

The media plays a major role in how issues such as human trafficking are understood in American society. In 2009, Farrell and Fahy did a content analysis of approximately 3,000 newspaper articles that dealt specifically with United States human sex trafficking between 1990 and 2006. They were assessing whether and how the issues of sex trafficking in the United states was reframed since the passing of the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act in 2000 (Farrell & Fahy, 2009). Three main frames of reference emerged from their analysis of the data: human rights, criminalization, and national security (Farrell & Fahy, 2009). Their study revealed that the human rights perspective dominated the media coverage in the decade before passage of the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act in 2000. After the implementation of the act, newspaper coverage focused on the crime of human trafficking and greatly overshadowed the other two frames of reference (Farrell & Fahy, 2009). This is largely due to the fact that before the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, human trafficking was relatively unknown. For example, between 1990 and 1995, there were less than 100 articles that mentioned the phrase “human trafficking” or “trafficking in persons” (Farrell & Fahy, 2009).

Farrell and Fahy (2009) noted that the change in media attention towards trafficking first began with the increasing attention on women’s rights in the mid-1990s. They explained, “The growth of media depictions of young white victims helped special interest groups frame an emotionally charged trafficking problem that generated public sympathy and attention from government and legislators to support their cause” (Farrell & Fahy, 2009,
These concerns, along with the events of September 11, 2001 and the attack on the World Trade Centers, created concern for national security and more law enforcement focus on human trafficking crimes (Farrell & Fahy, 2009). They suggest that the heightened public concern and society’s call for harsher laws over-simplified the issue and may hinder the creation of legitimate official policy responses and programs (Farrell & Fahy, 2009).

**MEDIA ARTICLES IN SAN DIEGO**

The work of San Diego’s Innocence Lost Task Force has gained media attention. A great deal of this awareness has come from the investigative journalism of *The Voice of San Diego*, a local independent on-line news source, which investigates and reports on various topics relevant to the people of San Diego (The Voice of San Diego, n.d.). In October of 2009, Keegan Kyle reported on the prostitution problem on El Cajon Boulevard in San Diego, stating,

> Prostitution has become more organized than previous decades and many of the women work on a rotation of major West Coast cities. El Cajon Boulevard is part of a circuit that includes areas of Los Angeles, Oakland, Las Vegas and Phoenix. The women just move to a new city when they need to skip on an arrest warrant or mounting citations. (Kyle, 2009, p. 1)

Kyle explained that prostitution first flourished in San Diego because of the military presence after World War II (Kyle, 2009). It continued to grow on El Cajon Boulevard because it had a high traffic flow and businesses that “catered to adult entertainment” (Kyle, 2009, p. 1). His news article suggested that the problem is slowly improving due to police presence and undercover operations. For instance, in 2005 the *San Diego Union-Tribune* reported an eight-day operation sting by the San Diego Police Department where 85 females, 5 of whom were under the age of 16, were arrested for prostitution, 22 males were arrested for soliciting sex, and one male was arrested for pimping (Hughes, 2005).

In June of 2010, Kyle wrote another article in *The Voice of San Diego*, about Generate Hope, a safe house for victims of human trafficking in San Diego. At the time of the article, the program was able to house five females who would stay up to seven years at a time (Kyle, 2010). During their stay, the program emphasized building social skills by eating meals together, assigning chores, and participating in group activities (Kyle, 2010). These skills rebuild their sense of community, trust and responsibility in order to live a full and healthy life after they leave the program (Kyle, 2010). Another article was printed in 2011 in
the February issue of *Pacific San Diego*, which covers San Diego issues. The article provided a victim’s perspective and emphasized the importance of spreading information regarding the safety of those involved in prostitution (Sherman, 2011). An interviewee, who is a former victim, noted, “I know this bursts a lot of men’s bubbles… but no girls wakes up in the morning and says ‘I want to give blowjobs for a living. I want to be a prostitute. That’s what my dream is’” (Sherman, 2011, p. 1). As these articles demonstrate, San Diego is beginning to recognize domestic human trafficking as a problem and starting to promote awareness of the issue through print media.

**Human Trafficking Advisory Council**

In November 2010, a group of professionals in the field of human sex trafficking met to create strategies to address these issues in San Diego. Their goal was to build a multi-agency, collaborative approach and create systematic changes to reduce human sex through prevention, prosecution, protection, and partnerships (Sifuentes, 2011). On June 14, 2011 the San Diego Board of Supervisors approved this advisory council noting there is a need for a regional centered approach to fighting human sex trafficking in San Diego County (Sifuentes, 2011).

The advisory council consists of representatives from the eight sub-committees: victim services, law enforcement, schools and education, community, training, data and research, media advocacy, and policy. Each sub-committee is made up of individuals from around the county who work directly with these particular issues. Each sub-committee meets on monthly basis to develop short and long-term goals and to discuss best practices and gaps addressing human sex trafficking. For instance, the victim services sub-committee is working to create an inventory of emergency and residential services that are currently available in the county. This is important because often times a service provider may not have enough beds or the resources that a particular victim needs. Being informed of other services that exist in the county can assist in rescuing a prostituted victim. The group is also working to create a uniform intake survey for all human sex trafficking services providers. Strategies, findings, and the progress of each sub-committee are reported back to the steering committee through a representative. These representatives work together to support the other sub-committees.
The research on the scope of domestic human sex trafficking is limited and due to the nature of the crime there will never be true statistics. For instance, there are no national statistics specifically on sex trafficking, only sex and labor trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2010). Additionally, these numbers only include international trafficking, the scope of domestic sex trafficking is still unknown by the federal government (U.S. Department of State, 2010). Research has gained insight into risk factors of young women who enter prostitution, such as abuse in their childhood home and drug use (Burke et al., 2007; Hughes, 2008; Mitchell et al., 2010; O’Leary & Howard, 2001). However, there is limited research on the effectiveness of victim services providers and the prostituted victims’ recidivism rate. The literature on the relationship of the pimp and his prostituted victim is lacking as well; such as ties to domestic violence in both legislation and in rehabilitation for prostituted victims. Additionally, gang-controlled pimping research is limited, but is an issue in San Diego (Dorais & Corriiveau, 2009; Tintocalis, 2011; United States of America v. Rodney Dwight Traylor, 2011). The crime of domestic human sex trafficking is relatively unknown and this study aimed to understand these important details, which will bring understanding to the issue in San Diego County.

In the next chapter, I will describe the methodology used in this study to understand domestic sex trafficking in San Diego County and I will describe San Diego County’s response to this issue through the advisory council.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Due to the limited empirical research on domestic human sex trafficking, this study sought to examine the issue in San Diego County using a triangulated approach, which included (1) conducting a content analysis of a sample of 17 recent pimping investigations from the San Diego Police Department, (2) analyzing 12 face-to-face interviews with practitioners who work with this population, and (3) examining the strategies being used by the Human Trafficking Advisory Council in San Diego. This chapter further describes the study’s methodology, including the structure and content of the cases analyzed, the interview sample and protocol, and the data analysis techniques used in interpreting the study’s findings.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study’s research questions are exploratory due to the lack of empirical research on the subject. To better understand domestic human sex trafficking and pimping in San Diego, multiple sources of data were analyzed. The question is: What is the nature of domestic human sex trafficking in San Diego and what are the laws, policies, procedures, and practices being used to address this issue?

CONFIDENTIALITY ISSUES

Due to the sensitive nature of the issues discussed in this thesis, there were many confidentiality precautions taken. Institutional Review Board (IRB) protocol procedures were strictly followed, which included following the approved recruitment script and verbally explaining the Informed Consent. A copy of the IRB Approval Letter, text of the verbal Recruitment, Consent Script, and a copy of a blank consent form can be found in the appendix (see Appendix A-D).

The most important aspect of confidentiality is protecting the identity of the interviews and the prostituted victims in the pimping investigations. In order to ensure confidentiality, the cases were kept in a locked file and were accessible only to the
researcher. The data sheet with any identifiable information was kept on a password-protected personal computer. All information provided by the interviewees that was requested to stay private has been honored. Furthermore, since completion of this thesis, the case files have been shredded as requested by the detective and all other information has been downloaded to a hard disk and saved in a locked file cabinet in the office of this thesis advisor at San Diego State University. Furthermore, any quotations or descriptives that compromise confidentiality were altered as necessary.

**SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

Due to accessibility and confidentiality issues, being able to directly interact and conduct research with pimps was not possible. Interviewing prostituted victims was also not possible due to the sensitive nature of this issue and the fact that most of them are juveniles. As a result, the interviews for the current research were conducted with professionals in the field who are considered experts on this issue.

The sample consists of trained professionals with various educational and vocational backgrounds, within San Diego County. Subjects for this study’s interviews were recruited through contacts within a local law enforcement vice unit department. Through snowball sampling, additional contacts were established with other professional personnel that are intimately involved in the field of domestic human sex trafficking. This type of sampling is considered a purposive sample, which is a deliberate and non-random sample used to achieve a certain goal (Paler-Calmorin & Calmorin, 2008). I previously contacted each individual, using an approved script, to ensure they would be willing to participate in an interview for this study on domestic human sex trafficking and they all agreed. This study uses a small non-representative sample (N=12), which greatly limits generalization.

Due to the nature of the issue and lack of prior research, semi-structured interviews are ideal for this topic. This type of interview allows for flexibility and freedom to deviate from the pre-determined set of questions (Miller & Brewer, 2003). In-person interviews allow the interviewer to control the environment, guarantee privacy, and ensure all questions are answered completely (Bailey, 1994). Semi-structured interviews give the interviewer the ability to explore unforeseen issues and are opened ended to allow for unanticipated answers (Bailey, 1994). This flexibility enables the researcher to probe deeply into the subject areas
and explore the interviewee’s true feelings and motives (Bailey, 1994). In this way, the researcher can get an in-depth and first-hand look into their experiences and knowledge base (Blaikie, 2009). This method also allows for observation of behavior that can be beneficial in determining the respondent’s true feelings of the situation or particular question (Merton, Kendall, & Fiske, 1956).

The interview was conducted in person and each interview lasted between 20 and 35 minutes. The interview process began with questions about the interviewee’s education, training, and role in pimping enforcement or services for prostitutes. The next set of questions sought to determine their views on the scope of the issue in San Diego County. These questions were followed by inquiries regarding the prostituted victim, including the characteristics including family life, previous abuse, age, and race. Then similar questions were asked regarding the characteristics of the Johns. These were followed by inquiries about pimps and the game of pimping, which included characteristics of the pimp, gang affiliation, domestic violence, and drugs. The next set of questions pertained to the community and media’s involvement with this issue and what could be done to help reduce this problem in the county. These were followed by inquiries about the practitioners thoughts on current laws and policies, including how effective laws on domestic human sex trafficking are and services they would like to change. Lastly, those interviewed were asked if there were any important or pressing issues that were not explored in earlier questions. A copy of the interview questions can be found in the Appendix E of this study. Table 1 shows the population sample interviewed in this study, followed by a more detailed description of their experience.

In the local law enforcement vice unit there are three detectives and a sergeant working specifically on pimping investigations. For this study, all three of these detectives were interviewed, as well as one detective from another team who works occasionally on pimping cases, but mostly his work involves prostitution and other vice investigations. One of these detectives is cross-sworn as a Federal Bureau of Investigation Special Agent and is referred to as such throughout the study. Between the four detectives there are nine years of experiences specifically on human sex trafficking cases. By working the areas that are specifically inundated with prostitution-related crimes, they have come into contact with hundreds of prostitutes and conducted numerous undercover surveillance operations.
Table 1. Sample of Respondents Interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Agency</th>
<th>Employment Title</th>
<th>Total Years of Job Experience with Domestic Human Sex Trafficking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local Law Enforcement Agency</td>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Law Enforcement Agency</td>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Law Enforcement Agency</td>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innocence Lost Task Force</td>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Diego Sheriffs Office/Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force</td>
<td>Sergeant/Leader</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Homeland Security</td>
<td>Special Agent</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Diego Attorney’s Office</td>
<td>Deputy City Attorney</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center for Community Solutions</td>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generate Hope</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hidden Treasures Foundation</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grossmont Union High School District</td>
<td>Director of Wellness</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interfaith Community Solutions</td>
<td>Grant Writer/Quality Assurance Officer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

on pimps and prostitutes (San Diego Police Department, 2008). In addition, two of the detectives on the pimping team teach a class once a month to other law enforcement officers, community members and schoolchildren, educating them about the magnitude of the problem. It is important to note that law enforcement may have a conflict of interest regarding this issue due to the criminalization of prostitution, as well as a bias perspective due to the constant contact with individuals involved in pimping and prostitution.

One interview was with a contact from the Sheriff’s Office. This individual is a patrol sergeant and is also in charge of the Regional Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force. He has been the administrator of this task force since 2007. He spends 15 to 20 hours a week working on issues related to human trafficking, however, this can vary depending on what is
going on in the county. As leader of the task force, he is the main contact between law enforcement and victim services in the county.

The sample includes an individual from the federal law enforcement, which differs from local enforcement. This interview was with a special agent from the Department of Homeland Security. This individual works within the San Diego area and works with both international and domestic human sex trafficking. He is in charge of approximately eight to ten agents and works solely on human sex trafficking cases. The Department of Homeland Security take a victim centered approach to their work, meaning that saving the victim is their priority and prosecuting the trafficker comes after the victim is safe.

The courts and legal side of the issue play a significant role in domestic human trafficking. For this study, the Deputy City Attorney who works the local vice team cases in San Diego provided the legal perspective. This attorney frequently speaks to local law enforcement to make sure they understand the laws of pimping and prostitution. As a public servant, she also works directly with the public to better serve the needs of the community. Lastly, she speaks on the Prostitution Impact Panel, which is a course first time offenders, who solicit sex, can attend to reduce their prostitution charge to a lesser charge.

Victim service providers play an important role in pimping and prostitution cases and aid in the recovery of prostituted victims. In order to gain a comprehensive view, three interviews were conducted with victim service providers in the San Diego County. The first interviewee is the CEO of Community for Center Solutions, who works with domestic violence, sexual assault victims, and elder abuse. Despite their main clientele, over the past ten years their program has been helping human sex trafficking victims as well. The second interviewee in this field was with the Executive Director of the Hidden Treasures Foundation, an emerging non-profit aimed at outreach, emergency services, counseling, and transitional housing for prostituted victims. The third interviewee was the Executive Director of Generate Hope. Generate Hope provides safe housing, education, job training, and life skills for women who are survivors of sex trafficking.

The schools and education system are represented in the sample by an individual who works as the Director of Wellness for Grossmont Union High School District. She is considered a pioneer in bringing forth pimping and prostitution issues in San Diego schools
and has been working closely with other agencies to create a protocol for when pimping and pandering is suspected on campuses.

The final interviewee works as a Grant Writer and a Quality Insurance Officer for Interfaith Community Solutions. She manages all the federal and state grants relating to human trafficking for her organization and aids in this process for other local organizations. Interfaith Community Solutions offers a full range of assistance to victims, including a continuum of care into permanent housing. She is also in the process of creating a comprehensive list of victim services providers in San Diego County and the services they provide to victims.

**CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

The interviews were recorded and transcribed in order to analyze and compare descriptive data. The interviewees’ responses were compared to find similarities and differences in their experiences relating to domestic human sex trafficking. The interviews are described in conjunction with the content analysis and compared against each other in the results. These findings were then analyzed in conjunction with the pimping investigations and response by the county. The findings are limited due to the purposive sample of the practitioners and the sample of pimping cases. Although these finds are not generalizable to other jurisdictions and may not accurately reflect the reality of the issue in San Diego County, they present a snapshot of the problem.

**PIMPING INVESTIGATION CASE CONTENT ANALYSIS**

The pimping investigations analyzed in this study were provided by the vice unit of the San Diego Police Department. Between July of 2007 and January 2011, there were 17 cases made available for review. In total, detectives who provided the investigations have closed close to 50 pimping investigations during July 2007 and January 2011. As a result, the sample of cases used for analysis in this research represent approximately half of the total number of pimping investigations during that timeframe. Detectives from the San Diego Police Department collected all the information for these investigations, which were closed cases and available for public consumption. Until the last six months, there has been one investigator for all pimping investigations and this individual has provided the majority of the investigations. As a result, the investigation techniques have remained consistent, but
may only represent a small proportion of individuals investigated for pimping. The cases were a summary of the investigation and were provided in narrative form, which included the detective’s actions, interviews, and findings through the investigation. All information provided about the prostituted victims and pimps were taken from the detective’s personal observations, through interviews with prostituted victims, pimps, and witnesses, or collected from evidence such as text messages from a cell phone. The sample of cases are not necessarily representative of all that have been investigated by the San Diego Police Department, but are only a sample of the pimping investigations since 2007. Furthermore, the cases do not represent investigations from other vice units in San Diego County.

The 17 cases varied in terms of the number victims, the age of the offenders, the type of pimp, and other variables. In order to organize these variables, a spreadsheet was created with multiple categories for specific variables such as: age, race, number of victims, type of pimp, offenses charged, drugs involved, rape involved, cooperation with police, and age of victims. Table 2 represents the pimping investigations and is a condensed version of the chart created for analysis of the pimping investigations. For instance, the number category describes the number of known prostituted victims by that particular pimp. This information was discovered through interviews, contact, or cell phone searches of the prostituted victims. Furthermore, if a prostituted victim described physical abuse or was described to have noticeable injuries, it was noted and added to the chart. Descriptive content analysis of these variables was subsequently identified to assess the differences and similarities of domestic human sex trafficking cases in San Diego.

**HUMAN TRAFFICKING ADVISORY COUNCIL ANALYSIS**

The Human Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children Advisory Council was approved and created by the San Diego Board of Supervisors in order to create and execute strategies to combat human trafficking. Between June 2011 and December 2011, I attended over 30 committee and sub-committee meetings. Results include an analysis and discussion of recorded observations, meeting minutes, and documents provided during the meetings. Committee and sub-committee goals, strategies, and activities were described and compared to the results from the pimping investigations and interviews.
Table 2. Overview of Pimping Investigations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Age*</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Number**</th>
<th>Age***</th>
<th>Beat+</th>
<th>Gang++</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Pimps age at time of arrest.
**Number of Prostituted Victims
***Average Age of Victims
+Pimp Beat Prostituted Victim
++Gang Affiliation

LIMITATIONS

There are many limitations to this research. One of the major limitations is the small and non-random interview sample, which was comprised of practitioners and no perpetrators or victims. Practitioners interviewed have a major stake in the issue of domestic human trafficking and their responses are influenced by their involvement. The interview respondents are advocates for the issue because of their role within their specific institution, which impacts their answers and the results of the study. There may also be interviewer-induced bias, which is unintentional prejudice and can be purposeful or subconscious (Rea & Parker, 2005). For instance, the interviewer can inadvertently react to an answer or ask more in-depth questions for certain topics while ignoring others (Rea & Parker, 2005). As an intern for the vice unit at the San Diego Police Department and organizer for the Advisory Council, my questions and perception of the issue may be biased as well.

Another limitation of this research is that not all pimping cases since 2007 were analyzed, which limited generalizability. However, about half of the closed pimping cases
between July 2007 and January 2011 were analyzed and the same detective conducted 95 percent of the investigations. This provides consistency in investigation techniques and data collection. Additionally, the pimping investigations were provided by the San Diego Police Department and thus may not be representative of pimping investigations throughout the San Diego County.

The following chapter presents the detailed findings and results of the aforementioned methods.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This section represents findings from the following: (1) interviews with 12 practitioners interviewed about issues relating to human trafficking in San Diego County, (2) content analysis of 17 domestic human sex trafficking and pimping investigations from the San Diego Police Department between July 2007 and January 2011, and (3) a descriptive analysis of current initiatives being undertaken to address domestic human sex trafficking in San Diego County. An analysis and conclusion of these different perspectives will be discussed in the following chapter.

PIMPING AND PROSTITUTION TERMINOLOGY

The content analysis revealed the unique vernacular used by both the pimps and the prostituted victims. The definitions for these pimping activities used were provided by the detectives and are based on his or her knowledge and experiences in the field. Table 3 is only a sample of these terms.

SCOPE OF DOMESTIC HUMAN SEX TRAFFICKING IN SAN DIEGO COUNTY

When asked about the scope and seriousness of the problem of domestic human sex trafficking in San Diego, the interviewees’ responses were similar. An detective from a local law enforcement agency explained:

> It is extremely serious and the problem is that people just don’t know its happening. It is literally happening right in front of everybody’s face and they just don’t want to see it. The girls that are walking into motel rooms, the young girls with the pimps, or walking on the street. They think that girls are doing it because they want to; they don’t realize these girls are under age, that’s a big thing too. Some of the girls may not look underage, but you know when you really start talking to them you can tell they are not adults. So yeah, it’s a very big problem.

(personal communication, September 27, 2011)

Another vice detective is quoted as saying:
### Table 3. Commonly Used Terminology in Investigations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slang</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pimp</td>
<td>Person who persuades, compels, or entices someone to become a prostitute or continue to commit acts of prostitution. One who derives support or earning of a prostitute. Pimp is also an acronym for Provided Income from Managing Prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Game</td>
<td>The subculture of pimping and prostitution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finesse Pimp</td>
<td>Person who excels in the psychological trickery (control) needed to deceive females and to retain their services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorilla Pimp</td>
<td>Person who abducts, beats and rapes a girl and forces her to work for him under the threat of continual torture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentlemen’s Pimp</td>
<td>Slang for pimp who does not physically beat his prostitutes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daddy</td>
<td>A prostitute’s term of endearment for her pimp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blade/Track</td>
<td>Area where prostitutes and pimps work; referred to as a track because much like a track, the prostitute circles the area repeatedly looking for customers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turned Out</td>
<td>To be forced into a life of prostitution; normally refers to a pimp teaching a girl the game for the first time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Up/Trade Down</td>
<td>To trade a girl to another pimp with some exchange of money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branded</td>
<td>Tattooed (usually with the name of the pimp to signify ownership).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trick/John</td>
<td>Person who pays for services rendered by a prostitute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottom Bitch</td>
<td>A pimp’s prostitute with the most seniority who is typically the recruiter for the pimp and most trusted by him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of Pocket</td>
<td>The process by which a competing pimp recruits and takes ownership of a prostitute from another pimp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Service</td>
<td>Term used by prostitutes to indicate that sex and oral sex are included.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife/Wifey, Sister in Law/Wife in Law</td>
<td>How prostitutes in a particular pimp’s group refer to each other.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It’s a big problem, it’s the fact that [human sex trafficking] is well established from outside the area and people can actually come and know where to go within the city. It just clearly states that it’s a problem city. (personal communication, September 27, 2011)

This is in reference to the prevalence of street prostitution on El Cajon Boulevard in San Diego, known as the blade. According to law enforcement, there are specific blades in every city in San Diego County. A sergeant in the San Diego Sheriff’s Office and leader of the Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force said the following in regard to the scope of the issue in the county:
It is hard to say and people ask me this question all the time, but because it is such a new trend that we are seeing, maybe it’s something that we have been seeing all along but didn’t realize what it was. There aren’t any true statistics to really compare to, to really say if this is a rising thing or if its not. We just have gotten the awareness now of educating ourselves to understand it. I personally think this is one of the crimes of the future because of the large amount of money that can be made in this business. We are seeing a growth among our street gang members getting involved in this too, so I know it’s a vague answer, but it is about the best that we have right now. (personal communication, September 29, 2011)

An individual from Interfaith Faith Community Services in North County stated:

I think the problem is bigger than people think it is. When I first started I thought, “Oh well this is an international thing, mainly girls in Thailand being sold to whomever. “ I realize now how big the problem is, especially in North County. When we see busts with gang related trafficking, we are seeing gangs that were once rival gang members working together and trafficking in some cases, the same girls, or trading girls, or recruiting girls, and these are young ladies that are American citizens that were born and raised here so, I think its much bigger than people think. (personal communication, October 6, 2011)

The Director of Wellness at Grossmont Union High School District explained that the issue of domestic human sex trafficking is growing, or is being more recognized in schools. She stated that the issue only affects a small percentage of her students, but is expanding due to recruitment issues on campus. She compared the issue to drugs on campus:

If a student has a very significant drug addiction, we have to take that seriously, but you don’t tend to see the spreading and the contamination effect that we see in the kids involved in this issue. (personal communication, September 30, 2011)

There was only one interviewee, a Deputy City Attorney, who provided a different response. She noted that the crime of pimping and prostitution has evolved and has grown in momentum over the years; therefore it is difficult to estimate the scope. She explained that:

My office prosecutes around 30,000 cases each year and prostitution is not even ten percent of those cases, in fact I think it is quite a bit lower. I don’t have the stats in front of me, but the biggest crimes are DUIs and crimes involving drugs, like under the influence or possession, that kind of category of crime. Prostitution is something we take very seriously even though it is not a huge caseload. (personal communication, October 5, 2011)

**Characteristics of the Prostituted Victims**

Those interviewed were asked to describe the characteristics of the prostituted victims that they encountered in their work. One detective from a local law enforcement agency explained what he sees in terms of age:
The FBI came out with a study in 2009 that listed the average age as 13 years old when a girl starts [prostituting]. From the girls that I’ve spoken to in San Diego, that seems to be spot on. Many of the girls that I spoke with just this weekend began prostituting at age 13, confirming that it is a pretty accurate number. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

Similarly, content analysis of the pimping investigations revealed that 17 pimps were arrested for prostituting 37 females. Of the prosecuted females, five did not have specific ages listed. Two of the five were believed to be minors under the age of 18, however, their ages cannot be confirmed and will not be included in the following statistics. At the time of the pimp’s arrest, the average victim age was 16.56 years with the youngest being 13 and the oldest 33 years old. Of the 32 victims, 62.5 percent (n=20) were minors under the age of 18 and 37.5 percent (n=12) were adults over the age of 18. Unfortunately, the investigations did not include the age at which they were recruited by the pimp or began prostituting.

The investigations also did not detail the home life of the prostituted victims before they entered the game, but in an interview, a local law enforcement detective explained that the majority of prostituted victims have grown up in abusive homes. He explained, “most of the girls come from broken homes; they have been abused in some way, either physically or mentally, and typically by a family member.” A detective from the Innocence Lost Task Force discussed the girls’ backgrounds as well:

The girls normally come from a lower socioeconomic status. Many of them don’t have families, are in the social [service] system, have foster families, are a ward of the court, or are in and out of group homes. For those who have family, typically one or more are in prison or have drug problems/issues. An extremely high rate of the girls have been sexually abused prior to prostituting. That is true in the majority of cases. In rare cases the girls are from close knit and highly educated families. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

Lastly, a detective from a local law enforcement agency shared similar experiences:

We actually get a little bit of both. We get girls that come from homes with both parents, where both parents work and for some reason they get mixed up in this game; those are the victims where we don’t quite understand how and why this happens. On the flip side, girls come from single-family homes, generally where the parent is the mother. Statistically dads are not in the picture because either the dad is incarcerated or has not been identified. Pimps who provide a caretaker role pray on the latter and others simply choose the profession because it runs in the family, with mothers and sisters who are prostitutes. I currently have a case where the girl, who is 14, who learned from her 16 year old sister who is in the game. Prostitution affects all walks of life, however, at least 70 percent come from a broken home, maybe 80 percent. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)
The victim service providers’ answers were consistent with the law enforcement personnel’s. The CEO of Center for Community Solutions explained:

The background of the victims that we have served is across the board. I don’t know if this is a good cross section but we have seen all ages, probably the oldest trafficked victim I’ve seen is 45 and as young as 18 or 19. These numbers do not represent victims as a whole only those who managed to get to the Center for Community Solutions. Many trafficked victims we serve have been brought over the border under the false pretense of getting a full-time job or marriage. From my research, I can’t say that this is a great cross section of victims, however, it is whom we are serving. (personal communication, October 3, 2011)

The director of The Hidden Treasures Foundation explained her experiences with prostituted victims:

Everyone that I have worked with has had sexual trauma before they were brought into the life [of prostitution] and before they were cultivated by the pimps. There’s a great amount of abuse, in some situations it is emotional or emotional abandonment and other times it is where their family has a history of mental disorders, alcoholism, and drug addition. Some come from middle-income families and rarely there will be one from a higher income family. Predominately it’s the lower income families. The victims never experience that vital support system that includes nurturing, so the desperation to be cared for and accepted is what makes them vulnerable to being trafficked. (personal communication, October 7, 2011)

With regard to race, four interviewees said there was no particular race targeted more than the others in terms of sex trafficking in San Diego. Six interviewees said that the majority of the victims they see are African American, followed by Hispanics, Asians, and Caucasians, The latter three tended to be in different order depending on the interviewee. For instance, one local law enforcement agent said, “I would say a majority, at least here in San Diego, are Black females, the next would be Hispanic, and then Asian, and the last would be Caucasian.” Another local law enforcement detective said, “I want to say the majority of them, but a slight majority, are Black. And then white, and then after that would be Hispanic and other.” The Executive Director of Generate Hope stated that she has seen Caucasians most frequently; however, she has a seen a range of ethnicities and races as well. There was one person who did not work directly with victims and is not included.

The pimping investigations did not add any additional information on the race of the victims. There were no physical descriptions given for 25 (78.13%) of the 32 victims. There were four African Americans, two Latinas, and one Asian victim listed in the investigations.
Content analysis of the pimping investigations revealed that there were five instances of victims running away from a safe location after they had been confirmed victims of human sex trafficking. Safe locations refer to The Polinsky Center (a county children’s center), a group home, or a parent’s home. In three cases, the victims ran away from The Polinsky Center to rejoin their pimps and in one instance the female was recruiting other females at the center to work for her pimp. Another victim ran away from Children of the Night group home and another ran away from her home. In all of these cases, the victim went back to their pimp after running away from a safe location.

**EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS**

The issue of pimping and pandering has been noted as problematic within schools in San Diego County. The Director of Wellness at Grossmont Union High School District has been a pioneer in combating the issue within the school system. She explained that the females most at risk are:

Disproportionately it is our foster youth and disproportionately it is our special-ed girls. Also, it is disproportionately in clusters of certain neighborhoods that tend to be lower income. However, we also have the traditional and well-supported student, but that’s the minority. (personal communication, September 30, 2011)

Furthermore, it is not only pimps she sees recruiting on campuses:

I see a lot of [bottom bitches]. I would say 40 percent of cases we are seeing with the pandering are females. The female may be serving as the pimp, although typically they are serving as the bottom. We do ultimately get to the pimps, either on campus or off, but it’s hard for us to discern because the pimps use females as their recruiter. (personal communication, September 30, 2011)

The school often takes action and transfers a potential victim to another school in order to create distance between her and the individual who is trying to recruit her into the game. However, this can be problematic because it allows for the issue to be spread to other schools. She takes this into account by tracking where individuals that have been suspected of this crime are located.

In addition, there was an incident involving recruiting for pimps. She noted:

In one situation, it looks like a male student was locked in a bathroom, getting beat up by [other male students]. And he was jumped because he didn’t get enough girls to be recruited in [to prostitution], allegedly. (personal communication, September 30, 2011)
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JOHNS

When asked about the characteristics of the Johns, the interviewees’ answers were unanimous; there are no generalizable characteristics of Johns. A local vice detective mentioned the variety of Johns she has encountered when posing as an undercover prostitute:

It depends on the location you are working. So when I work Main Street, 90 percent of the Johns are Hispanic males, most don’t even have a driver’s license. Many live in National City for that area [on Main Street]. On El Cajon Boulevard and you can get guys that drive down from Carlsbad or Northern areas, or some of them are local, from the North Park area. You get more of an eclectic crowd there, you get guys driving really nice Mercedes, then a guy driving a beat up truck. You get a little bit of everything there. (personal communication, September 27, 2011)

The sheriff in charge of the Anti-Regional Task Force thinks that the reason for the diversity of Johns is our societal norms that condone it. He explains that as a culture we do not necessarily see prostitution as a “bad thing” because prostitutes are not seen as victims. The Johns are unaware of the pimping issue and believe that prostitutes are working the streets by personal choice. Consequently, Johns do not think they are doing anything wrong and continue to pay for sex. No information on the Johns was available in the pimping investigations, so the analysis cannot officer additional insist into their characteristics or behavior.

THE GAME OF PIMPING

The methods through which pimps control their prostitutes vary, but there are some common techniques. The interviews showed that pimps control the majority of prostitutes in San Diego. In other words, female prostitutes are generally not operating without a pimp. The respondents who gave percentages stated that above 90 percent of the girls have pimps. Some times renegade female prostitutes were working alone, are forced into sex trafficking through violence. The sergeant in charge of the Regional Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force noted, “[she is] basically taking money that [the pimp] could be making. So we have seen cases where prostitutes are recruited through violence, extreme violence, to come work for pimps.” However, even though violence is one way a pimp recruits a girl to work for him, in a majority of the cases the victim is recruited through coercion and deceit.

Consistent with the literature, respondents noted that a pimp may approach a girl for recruitment purposes in school, outside a train or bus station, at a private party, or anywhere
else that youth hang out. Often he will call or socialize with her to gain her trust and love and have sex with her. He is likely to promise her a life of extravagance including houses, clothes, and even marriage. At this point, if trust has been established, then he has successfully recruited the victim. The Executive Director of Generate Hope explains, “Typically, all it takes is a couple of McDonalds meals, some nice clothes, a manicure, a pedicure and he’s got her.” The sheriff summarizes what happens next:

Then the pimp will hit them with the big one, “hey look, you are already having sex with me, if you have sex with others, we are going to make so much money that we are going to live like kings… So you’re already having sex with me, what’s the big deal? (personal communication, September 29, 2011)

Once that girl turns her first trick, she is now a prostitute and he reminds her of it: “you can’t go back home now, you are a prostitute, and nobody will accept you. But I accept you and love you, so stay with me.” He uses this shame to continue to make a profit from her prostituting and if she does not cooperate, the pimp will typically engage in threats and violence.

Pimps often enforce strict rules with their prostituted victims in an effort to keep them from running away and being apprehended by law enforcement. According to the pimping investigations, of the 17 cases analyzed, 8 (47.1%) investigations specifically outlined the rules set by the pimp. Victims shared the rules with the investigators through interrogations. The three most common rules were: (1) always walk against traffic, (2) always keep your head down, and (3) do not ever talk to black males. Rules are enforced to evade law enforcement. For example, one pimp told his victim to “have the John touch her breast or her crotch to see if they are a cop.” Certain pimps specified what type of car the victim was allowed to get in for a trick. For instance, one pimp told his victim never to get in a Toyota Corolla and another pimp had a rule that his girls were never allowed to get in any Dodge or Ford vehicles.

In addition to the rules set for the prostituted victims while walking the blade, their pimps also set rules on the amount to be charged for sexual acts. The pimping investigations revealed that there were different pricing standards for sex and oral sex. In 10 out of the 17 cases (58.8%), there were specified minimum monetary requirements for sex. The entire range of the amount being charged was between $60 and $150, with an average of $95 and a median of $100. These numbers were calculated by using the data presented with “at least”
as the lowest number. For example, if the pimp told the prostituted victim to charge at least $80, then $80 was entered into the dataset to acquire the mean and median.

The prices for oral sex were generally lower than intercourse. In 8 of the 17 cases, pimps had enforced rules about oral sex prices. The minimum amount charged was $40, which was found in two of the cases, and the highest charged was $80. The average amount was $52.83 and the median was $50.

In all 17 of the cases, San Diego was a location used by the pimp. If at any point in the investigation another city was mentioned, either through interviews with witnesses, the victim, or the pimp, it was noted. Los Angeles was the second most common city visited by pimps and the prostituted victims; it was mentioned 7 times in the 17 investigations. In total, there were five states noted: California, Nevada, Arizona, Washington, and Oregon. There were four different cities within the San Diego Area mentioned: San Diego, Carlsbad, Oceanside, and Escondido. It is important to know to which cities the females were transported because it can impact the types of charges than can be brought upon the perpetrator. If a prostituted victim is transported across state lines then sexual exploitation charges can be added and the case can be charged through the harsher federal court system. Furthermore, it illustrates that pimp’s use a ‘circuit,’ which is important to understand when thinking about prevention, law enforcement, and provision of services in these cases.

**CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PIMP**

The characteristics of the pimp, including age, family life, and race, are not as well known as the victims and the Johns. The law enforcement interviewees were the only individuals who have had regular contact with pimps. One detective notes that pimps tend to:

> Only have a mom, or the dad is not in the picture. A pimp’s dad was a pimp, [and there is] a history of pimping, or gang connections. So I have seen a little bit of that, but usually the families are broken so they may know who the dad is, but he’s got a criminal history and/or gang ties. (personal communication, September 27, 2011)

Another detective stated that he has not kept track of specific characteristics, but he has noticed that:

> [A pimp’s age tends to range] anywhere from 18 to mid 30s and 40s. I haven’t looked at their home life as much as I have with the girls, but most of them seem to have had a pretty hard life. I’m not sure exactly what is happening at home, that makes them believe that what they are doing is ok, or that this is how you treat a
woman. Something is obviously dysfunctional in their family. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

Although one the detective with the Innocence Lost Task Force stated pimps age tends to vary:

The youngest pimp I have arrested was 15 years old; he went to Juvenile Hall, he got out 90 days later, and I arrested him again for pimping. He went back to Juvenile Hall again and since being released, I know he is pimping again. Then there are guys that I have arrested that are in their 20s and 30s, so again, you are looking at running the entire gamut of age and race. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

The same detective explained how these individuals learn about the game of pimping:

It is something that is handed down from generation to generation and it is taught to their siblings or in the gang world. He noted, that if the individual is in a gang, whoever it is they are sponsoring or bringing up through the ranks, that would be a way they would introduce pimping to them.

According to the 17 pimping investigations from the San Diego Police Department there is little variation in gender, race, and other physical characteristics of pimps. For instance, 94 percent (n=16) of the perpetrators were African American and 94 percent were males. There was one instance of a female Latino perpetrator. In contrast to gender and race, there was more variation in the age of the pimps. The average age of the pimps investigated between 2007 and 2011 was 26 years old; the youngest was 15 years old and the oldest was 35 years old.

Nicknames were noted in 88 percent (n=15) of the pimping cases. The most common nickname used by a prostituted victim for her pimp is “Daddy”, which is the generic term for a pimp and is considered a term of endearment. This term is universal to describe a pimp and even though most pimps have unique nicknames, “Daddy” was used by many (n=4) of the girls in these investigations. The information was either obtained through interrogations or interviews with the pimp’s victims or by browsing through the females’ cell phones for pimping related messages. Each pimp’s nickname was not usually related to his or her given name: for example, Isaac Hayes went by “Doe $tack”, Quincy McShan went by “Shampagne”, and Cedric Black went by “Lil Bobo.” Similarly, Antonio Jones, went by “A-Million” and Maricio Torres went by “Mac Polo”. The pimps used these names on a daily basis and in some instances the victim did not even know the pimps’ given name.
Only 23.5 percent (n=4) of the cases reported tattoos on the pimps. Of these, all were on the upper body. For instance, John Richy was reported having a tattoo on his lower arm that reads “MOB,” which stands for “Money Over Bitches”. This is a common phrase used by pimps that portray the importance of the monetary gain they enjoy at the expense of a female victim. It is important to note that many investigations did not give a more detailed physical description of the pimp and thus this number may be skewed.

In 35.3 percent (n=6) of the cases there were one or more suspects involved in the pimp’s enterprise. This means they were not pimping out victims by themselves but had accomplices. One of the six cases involved family members, such as the pimp’s father and brother. In the other five cases the accomplices were considered friends, and one of these cases specifically stated that other suspects were part of the same street gang. In the remaining eleven cases, there were no other suspects or accomplices identified.

**FORMS AND PREVALENCE OF ABUSE IN PIMPING**

According to the respondents, in every single case of domestic human sex trafficking there was emotional abuse involved. Physical and sexual abuse is not always seen in these types of cases, but it is common and often extreme. A detective with the Innocence Lost Task Force explained:

> The emotional and mental abuse is in every single case. There is not a single case that does not have some sort of severe brainwashing, manipulation, and emotional abuse to the girls. Because that is how they keep their girls working. And fear is accomplished by threats of violence, not only to the girls themselves, but also to their family members or people that are close to them. So that is a day in and day out occurrence to keep them motivated, keep them working, and keep them where they belong. The physical abuse part is, again I am going off my cases specifically, I’d probably say close to 2/3 of the cases will involve some sort of physical abuse. Whether that’s minor abuse, where a girl was slapped, to major abuse, where a girl was burned, severely beaten, put in the hospital, raped, or whatever, so it’s the whole gamut. There is quite a bit of it but in all those cases with physical abuse, there is always emotional and mental abuse. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

Another local law enforcement detective explained that in his with his daily interactions with prostitutes, “More often than not, you will see a girl with scars, or a fresh wound as a result of being disciplined by her pimp.”

The Executive Director at Generate Hope discussed a few of the examples of physical abuse that women in her safety home reported experiencing at the hands of their pimp:
I am afraid that a lot of [the pimps] have anti-social personality disorder. I think it would take some real psychological issues to abuse women or anyone. The pimps beat the victims regularly. One girl explained that three of them were working for the same pimp for 24 or 48 hours or so, and he stuck them in a hotel room and left. He came back and she had fallen asleep. He took his belt off and beat her for falling asleep without permission. One girl was held down while he tattooed his name on her neck in large bold letters. The tattoo is going to be hard to hide and expensive to remove. She’s terrified of needles so that was really traumatizing for her. I could go on and on. (personal communication, October 11, 2011)

The pimping investigation content analysis showed similar results; 12 out of the 17 victims mentioned that the pimp had threatened them. The threats varied in their degree and to what the treats involved. In one case he threatened the female with intent to harm her child and in two cases the pimp threatened the female with her life. For example, a particular investigation noted:

[She] did two car dates. [She] remembers having sex with one john for $60.00 and giving another John oral sex for $40.00. [She] met with [her pimp] and gave him the money. [Her pimp] told [her] to get into his car. [She] did and he started yelling at her, “Bitch I’ve been doing this for years. You got other pimps talking about me I’m going to kill you! (San Diego Police Department, 2010)

In another investigation, the female refused to cooperate with police and said, “If he found out I snitched, I would be dead or my house would be burned down.” In these cases it is noted by the investigator that the female victim is only participating in prostitution under the threat of violence.

Many of the investigations showed that the threats were followed through with physical abuse. In 47.1 percent of the investigations, there were instances of physical abuse and many of these were extremely violent cases. For instance:

[The pimp] dragged her out by her hair and started beating her. [He] pushed her down a flight of stairs and told her not to cry. [She] was bleeding in the face but she still had to prostitute herself because she would get her “ass beat” if she did not. (San Diego Police Department, 2007)

In one of the most violent allegations of abuse by a victim during an interview, the pimp was said to have hit the victim’s chest and other body parts and attempted to drown her. There were other instances noted in interviews where he dragged her by her hair, slammed her against the wall, punched her body, and threw her down a flight of stairs. This woman reported getting beaten because she would give him attitude or he would think she was looking at his friend in an inappropriate manner.
Part of the coercion process is that the pimp feigns affection to make it appear as though there is a relationship between them (Grace, 2010). Possibly due to this tactic, there were no instances in the 17 cases of reported rape by the pimp. There were a total of six (35.3%) of the cases that reported the victim having consensual sex with her pimp. However, out of these six cases, three of the females were under the age of 18, so by law these instances would not be considered consensual. Out of the 17 cases, there were only two prostituted victims (11.8%) who reported they were abused and/or raped by the John.

**The Relationship Between Sex Trafficking and Domestic Violence**

Due to the nature of the crime, there have been many comparisons between domestic human sex trafficking and to domestic violence by practitioners in the field. The content analysis revealed that in almost all the cases the pimps tended to have sex with their victims. The sheriff in charge of the Regional Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force explained that oftentimes a patrol officer may respond to a domestic violence call and the situation does not feel like a domestic violence case because it is actually a pimp beating up his prostituted victim. The sheriff explained:

> We are really trying to educate law enforcement to really start looking again, beyond the surface of what they see. We get a lot of cases where the officers really don’t know what to categorize it as so they are categorizing it as domestic violence because it’s a boyfriend/girlfriend relationship; he beat her up. Well then we find out that he beat her up because she wouldn’t go and produce a trick or something similar. Although, yes, it is domestic violence, it really has the undertone of human trafficking. We are working on trying to educate our people to understand that. Again, it’s a case of where we didn’t know what we were looking at, we didn’t see it, and we didn’t understand it. (personal communication, September 29, 2011)

Furthermore, a detective from a local law enforcement agency explained the policy relationship between domestic violence and human trafficking:

> We actually just had one this week, it was a girl that had been dating the guy for I don’t know how long but he forced her to go work. They start out with that relationship and make it seem like ‘oh, go do this for me.’ So [human sex trafficking] is crossed with [domestic violence]. But because he would get a more severe sentence on the human trafficking side, it carries more to vice than it does to domestic violence. (personal communication, September 27, 2011)
The additional training for patrol officers has resulted in a number of domestic violence cases being correctly reported as domestic human sex trafficking to the vice unit. The city attorney explained:

I think there is crossover there, however, with the evolution of law enforcement’s knowledge of this crime, the dynamics of human trafficking and how the women get into the business officers recognize the Battered Women Syndrome and its effect on prostitutes. There is a whole separate wheel of power and control, and the similarities are certainly there; there’s no denying that. (personal communication, October 5, 2011)

**DRUG USE BY PROSTITUTED VICTIMS**

The interviewees were unanimous in their responses about the role of drugs in domestic human sex trafficking cases. They noted that there is a common misconception about alcohol and drug use for prostituted victims. Drugs are not as prevalent as one would think and the only drugs abused are marijuana and ecstasy because they do not hinder sexual performance. The Innocence Lost Task Force detective explained:

It is very rare. If they do give them drugs, in the majority of the cases it will be ecstasy or marijuana. Both of those will not affect their performance; in fact it will just heighten their performance and keep them calm at the same time in order to go out there and work on an extended basis. The meth, cocaine, heroin, that type of stuff, is really not as abused in this world because if they cannot function, they cannot make money. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

A victim service provider and Executive Director of the Hidden Treasures Foundation, a faith-based organization, observed the same trend with the girls that she helps rescue from prostitution:

Just about all of them are using marijuana as they really can’t do this without being on something because it is so damaging to their soul. So marijuana helps them do it. The pimps really don’t rely on more potent drugs because they want her to get out there and work. The pimps see the girls as their product and if she is strung out on drugs or something, she can’t bring in as much money as he wants her to. (personal communication, October 7, 2011)

The Executive Director at Generate Hope explained that many of their girls have used the popular alcoholic energy drink “Four Loko” to cope with the trauma of their work. “Four Loko” is a popular 23.5-ounce drink that contains 12 percent alcohol, caffeine, taurine, and guarana and has raised health concerns in the past year (Wood, 2010).

There was a presence of drugs noted in 15 of the 17 pimping investigations. The data was collected through interviews with the victims, witnesses, or the pimp, as well as in
confiscated property found during arrests. Because the drugs were often found through searches, cannot be proven that that the pimp specifically gave the drugs to his prostituted victim. However, there were a few times drugs were specifically mentioned by the prostituted victim in interviews. For instance:

Detective: Did [the pimp] ever give you any drugs?
Victim: Yes. He gave me pills.
Detective: What kind of pills?
Victim: Ecstasy.
Detective: What did they look like?
Victim: They were small round pills. They had different colors.
Detective: Did you take the pills?
Victim: Yes
Detective: How many times did he give you Ecstasy?
Victim: Everyday. Two to three a day.
Detective: Where would he give them to you?
Victim: His house or his car.
Detective: How did the Ecstasy make you feel?
Victim: Everything was so real. I wanted to touch everything and everyone. It was weird.
Detective: Did the drugs make you more sexually aroused?
Victim: Kinda I guess.
Detective: Did you work the blade after you took the pills?
Victim: Yes (San Diego Police Department, 2010).

In the investigation reports, marijuana, commonly referred to as “weed”, was noted in nine of the cases. The use of ecstasy was noted in six of the investigations. In addition to marijuana and ecstasy, alcohol was mentioned four times, while marijuana cigarettes, cocaine, and mushrooms were mentioned once each.

**Gang Involvement in Sex Trafficking**

Respondents noted that over the last three to five years that pimping has become a more common criminal activity of gangs. One local law enforcement detective stated, “They are about the right here, right now, the easy money.” This detective said that at least 90 percent of his pimping cases involve gang members or individuals associated with gangs. Another local enforcement detective noted:

I think they are all affiliated; they just may not be documented. That’s the biggest problem, just because they are not documented, it doesn’t mean they aren’t throwing around lingo for Blood talk. You can tell by the way they text. For example, far all the texts from the pimps that I have received they use an “x” in place of a “c,” like “bitxh” for bitch. They are using the lingo as if they were a
Blood gang member for a Blood set, but they aren’t documented. They won’t claim because they are smart enough to know that claiming will get them longer sentences if they are ever prosecuted. (personal communication, September 27, 2011)

The sheriff noted a slightly different trend than the local law enforcement:

We are seeing a huge increase in gang activity with this of course. That probably has been occurring to some degree. However, we have also had cases of these regular ‘entrepreneurs,’ with no gang ties, who are starting to notice the growing trend, the potential for financial gains, and are getting involved in the business. So again, it is just really anybody. (personal communication, September 29, 2011)

In the 17 pimping investigations, six (35.5%) pimps were documented gang members, two (11.8%) were not documented gang members but were associated with a gang, and nine (52.9%) were not affiliated with any gang. The cases show that about half (47.1%) of the cases had ties to gangs and gang membership. Of the eight cases that reported the pimp’s connection to a gang, four were from the Lincoln Park gang, two were from the Skyline Gang, one was from the West Coast Crips, and one was from the Black Compton Crips.

**How and When a Prostituted Victim Leaves Her Pimp**

Previous research has tended to focus on the risk factors that contribute to a girl becoming a victim of human sex trafficking. The current study asked practitioners about how and why the young women eventually leave the life prostitution. One detective stated that it is too soon to tell how the girls will get out of the game because of the new gang-related pimping trend that has appeared in the last five years. This is because they have not seen many girls in that situation who want to get out of the life yet. Another local law enforcement detective stated:

The end result for some of these girls is one, the most extreme, death. Before that, they have psychological issues for the rest of their lives. They’ll have a chemical or drug dependency and chances are they will have numerous STDs. They have been raped/beaten and they have children from various Johns. One way out is when something bad enough happens and they think that they have finally reached their lowest point and just step away from it. In some situations they are just so fearful for what is going to happen that they just end up leaving and displacing themselves from their pimp. (personal communication, September 27, 2011)
Another local law enforcement detective explained that the girls, often times the older victims, tend to leave the life of prostitution because they realize their life is not going to change:

Most of the girls I have seen that want to get out are in their mid to late 20s and have made a concerted effort to get out. Usually these girls have been in the business a long time. They tell me that they are fed up with waking up on a hotel floor because the pimp won’t let them sleep on the bed. They are tired working eight plus hours a day walking the street or out of their hotel with nothing to show for it because the pimp takes all of the money. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

The sergeant in charge of the Regional Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force explained that the women who remain feel trapped by the emotional hold of the pimp. He compared it to domestic violence:

It is a lot like domestic violence, if you look at the recidivism rate of a domestic violence victim that go back to their abuser, it’s usually seven times before they finally break completely away. So we see that a lot in this field, we can get girls out of the business for a while, but they are slowly pulled back in and it has to do a lot with the psychological factors that have gone into this type of abuse. Not only are they sexually abused, but the mental breakdown, the low self-esteem, “What else am I going to do?” type of attitude. (personal communication, September 29, 2011)

**VICTIM SERVICES FOR PROSTITUTED VICTIMS**

The rate at which prostituted victims return to their pimp shows the need for effective rehabilitation programs and social workers. In the content analysis of the pimping investigations, there was a presence of a social worker or a probation officer mentioned in 8 of the 17 cases (47.1%). These individuals and groups were included in the analysis if the investigators noted them present at any point during the investigation. Due to prior arrests, many times the victims already had assigned probation officers. Of these eight cases, a probation officer and service providers (the Bilateral Safety Corridor Coalition and the Door of Hope) were present two times. Children of the Night, another service provider, were present for one victim and an individual, whose place of work was not mentioned, was also present in one case. Social workers and probation officers aid in the pimping investigations and protect the pimp’s victims. In one case, the detective and the probation office agreed that the victim was a severe runaway risk and opted to place her in Juvenile Hall rather than a
group home. In other cases, the service providers see to it that the victims are taken in by a group home after they are released from juvenile hall or jail.

During the interviews, there were several questions regarding the role service providers played in the cases involving the prostituted victims. Topics covered included best practices, recidivism, and services available to the prostituted victims. The primary issue noted to hinder law enforcement is the fact that the prostituted females are victims, even though they are arrested and treated as an offender for breaking the law. When a girl is caught prostituting there are three options: she can be taken to jail or Juvenile Hall (depending on her age); she can be allowed to go home (depending on how safe her home is); or she can go to a group home. The interviewees explained that the victim’s destination is dependent on her propensity to be a flight risk. Furthermore, the safety of the victim is considered because the pimp often knows where the group homes and her family home are located. A detective for the innocent lost task force described the placement options:

It really depends, if you have a girl that is a true victim, that is screaming for help, then most likely we are going to put her somewhere to get her some help and get her back to her family as soon as we can. If it’s a girl that believes what she is doing is no big deal, and she likes being a prostitute and her pimp did nothing wrong to her and she just thinks that she is the shit, then she will most likely end up going to Juvenile Hall or jail, because she needs to learn her lesson. She needs to be put somewhere secure, then hopefully while she is there, we can inundate her with services while she is in there to get her some help when she gets out. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

Importantly, those interviewed also noted that the pimp would tell their girls that if they ever get sent to a group home or even back to jail or Juvenile Hall, they are expected to recruit other girls for him. The interviewees noted that these institutions have been warned of this issue; however, it is difficult to stop due to the hidden nature of the issue.

The respondents explained that there is a growing need for human sex trafficking victim services providers. The Executive Director of The Hidden Treasures Foundation explained that they often see a prostituted victim sent to a domestic violence or addiction recovery programs but she does not finish the program because the services are not catered to her needs. She explained that these girls need a wide range of rehabilitation services due to the extensive nature of their victimization. The CEO of Center for Community Solutions explained that the girls that come to them are scared and traumatized:
Most of them are suffering post-traumatic stress and most of them are fearful for a very good reason. Most of them have been beaten and sexually violated and forced on the street, totally different then what they thought they would be doing. They are even more fearful than some of the some of the domestic violence victims that end up in our shelter. That is the reason our safe houses are confidential is because it is lethal. And it is harder to place the victims from the emergency shelter into a longer-term facility [due to their needs]. But prior to that, even putting them in our transitional housing program didn’t fully meet all of their needs; it is more intensive what they need. (personal communication, October 3, 2011)

The Center for Community Solutions has been working with sexual assault and domestic violence victims and has been treating sex trafficking victims through “the back door” through their rape counseling services. Although they do not have the complete resources to treat a victim of human sex trafficking they still accept them into their programs. In order to better serve this growing trafficking population, they are working on a grant to offer training and specialized services for sex trafficking victims.

Generate Hope is a victim service provider program that has been around since 2008 and they work solely with human sex trafficking victims. Their new safe house currently houses six young women and will have capacity for twelve women once they receive the proper licensing permits. There is no time limit to a stay at Generate Hope, but the average recovery time for a survivor is about two years. During the victim’s stay at the house, they work towards passing the California High School Proficiency Exam and receive therapy for their traumatic experiences. In addition, they learn life skills through a variety of lessons including gardening and visiting a ranch where they work with abused horses. Generate Hope also provides transportation and gives each woman a monthly bus pass. The Executive Director explained a typical afternoon:

[In] the afternoons, usually they will take a nap because they are usually pretty tired; it’s a lot of emotional energy being spent in their classes. Plus they are shifting their time clock [from] being up all night to being up all day, so sometimes that’s difficult. (personal communication, October 11, 2011)

Every night they have dinner together, teaching them cooking, reliability, sharing, a sense of a family, and other life skills. The Executive Director stated, “I often say, ‘everything we do is a lesson’ good or bad” (personal communication, October 11, 2011).

On the other end of the spectrum, The Hidden Treasures Foundation is in the process of receiving their non-profit status to help domestic human sex trafficking victims. The
program started out as an outreach group from the Rock Church in San Diego. Individuals from the group would approach prostituted victims and pimps on the street and start a conversation in hopes of building a healthy relationship. In addition, they reach out to online victims by calling them through posted advertisements. The Executive Director noted, “sometimes you get about three seconds with them, sometimes you actually spend 15 or 20 minutes talking to them. So our outreach goals are to reach these victims where they are working, build a healthy relationship with them, and let them know we are available” (personal communication, October 7, 2011). The Executive Director explained:

Because they are hurting, we try building a healthy relationship with them. And there’s something in that healthy relationship that connects to their inner self, that’s why we are called Hidden Treasures. It is that treasure that is within them that we bring out. We have had girls that have gone back to the life and the call us again and they’ll say, ‘Come get me, I can’t do this anymore, there’s something different inside.’ Because they have experienced something different; however, some of them have said, ‘This is all I know, this is what I’m good at’ and they go back to it. (personal communication, October 7, 2011)

If a girl decides she wants to remove herself from the life of prostitution a member from The Hidden Treasures Foundation will arrange a time and place to pick her up. For her safety, they pull up in an unmarked car, just as a John would, and they take her to a secure location. Currently, they refer them to other housing options, but once they get their non-profit status, they are hoping to fill in gaps by creating a crisis and transitional care facility for victims.

**Prostituted Victim Health Issues**

In response to issues concerning victims’ health and safety issues, the Executive Director of the Hidden Treasures Foundation stated:

Amazingly enough, from my experience and the girls that we’ve worked with, [health issues] have been relatively low. But usually the pimp gives them condoms and they do use [them], but that’s not across the board. It is their choice to go get checked or not, but that’s one thing we really encourage. (personal communication, October 7, 2011)

The Executive Director of Generate Hope explained that every victim she works with has Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome. She noted:

Every girl I have worked with has [post traumatic stress syndrome], and has another psychiatric diagnosis such as, bi-polar disorder, major depression, and possibly another anxiety disorder. They also have a lot of sleep difficulty, night terrors, nightmares, a history of broken bones, and real skittishness. We kind of laugh about it because they are easily surprised or startled, but you know that it
comes from somewhere. In all, there is definitely physical, psychological, emotional trauma, and spiritual trauma as well. I think it damages the soul when you sell yourself or are sold. (personal communication, October 11, 2011)

The CEO of Center for Community Solutions raises other concerns, including the safety of the personnel who work with victims:

We also have to be talking about safety concerns for people intervening. Not only for law enforcement but if advocates are going to do more and we are going to provide more resources, then we need to do so safely. You cannot legally lock doors when you have people in housing. I’m not suggesting we do that. Although, there’s one entity out of Texas, where they rotate every night what door they unlock each night and they don’t tell the kids, so that they can’t run away and the pimps can’t come and recruit them out. Safety concerns, ways to protect the victim, and ways to protect staff from intervening, that is important. (personal communication, October 3, 2011)

**GAP IN SERVICES**

According to those interviewed for this research, the service providers in San Diego do not currently fully meet the needs of those who have been trafficked. The Executive Director of Generate Hope noted the need to offer medical and dental coverage to prostituted victims, which most services providers do not offer. The grant writer at Interfaith Community Solutions has been working on gaining an understanding of where the gaps in services lie. She found that there are not enough services and secure housing available for juveniles and for victims with children. One respondent noted that all juvenile prostitution cases should be seen by the same judge to create consistency and fairness. Another respondent noted that a drop-in center is needed that provides case management, case advocacy, educational groups, counseling and mental health services, recreational activities, and tattoo removal.

The Innocence Lost Task force detective would like victim services in San Diego County to give the girls freedom and do not try to control them. He noted that other facilities fail because:

What they don’t understand is they’re locking them down and controlling them the same exact way the pimp locked them down and controlled them, its just two different things. So you need to be able to allow these girls the freedom, the rules, and the responsibilities that they have to follow. Furthermore, you also have to allow them freedom to make them learn from their own mistakes. Let them fall, let them pick themselves back up, and be there for them, and be a positive influence on their lives. And give them lots of opportunities that probably they have never had in their lives. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)
An ideal facility teaches and allows them to make their own decisions so they can be successful adults who contribute to society and are able to provide for themselves.

**Funding and Grants**

The rehabilitation programs for prostituted victims are costly to run. There is no current state for federal funding for domestic human sex trafficking service providers and they have to rely on donations and government grants. The grant writer for Interfaith Community Services struggles with this issue, noting that due to the economy there are a limited number of grants available and many different agencies competing for them. She suggested:

> Law enforcement has been getting large Department of Justice grants and we are suggesting that rather than just partnering with one or two providers, partner with the entire Regional Continuum of Care. We’ve got 50 providers; we can provide you with the whole continuum of care from when you first picked the girl up until she’s two years down the line and she ready to get her own apartment. We can do all that stuff for you. I think if we were to partner with law enforcement on a grant, they would have a much stronger application in my opinion. (personal communication, October 6, 2011)

There have been initial talks to make this happen and they hope to work with law enforcement on upcoming grants.

The Grant Writer for Interfaith Community Services is also working on creating a service provider inventory in order to unite the North and South County areas of San Diego in this issue.

> [We are working] together with everybody to make sure that there is a list that not only educators, medical community, law enforcement, and victim services can, once we are trained to recognize what the signs of human trafficking and [commercial sexual exploitation of children] are, say “Ok, this is exactly where I am going to send the victim and I am going to know exactly what to do.” What I am trying to do is make the list an exhaustive list of services providers. The next step is to call them and make personal contact to find out more information on these programs regarding educational services, bi-lingual services, childcare, and so on. And also figuring out what their eligibility requirements are for accepting a victim. (personal communication, October 6, 2011)

**Pimping Investigations**

Programs for prostituted victims are essential in reducing domestic human sex trafficking, but understanding the effectiveness of the investigation of pimping cases may help reduce the issue from a different angle. Pimping investigations can sometimes be
extremely complex and lengthy, which differ from simpler prostitution arrests. Every law enforcement officer interviewed stated that a pimping investigation on average takes about six months from the start of the investigation to the case being presented to the district attorney. One local law enforcement detective stated:

> It usually depends on how the cases are brought to us. Sometimes we’ll get a case where we just happen to be doing in-calls at the hotels and we will get a girl arrested for prostitution and she wants to talk about her pimp. She will either do a pre-text phone call right there at the hotel, or we will use her phone to send messages to the guy, he will come to the hotel, and we will arrest him. So from start to finish by the time it hits the [district attorney’s] office is within 48 hours of arrest. But if a case comes to us, for example, from the school that a young girl is believed to be prostituted out, then we will start working that. And that will take anywhere from six months to two years, you just never know. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

A detective for the Innocence Lost Task Force explained the lengthy investigation process:

> And a lot of [the investigations] is also based upon the cooperation of the victims. Because there is such a high recidivism rate for the girls that go back into the life again, it is really hard to keep track of them. They will be there and will work with you, then all of a sudden they are gone and disappear. And maybe you will track them down again in a month or two, find them again, and talk to them some more before they disappear again. And sometimes you may even be working a case against her pimp, while she’s already working with another pimp. She’s not willing to give up her new pimp because she’s in love with him, but she’s more than willing to discuss her previous case. And so that’s how you kind of have to go with these girls, you can’t not help them just because you think as a cop, ‘oh well, you better give me that too,’ you can’t think like that, you have to go and take your time with them and understand these are just very lengthy cases. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

Pimping investigations are a lengthy process and are determinate on the pimps cooperation with law enforcement. Content analysis found that the pimp was cooperative with law enforcement in only 3 of the 17 cases (17.6%). There was one instance where the pimp admitted having sex with the victim but denied all pimping charges.

In terms of the victims, there were 12 cases (70.6%) where one or more of the victims were cooperative with the investigators. In one case the victim was believed to have lied at first, but after each interview she became more forthcoming and was believed to have told the truth by the last of four interviews. Based on the detective’s previous research there was only one case where the victim was not cooperative and was believed to have been lying during the interview. The investigators also believed the victim was not truthful in the
investigation due to contradictions from evidence that was already collected. There were four cases where the victim’s cooperation was not noted.

**COURT SYSTEM**

The city attorney for the vice unit works with adult misdemeanor offenses related to prostitution. She noted that, “adults sometimes don’t look like adults; they just turned 18 the day they got arrested” (personal communication, October 5, 2011). She explained that sentencing often varies depending on the individual’s criminal history. If the prostituted victim is a first time offender, she would be able to attend Survivor of the Streets courses. This program is run by a former prostitute and includes an educational component, a health component, a peer-to-peer support group, and guest speakers. If a prostituted victim completes this program they can return to court and plead guilty to a lesser charge. Having this opportunity to reduce the charges allows the victim an opportunity for legitimate career opportunities. Despite this chance given by the city attorney, many prostituted victims will continue to break the law. The city attorney explained how the charges are applied to repeat offenders:

> For people with more significant history, for people who are facing the charge with priors, that comes with additional punishment that is mandatory. It is custody for various amounts. If you have one prior you have 45 days jail, two priors is 90 days jail, and then it goes up from there with 30 day increments usually. The maximum is 180 days. (personal communication, October 5, 2011)

She stated that they take into account a person’s criminal history in this field by:

> Taking into account this understanding of human [sex] trafficking and understanding of how women enter this life, how they end up going down this road and historically have for years, there are a variety of sentencing options. From my perspective, I see it as they have reached the end of the road. For whatever reason this woman has fallen through the cracks of society. Her schooling has not served her, her family life has not served her, she doesn’t have any gainful legal employment to help her stay on the straight and narrow and for whatever other variety of reasons she’s falling through the cracks. So in a way, sometimes the way we approach it seems kind of harsh, but to me it is also aimed at saying, “maybe nobody else in the system is working to create consequence for you and give you an out but we are going to do that.” The way we do that is based on a variety of things depending on the person’s criminal history. (personal communication, October 5, 2011)

She also explained that there is another option for an individual facing jail time and that is to participate in the Second Chance Strive Program. After pleading guilty, the defendant enters
the program, which has a two-year commitment with a five-day week and eight hour day. The program does not have a limit in the number of openings and aims to prepare the individual for a healthy and independent life. If they successfully complete the program they can return and the attorney will strike, or erase, their priors.

There is a similar option for the men who are arrested for soliciting prostitution. They can attend the Prostitution Impact Panel, which is San Diego’s John program. The deputy city attorney explained that during this panel:

They hear from community members, former prostitutes, former Johns/sex addicts, the police, health workers, social service workers (who counsel sex industry survivors), [previous sex trafficking victims], and a they hear a little bit from me. But that is the program for them and they can come back in and get that same reduction that the women do. (personal communication, October 5, 2011)

According to the City Attorney, the program is effective at curbing recidivism; there is a two percent official recidivism rate for men who attend this course. She noted, “I haven’t looked at the numbers but I think we are closing in on 700 participants over the years; we are on our ninth year and only about nine people have re-offended. So it is really successful.” She explained that this number is low because the offenders did not know about the harms their actions cause and they learn this in the Prostitution Impact Panel. It is important to note that the program has not been officially evaluated and that her perceptions of success may not be empirically valid.

**OUTCOMES OF PIMPING INVESTIGATIONS**

The outcome for convicted prostitutes and Johns differ than those convicted for human sex trafficking. The pimping investigation content analysis revealed one investigation in 2010 in which there were federal charges, while all the others were charged by the state. The federal charges included Title 18 USC Section 1591 (Sex Trafficking of a child by force or coercion) and Title 18 USC Section 2433 (Transportation of a minor with the intent to engage in criminal sexual activities). The other 16 cases were tried by the state court system. The average number of charges brought against a pimp for these cases is 4.86, with a median at 6.5 and a minimum of one charge and a maximum of 9 charges. All the cases had either a charge of 236 PC Human Trafficking or 266h PC Pimping. Other common charges include 266i(2) PC Pandering and 267 PC Abduction of a Minor. Table 4 lists the charges and their frequency in these 16 cases.
Table 4. Frequency of Charges in Pimping Investigations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charge</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>236 PC Human Trafficking</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266h PC Pimping</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266i(2) PC Pandering</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267 PC Abduction of a Minor for Prostitution</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272(a)(1) PC Contributing to the Delinquency of a Minor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261.5(a) PC Unlawful Sexual Intercourse with a Juvenile</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289(h) PC Sexual Penetration</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212.5(a) PC Robbery</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>242 PC Battery</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266h(a) PC Pimping of a Minor</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266h(b) PC Pimping of a Minor under the age of 16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12021(a)(1) PC Felon in Possession of a Fire arm</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12280(b) PC Possession of an Assault Weapon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3056 PC Violation of Parole</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261 PC Rape</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273.5 PC Domestic Violence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273a(a) PC Child Endangerment</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166(A)(4) PC Violation of a Court Order</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181 PC Slavery</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>288.3(a) PC Communicates with Minor with Intent to Kidnap/Rap</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>647.6(2) PC Annoy/Molest a Minor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1137(A)HS Posses Controlled Substance</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11378 HS Poss. Controlled Substance Sales</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>653.23(a) PC Supervise prostitution</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182(a)(1) PC Conspiracy to commit a crime</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The charges listed above were recommendations made by the investigators; however, it is up to the District Attorney to decide the charges to bring against the defendant. Sentencing is also determined by how many prior arrests and convictions the defendant has on their criminal record and is decided by the judge. In 3 of the 17 cases (17.65%), the District Attorney dropped all charges related to pimping, pandering, and human trafficking. There was one case where the charge was reduced from pimping to attempting pimping. In this case, the defendant received 18 months in jail and served the full sentence without parole. There were four cases (23.53%) in which the defendant received three years. In two of these four cases, the defendant is still in prison and the other two received parole after one year and six months. In two of the cases, the defendant received a four-year sentence. One of
these two cases is still in prison and the other served two years in prison until he was paroled. The remaining 4 cases were sentenced to 6 years and 8 months, 7 years, 8 years, and 22 years and 8 months; all of these individuals are currently serving their sentence in prison. These cases received longer sentencing due to their criminal history, which are reviewed on a case-to-case basis. There was one juvenile case, where the defendant received 90 days in Juvenile Hall for his first offense and 180 days in Juvenile Hall for his second offense. The federally charged case received a 13-year sentence in federal prison.

**LAWS AND POLICY**

The respondents unanimously noted that the human trafficking state laws are currently too lenient and should mimic the penalties of the harsher federal laws. A special agent for the Department of Homeland Security explained the federal laws:

> On the federal side, the laws are very harsh. They are very good laws to combat human trafficking. The laws are there, it’s a matter of being able to make the case, and that often times falls on the investigation, the investigator, and the evidence that you get. You are looking at 10/15 year minimum/maximum mandatory sentencing of someone convicted of human trafficking. We had a case a couple of years ago, an individual up in North County that trafficked two girls, he ended up taking the government to trial and he was convicted by a jury and received a 24 year sentence for human trafficking. That’s a pretty severe sentence for anyone, any type of criminal. So the laws are there, if you can get convicted of trafficking, you’re going to have the books thrown at you. (personal communication, September 27, 2011)

The detective for the Innocence Lost Task Force explained why these laws should be mimicked by the state:

> We need the state laws across the nation, especially here in California, to match that of the federal laws. This is particularly true according to the sentencing structure for the pimp themselves. That’s the main thing that needs to be done. There is just too much in between. It’s either federal, where which is 20 years mandatory minimum, or state which can be, in California, can be 3 years and they will do half the time. There is so much of a huge, in my personal opinion, injustice in between there. They just need to make it straight across the board. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

The city attorney would like the laws to be changed on the misdemeanor charges as well. She explained:

> I think we could make a lot more headway if we had a crime with further increasing punishment. But the fact that it is a 180 day sentence no matter [how many times they re-offend]. A defendant can have 30 priors, and I have a
prostitute that has many priors, or you can have one prior and its still a 180 days. So for pimps and for some prostitutes it is the cost of doing business and it doesn’t really impact them to the degree I think the legislator and the people thought it would. (personal communication, October 5, 2011)

One local law enforcement detective noted that the cases often depend on the cooperation of the victim. During their investigation, law enforcement may only get cooperation from one prostituted victim and not from all a pimp’s victims. He explained, “There is a lot more happening than we can prove and that we even know about. If the average is one to five [victims], then he should be charged for all of those [girls] and he’s not getting the time he actually deserves for basically destroying this girl’s life” (personal communication, September 28, 2011).

ADDRESSING THE ISSUE IN SAN DIEGO

From the legal perspective making the state laws harsher is a way of reducing human sex trafficking. This research sought to identify ways in which the community may be able to help reduce this issue from a different approach. The interview respondents were asked, “What can the community to do help reduce this issue?” Those interviewed unanimously responded that there needs to be more awareness. The Executive Director of Hidden Treasures said, “Bring awareness. The more we talk about it and bring awareness, the more the right person is going to hear and do something about it more aggressively” (personal communication, October 72011). One local law enforcement detective noted:

It all boils down to community and family awareness, that’s where it all starts out. Unfortunately, when the girls and the guys are coming from broken families they do not have that strong foundation. That’s a hard thing, where does a city or a state step in to do that? And that’s something that I think as a community we have to come together to think of a way to do that. I think it’s a long process but we will get there someday. The more the we are aware of it and are able to work the cases and the more that the numbers are rising, it will trickle down to the communities and they will have to do something about it. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

The Interfaith Community Solutions grant writer similarly noted:

This is the thing that I am amazed at, that I run in a circle of very professional, educated folks, who are completely blind to human trafficking. They have no idea what it is and that there is a modern component of slavery. That slavery didn’t end with the civil war, its still going on. Talking about it, spreading the word, and getting connected is a big part. (personal communication, October 6, 2011)
The city attorney shed yet a different light on the issue and why human sex trafficking has not become a more pressing issue within the community:

I think awareness of the problem is an issue. People have trouble sometimes making the leap from what they are observing to saying, “Ok, I am going to call the authorities.” People do a lot of self-talk that convinces themselves out of it or to say, “No, that girl can’t possibly be a prostitute, I’m sure that wouldn’t happen where I live.” People aren’t really connecting the dots about the severity of the problem. And then more importantly, what the prostitute might represent, which is this whole group of crimes behind her and behind the scenes. This includes sometimes literally in the shadows in the form of the pimp who is dealing drugs or beating people up because he is bored and doing strong arms, or breaking into cars because he’s waiting for his girl to come back with his money. I don’t think community members put all those pieces together. That being said, that’s not everyone, that is the community at large, but I wish we could have more community involvement. (personal communication, October 5, 2011)

Another way to reduce this issue is deterrence-based strategies. One local law enforcement detective’s idea to reduce the problem is similar to public shaming:

I think there’s a magazine in Texas and it is called “Busted.” It is similar to our Reader, it is just a little thin copy and it shows who got arrested over the weekend. I think if you put John’s faces on that, they might not be so quick to be shopping for girls, whether it is online or on the street. I think that would be a big deterrent because no one wants their face plastered [publicly] if they are out picking up girls, [especially if they] have a family at home. Or another option is to put up billboards, there are so many billboards up along El Cajon Boulevard, and yet none of them talk about human trafficking. Make it aware. Call it in if you see a young girl loitering. Also, let people know that the tips can be anonymous. I think so many people are uneducated about their involvement and that they can call the police and say “Hey, I think there is a girl working.” However, that is not always the case. In patrol we got a lot of calls of B girls (prostituted victims) working, but it is not across the board. (personal communication, September 27, 2011)

Another local law enforcement detective noted that prevention would be more effective in reducing this issue in San Diego. He explained his thoughts on reducing the issue in San Diego:

I think it would be a two-pronged effort. The first one would be to target the juveniles; the second one would be to target adults. As far as targeting the juveniles, it would have to increase school awareness and school involvement. I mean that because schools are where a lot of these girls are getting picked up. I think schools would have to be brought into the training. This training would include spotting risk factors and seeing signs that a female, or even that a juvenile male is being recruited. Also, proactive training for girls who have been contacted [by a pimp]. As far as the adult side, it would have to be more the community and
community awareness. This would be accomplished by providing proactive training to community members. (personal communication, September 27, 2011)

The interviews with expert personnel in the field and the content analysis of pimping investigations revealed that the issue of domestic human sex trafficking is a complex in San Diego County. The results of this study exposed methods by which pimps recruit victims and operate their business. The analysis further revealed that practitioners believe that creating a paradigm shift from classifying prostituted offenders to viewing them as victims is essential in creating awareness, positively impacting rehabilitation, and implementing policy change. The following section is a descriptive analysis of the county’s response to domestic human sex trafficking at the policy level. It was undertaken by attending over 30 committee and sub-committee meetings and analyzing minutes and documents provided.

**SAN DIEGO’S RESPONSE TO DOMESTIC HUMAN TRAFFICKING ISSUES**

In June 2011, the San Diego Board of Supervisors created a human trafficking advisory council in order to help reduce the problem in San Diego County. The purpose of the advisory council is to facilitate a collaborative effort from various institutions to address human trafficking issues. The human trafficking advisory council is composed of eight separate committees: law enforcement training, community, schools and education, victim services, policy, media and advocacy and data and research. A representative from each of these sub-committees meets to discuss and share information. Information from these meetings are then summarized and presented to the Sheriff, the District Attorney, and the Board of Supervisors.

The regional anti-human trafficking task force was formed in 2007 through a federal grant, which provided funds for undercover operations and victim services. This task force was re-named as the law enforcement sub-committee after the formation of the advisory council in June 2011. Because the task force was formed before the other sub-committees, it has become a place where law enforcement, victim services, and community members learn and share information on human trafficking. During the meetings, agencies share information on their next operation or detail (law enforcement stings to make prostitution type arrests), and share resources and information. Since 2007, the task force has identified 406 victims
(30 percent of these are minors) and 160 pimps (44 percent of these are documented gang members).

As noted in the interviews, community awareness of domestic human sex trafficking is perceived as one of the key ways to help victims and prosecute pimps in San Diego County. The training sub-committee is made up of local law enforcement personnel, non-profit organizations and service providers. They created an hour-long presentation to give to community members, schools, and new police officers. Although, they cater the presentation to the audience to which they are presenting, but the information about pimps and their victims is consistent.

The training sub-committee has determined that the main goal of the presentations is to create a paradigm shift regarding participants’ views on prostitution. This includes understanding that labeling those subject to human trafficking as ‘prostitutes’ is degrading. They instead encourage that they be referred to as victims. This is viewed as beneficial because it would change the understanding that these children and women are not prostituting by choice, but are actually victims of pimps. The presentation explains the crime of domestic human sex trafficking in detail and the types of pimps. For example, they explain that a Finesse Pimp is a pimp who turns a girl into prostitution by first seeking her out under the guise of love and affection. This type of pimp will use seduction as the first tactic and then turn to coercion to make her turn her first trick. This is the most common type of pimping in San Diego. The second type of pimp is a Gorilla Pimp. This type of pimp may see a girl on El Cajon Boulevard, abduct, rape, and force her into prostitution for him. He will keep her there by using threats and violence. According to the experts in San Diego, this type of pimp is extremely rare. The presentation further describes: how investigations are performed; where girls are being recruited; the role of gangs; branding; the role of domestic violence; health issues; and gaps in victim services in San Diego County. The primary goal of the training sub-committee is to monitor all presentations currently occurring in San Diego for accuracy and consistency.

The community sub-committee is working to spread awareness through the county through conferences, forums, and films. They are coordinating a one-day conference that will teach attendees about the issues of domestic human sex trafficking. They recently worked with the Institute for Public Strategies to make a documentary film entitled “Indoctrinated,”
which presents domestic human trafficking in San Diego. The committee is also working to create a survey to capture the general public’s knowledge of human trafficking and commercial child exploitation.

The school and education sub-committee has made progress addressing the commercial sexual exploitation of children in the school setting. Grossmont Union High District created a protocol for dealing with child exploitation in schools by working with law enforcement and the Child Welfare System. The protocol lays out three different scenarios that school personnel can refer to when there is suspected recruitment, a suspected victim, or a confirmed victim of commercial sexual exploitation of children.

If there is suspected recruitment of a girl into prostitution on campus, the first step is to involve the on-site school resource officer. According to the protocol, the second step is to investigate possible campus impact including, “recruitment, harassment, involvement of other students, safety issues on campus, etc.” Finally the school will administer consequences if appropriate or contact law enforcement depending on the outcome of the investigation.

If there is a suspected victim on campus the first step is to contact the school resource officer. Secondly, a Child Welfare Services report would need to be submitted if abuse or neglect is suspected. Then an on-campus investigation would take place regarding the campus impact, followed by imputing information on the Law Enforcement Human Trafficking website. If appropriate, the victim’s parents would need to be notified. Counseling would be provided to both the victim and the parents. Finally, contact would need to be maintained with the victim to ensure she has not been recruited into prostitution.

If there is a confirmed victim of child sexual exploitation, the first three steps are the same as if dealing with a suspected victim. After the campus impact is determined, the appropriate investigation unit would need to notified and the information be added to the website. The parent would also be notified, if appropriate, and there would be an investigation into whether or not the victim should transfer schools. Victim services intervention and counseling would be the final step in the process.

The committee hopes that the protocol will mandate training in the subject matter for all school officials and force Child Welfare Services to handle these cases as serious and important. The leading school official for this issue in Grossmont noted that San Diego Unified School District is in the process of adopting the protocol. She also explained that the
next goal is for all 42 districts in the county to adopt it. In essence, regardless of where a child goes to school the school officials will know what to do and how to handle the cases when there is child sexual exploitation and domestic human sex trafficking on campus.

The victim services sub-committee has a diverse group of services providers from San Diego County. During these meetings the practices deemed effective and ineffective by different service providers are discussed. The committee is currently formulating a service intake survey in order to collect data for research into the type of victim, her experiences, and her needs as a sexually exploited victim in San Diego. They are also using the meetings as an opportunity to network with other providers in order to write collaborative grants and fill service gaps, such as having emergency responders for victims at any time of the day.

The victim services committee is researching and supporting six assembly bills involving domestic human sex trafficking. Assembly Bill 90 involves profits from trafficking crimes, such as Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and coercion, which will be given to service providers. This law has been passed by both houses and is now waiting on a signature from Governor Brown (Around the Capitol, n.d.b). Assembly Bill 12 increases the fine for human trafficking from $5000 to $25,000, which will be allocated to the state to provide foster care, kinship-guardianship, and adoption assistance for youth who meet age, education, and employment requirements (Around the Capitol, n.d.a). Assembly Bill 702 states that if the victim has reached the age of 18, he/she can petition to have their record cleared of prostitution charges (Around the Capitol, n.d.c). Assembly Bill 918 would add pimping, pandering, and human trafficking as offenses that can be used to establish a pattern of criminal activity, especially in gang related cases (Around the Capitol, n.d.d). Finally, Assembly Bill 996 would add those convicted of a human trafficking offense to register on the sex offender registry (Around the Capitol, n.d.e).

The data and research, media advocacy, and policy sub-committees were created to support other sub-committees. The data and research sub-committee has researchers and professors from every major university in the San Diego area. This committee is fairly new and is currently starting to identify the empirical research on the issue and where the gaps lie. They are working on how to collaborate and find funding for research on these issues. The sub-committee is also working on creating specific definitions for human trafficking terms to unify all future research. It is important to have the same working definitions of human
trafficking terms in order to accurately compare and exchange data between projects. The media advocacy sub-committee and the policy sub-committee have yet to be formed.
CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study sought to explore the nature and dynamics of domestic human sex trafficking in San Diego County. Research was conducted to gain a detailed understanding of the policies, procedures and methods used by practitioners in the field. Another purpose of this study was to identify gaps in law and policy that might be modified to better assist prostituted victims and prosecute pimps. Based on the analysis of 17 recent pimping investigations, 12 face-to-face interviews with practitioners who work with this population, and a descriptive analysis of the County’s response to this issue, this study found that the extent of pimping in San Diego County is greater than previous research indicated. Respondents who work in the field also noted that the rate of gang-related pimping appears to have significantly increased over the past five years and rival gangs are believed to share information and resources to maximize profits resulting from the sexual exploitation of young women. Additionally, major gaps in victim services were noted, such as lack of beds in safe houses, minimal 24-hour emergency services, and scant availability of programs tailored to juveniles and victims with children. Positive strides have been made as a result of various law enforcement programs, including a significant paradigm shift whereby prostitutes are more accurately described as ‘victims’ rather than ‘criminals.’ This chapter discusses these key findings and their implications for law enforcement and social services along with the impact on policy and future research.

PROSTITUTED VICTIMS

The results from the current study suggest that victims of domestic human sex trafficking in San Diego County often came from broken homes or had been abused by family members. Service providers who work with this population in San Diego County believe that nearly 100 percent of these victims were previously abused. Local law enforcement personnel believe that this figure is closer to 80 percent. Both estimates illustrate significantly higher percentages than those previously obtained from around the
country, which ranged between 62 to 67 percent (Mitchell et al., 2010; O’Leary & Howard, 2001). Findings from this study are comparable to Burke and colleagues’ (2007) research in San Diego, which found that 83 percent of victims reported being abused in their childhood home. It is important to note that the previous studies from around the country and the Burke study from San Diego were conducted by interviewing prostituted victims themselves whereas this thesis research relied on practitioners’ expertise (Burke et al., 2007; Mitchell et al., 2010; O’Leary & Howard, 2001). Knowing the backgrounds of prostituted victims can assist law enforcement and social service providers in creating accurate protocols, trainings, services, and policies. Moreover, understanding the prevalence of abuse is paramount in developing effective outreach programs that connect at-risk girls with services before they are recruited by a pimp.

Findings from this study also support the idea that the age of recruitment into “the game” of prostitution is during adolescence. The pimping investigations analyzed did not list the age that victims entered into prostitution, but they did document that the average age at time of investigation was 16 years old. If one takes the length of an investigation into consideration, along with the amount of time that pimping likely occurred before law enforcement began its investigation, it is plausible to assume that entry into prostitution occurs as early as 14 years old and possibly as young as 12 years old. The investigation content analysis findings are supported by the practitioners’ responses that noted the average age of entry into prostitution at 13 years old. These findings are also consistent with the 2010 study by Mitchell et al., which analyzed a nationwide sample consisting of 132 juvenile prostitution arrest cases. Despite the fact that Mitchell and colleagues’ methods differed by directly interviewing prostituted victims, their findings were similar in that they found that the majority of prostituted youth were between 14 and 17 years old (Mitchell et al., 2010).

Currently, there are a limited number of local agencies that consider the age at which young women are recruited into prostitution. Local agencies, law enforcement, the ACTION Network, and Grossmont Union High School District, have developed presentations for high school age youth; however, it is well documented that most of the victims are recruited into prostitution well before high school. These presentations and other awareness programs should be expanded to include youths in middle school. There may be unforeseen consequences of introducing programs such as these to younger youth and best practices
need to be researched to determine how the information should be presented to them. Programs for middle school children may need to be focused more on female empowerment and self-esteem issues, rather than the reality of pimping and prostitution. Similar programs should be created for at-risk boys to teach them family values and respect for women, lessons that they may not be receiving at home.

**THE GAME OF PIMPING**

This study found a higher rate of prostituted victims working for a pimp compared to previous studies in San Diego and throughout the United States. Statistics compiled from nationwide arrest records and data from social workers, revealed that 75 percent of prostitutes were trafficked by a pimp (U.S. Department of Justice, 2007b). Mitchell and her colleagues’ (2010) in a Chicago-based study found that 57 percent of the prostitutes were controlled by a third-party exploiter. Of these cases, 82 percent were controlled by a pimp, 14 percent were controlled by acquaintances, and 3 percent were controlled by family members (Mitchell et al., 2010). Locally, Burke and her colleagues (2007) found numbers similar to Mitchell and her colleagues; 52 percent of prostitutes gave earnings to a third party and 76 percent of that half admitted that they give their wages to a pimp. Results from practitioners’ interviews in this study suggest that a pimp controls about 90 percent of the prostituted victims in San Diego. Further research with a larger data set and the corresponding analysis of arrest statistics would be needed to confirm this number. Allowing for the differences in collection techniques, these results strongly suggest that pimp-controlled prostitution is prominent in San Diego County.

Every single case of domestic human sex trafficking that was analyzed revealed elements of emotional abuse by a pimp via manipulation and coercive recruiting tactics. These results are consistent with the Raymond and Hughes’ study (2001) that interviewed 123 victims, law enforcement, services providers, and health care workers. Raymond and Hughes (2001) noted that all of the victims stated that their relationship with their pimp was often physically violent and/or sexually and emotionally abusive. In this San Diego County thesis study, service providers noted that 100 percent of the victims they interviewed reported physical, sexual and/or emotional abuse by their pimps. Further, these service providers were generally in agreement that prostituted victims frequently suffer from complex psychological
issues as a direct result of their pimp's threats of violence and/or physical, sexual and emotional abuse. In addition, approximately two-thirds (67 percent) of the law enforcement interviewees reported physical abuse of prostituted victims by pimps. The pimping investigation content analysis revealed lower rates of physical abuse (47 percent); however, threats of violence were noted in 71 percent of the law enforcement cases. This knowledge of the frequency of various forms of abuse may aid in the development of viable rehabilitation programs for domestic human sex trafficking victims, which are currently lacking in San Diego.

The recruiting tactics exhibited by pimps in San Diego varied widely; they targeted girls in schools, group homes, and Juvenile Hall. Interview respondents in this study noted that girls that had never previously engaged in prostitution were recruited from many of these places in and around San Diego. Similar recruitment techniques have been noted in other studies (Mitchell et al., 2010; O’Leary & Howard, 2001; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). In San Diego County, the Grossmont Union High School District, local law enforcement, and various social service agencies are collaborating to address this recruitment problem. Training sessions provide personnel with the tools to recognize prostitution recruiting tactics and steps to take when prostitution recruitment is suspected. Respondents noted that it is important that various institutions and agencies work together to target this type of recruiting as it is instigated not only by pimps but by other prostituted victims under their control. Awareness is the first step toward reducing prostitution recruitment. Although some institutions may not want to initially admit that prostitution recruitment occurs therein, comprehensive education and training can provide personnel with the proper skills and tools to address this issue.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Human sex trafficking often includes the crime of domestic violence, as the relationship between a pimp and his victim is frequently, if not always, violent. In 2001, Raymond and Hughes interviewed victims of prostitution nationwide, who all reported being abused by their pimp. In a 2002 study conducted in the Mid-West, Williamson and Cluse-Tolar also studied pimp-controlled prostitution. Based on interviews with former victims, they found a strong correlation between the degree to which a victim obeyed her pimp and
the level of violence that pimps used to gain control. Results from this thesis coincide with those of previous studies in that it was established that physical abuse was a fundamental component in the pimp/prostitute relationship. Sex trafficking and domestic violence cases typically entail the pimp/abuser manipulating/brainwashing the prostituted victim into thinking she is dependent on him. If this belief becomes engrained, the prostituted victim will typically return to her pimp many times over before she is able to break away from the relationship. Respondents noted that it is important to understand that with human sex trafficking victims this type of manipulation/brainwashing is only one of the prostituted victim's psychological issues. Other issues arise from physical, sexual and emotional abuse such that it is difficult for domestic violence shelters to adequately deal with a prostituted victim's complex array of needs.

This study found that there were several incidents in which pimps were arrested and charged with domestic violence rather than human trafficking. This may be a result of officers quickly viewing the relationship as that of a girl being abused by her boyfriend rather than investigating further to determine that the relationship is actually between a pimp and his prostituted victim. Even though the components supporting the additional charge of domestic violence are present, a perpetrator is rarely charged with pimping or human sex trafficking and domestic violence. If domestic violence detectives, vice detectives, and prosecutors work together to levy both sets of charges against the pimp, it is more likely to result in a harsher sentence. This type of united effort is beginning to occur, as one local law enforcement detective explained:

I have talked with our DA here because most of the girls are coerced into prostitution, so they usually think that at first this guy who becomes their pimp is really their boyfriend or somebody who likes them a lot and they start to fall for the guy. And when time goes by, usually after a few days he is asking her to prostitute. So you already have that domestic violence relationship that has already started. One of the things I have been considering is also charging all the domestic violence charges I can prove on a case, along with the pimping to add on time. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

The domestic violence relationship is only one aspect of domestic human sex trafficking, but it is an important piece. If the offender that controls the prostituted victim is charged with pimping, domestic human sex trafficking and domestic violence, multiple convictions may result in a longer sentence and the prostituted victim may have a better chance of “breaking free” from her pimp. It is clear that domestic human sex trafficking is a
complex issue and understanding the psychological connection between a prostituted victim and her pimp is essential for a service provider to aid in the healing process. If the community is aware of the complexity of the issue, they may be more proactive in helping a prostituted victim, and perhaps Johns would be less likely to purchase their services. Other jurisdictions may want to consider incorporating domestic violence with domestic human sex trafficking in arrest, charging, and prosecuting decisions. This issue further illustrates that addressing domestic human sex trafficking requires a collaborative system-wide approach.

GANGS

Empirical research on gang-related pimping is generally lacking, however, Burke and her colleagues (2007) found that 15 percent of individuals in San Diego who reported gang membership also admitted to being a pimp. Although not based on interviews with actual gang members or prostitutes, this thesis research suggests that gang-related pimping may be increasingly common. Investigations by the County Sheriff’s Office revealed that 41 percent of the pimps arrested between 2007 and 2011 were documented gang members. Local experts interviewed for this study also indicated that gang-related pimping has grown significantly over the last three to five years. They estimate that approximately 80 to 90 percent of the pimps in San Diego are also gang members or have ties to gang members. Although there is a lack of accurate statistics on gang-related pimping, this activity appears to be increasing. This study also found other unique gang-related human sex trafficking practices such as the ‘branding’ (tattooing) of girls being forced into prostitution and rival gangs working together to turn a profit at the cost of the prostituted victim.

Legislators are working to enhance laws dealing with gangs by adding pimping-related crimes. The sergeant in charge of the Regional Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force explained:

We’re supporting a couple of pieces of legislation right now, one of which [is] to add pimping, pandering, and human trafficking to the list of what we call the “Dirty 33, which are the crimes associated with street gang activity and get them added to that list”. (personal communication, September 29, 2011)

Although not all pimps are gang members or associated with gang members, San Diego County has recognized the prevalence of gang-controlled pimping and has taken steps to establish policies and practices to address this aspect of domestic human sex trafficking.
Local experts interviewed suggest that gangs in San Diego County have begun to recognize the extensive monetary rewards that can be derived from pimping and are engaging in pimping instead of drug sales. Experts suggest this increase in gang-related pimping is due to the ‘product’ (prostituted victim) being repeatedly reused. As a result, a pimp has the potential of making thousands of dollars in a single night. There is also a lower risk of being apprehended for pimping than drug sales because “business” is often being conducted by the prostituted victim while the pimp remains in the background. Traditionally, with respect to narcotic sales in San Diego County, rival gangs have fought over territory. Currently, rival gangs are believed to sometimes work together in prostitution and pimping, sharing information and resources to maximize profits. Some of the most common information shared relates to methods of sex trafficking, including where to recruit girls and the best areas to sexually exploit their prostituted victims. In the Oceanside indictment in 2010, 38 gang members from 3 different gangs were indicted for running a child sex trafficking ring. Collaborations between rival gangs make it more difficult to identify and investigate pimps and their prostituted victims.

**DRUGS**

Much previous empirical research established a link between prostitution and drug use (Burke et al., 2007; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002; Yakusho, 2009). In 2002, Raphael and Shapiro found that 90 percent of prostituted victims admitted that their alcohol consumption increased after they began prostituting. Furthermore, 76 percent of prostituted victims in Chicago reported smoking marijuana regularly and 36 percent admitted to using cocaine regularly (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). In San Diego, Burke and her colleagues (2007) found similar results regarding alcohol consumption by prostitutes (96 percent), but differed in their drug use findings, noting a higher percentage of marijuana usage (93 percent) and methamphetamine use (52 percent). Results from this study's pimping investigation content analysis and face-to-face interviews revealed a somewhat different portrait of drug use by prostituted victims in San Diego County. The current study revealed that alcohol, marijuana, and ecstasy are the substances sometimes used by prostitutes.

Interview respondents noted that a common misconception is that prostitutes suffer from heavy drug and alcohol dependency issues. Local experts revealed that the reason most
prostitutes typically are allowed to use marijuana, alcohol, and ecstasy is because these substances do not adversely affect sexual performance like heavier drugs. While conducting “business”, pimps generally do not use hard drugs either as doing so might hinder their moneymaking efforts and their ability to control their prostituted victims. Drug use as reported by the interview respondents is supported by the pimping investigation case analysis. A pimp does not need to use drugs to control his victim; he controls his victims by coercion, manipulation, threats of violence, and actual violence. However, the prostituted victims use the previously mentioned drugs (alcohol, marijuana, and ecstasy), as a method of escaping the reality of their situation.

**GAPS IN VICTIM SERVICES**

There is no empirical research on the effectiveness of victim service programs for domestic human sex trafficking victims. There are some obvious gaps in local service provisions for these victims, including a safe and secure place for juveniles and for victims with children. There is also a need for more emergency service providers that operate full-time. Now that law enforcement is beginning to view prostitutes as victims, there is a need for safe places besides jail or Juvenile Hall to house them after their arrest. Often, prostitution arrests occur late at night and in early morning hours, therefore more victim services are needed during these non-business hours. Some providers, such as The Hidden Treasures Foundation, have applied for non-profit status in order to apply for funding that would allow them to provide emergency services and transitional housing.

Individuals and organizations within San Diego County are working together to fill these gaps. The process of shared communication via networking has begun; however, this movement is in the early stages of development. If a designated safe house is full or a prostituted victim’s needs cannot be met in one part of the county, this type of shared communication network would identify the location of available resources for that victim. Another benefit is that, when necessary, it is easier to move prostituted victims from their high-risk situations and place them in a less volatile area with available resources.

**SANCTIONS FOR DOMESTIC HUMAN SEX TRAFFICKING**

Interviews with local experts revealed concerns about the differences between state and federal laws regarding human trafficking, pimping, and pandering. At the state level, an
individual with no prior criminal convictions that has been charged with pimping, will serve about half of their three-year sentence. At the federal level, a conviction on human trafficking charges results in a minimum sentence of 20 years. As a result, local law enforcement has been attempting to send as many of their cases through the federal court system as possible. However, the data from the pimping investigation analysis revealed that only one case was prosecuted federally, even though many of the cases showed that the prostituted victims were transported out-of-state. There was consensus among interviewees that pimping is the equivalent of modern-day slavery and the state needs to follow in the federal government’s footsteps and create longer and more severe sentences. Several bills are currently pending in the California Legislature that will, among other things, increase punishment terms and fines as well as expand victim services and related funding. Another pending bill, if adopted, would require a person convicted of pimping and domestic human sex trafficking to register as a sex offender with the State of California.

Although harsher sanctions for pimping crimes seem like a logical policy response, they may not be an effective solution. Such a ‘get tough’ deterrence-based approach has been used with drug offenses and other crimes and has not achieved the desired goal. Instead, we have witnessed massive prison growth and expenditures and no decrease in drug offending (Tonry, 2004). The criminal justice system is arguably an institution based on functions of control that serves the interests of certain population sets who place their own financial and control issues at the forefront (Robinson, 2003). In other words, law enforcement and advocates push harsher prison sentences to further their cause and support their institution. Consequently, new prisons are continuing to be built all over America at a time when overall crime rates are decreasing. Without education, assistance, and opportunity, it is probable that harsher pimping and human sex trafficking laws will not, on their own, reduce the rate of participation in these forms of criminal activity. However, harsher laws and penalties may only yield the results desired by those in control.

**IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE**

This study’s findings on domestic human sex trafficking have many practical applications. The youthful age at which young females are entering prostitution coupled with the dynamics of the pimp/prostitute relationship underscore the need to reconsider defining a
prostitute as a criminal. Teenage girls from broken homes, who do not have a strong emotional bond with someone, desperately attach themselves to the first person showing them “love”, even if it involves abuse and prostitution. Washington Police Commissioner Amanda Fritz asks, “Why is it the day before someone turns 18, they’re a victim and the day after they are not?” (Stimson, 2010). Some argue the reason for this is that it aids law enforcement in gathering data about the pimp (Stimson, 2010). Many of these prostituted victims are emotionally starved and unable to support themselves financially. As a society, we have a responsibility to care for these exploited women and children. Labeling them as a criminal or as a prostitute is not the answer. Lemert describes this phenomenon as deviant behavior generating a negative reaction such that the reaction tends to transform from a negative definition of the act into a negative definition of the person (Lemert, 1951). Once a woman internalizes herself as a commodity, a prostitute, and/or a pimp's property, then she will have a hard time getting out of the business and trusting people who want to help.

It was also found that many victim service providers are beginning to see more domestic human sex trafficking victims in their programs. Specific training needs to be offered to all social service providers, not just the human trafficking providers, on methods to accurately identify a sex trafficking victim and provide them with the appropriate resources. For instance, if a sex trafficking victim arrives at a domestic violence shelter, service providers need training to recognize her as a human sex trafficking victim. A human sex trafficking victim does not represent a simple case of rape or a violent relationship; as one detective notes:

You are basically forcing a child to have sex with strangers, multiple ones, multiple times, over a long period. The mental and physical damage that is being done to these girls, to me, is equal to a girl that was raped by a stranger on the street, if not more so. It is more damaging than one instance because it’s repeated. (personal communication, September 27, 2011)

It has been demonstrated that individuals with low self-esteem are more at risk for being recruited into domestic human sex trafficking. Therefore, targeting issues in the home may be equally or more beneficial as targeting pimps. This thesis' findings suggest that a variety of educational and self-esteem programs implemented in schools, churches and clubs (Boys and Girls Club, YMCA) might empower girls and provide them with the skills necessary to minimize the risk of being coerced and recruited into prostitution by pimps. Programs should also take into account the range of economic stressors encountered by
families that often compromise effective supervision of young adults. In addition, it is important to consider the perceived importance of social status among young adults and the marketing tactics that mold behavior. There are several sources of potential funding for these types of programs, such as state and federal grants, private benefactors, or a variety of fundraising efforts. Program content should include issues that occur at home, such as absent parents, violence and drug use. Increasing public awareness of these issues could potentially decrease the number of youth runaways, thereby reducing domestic human sex trafficking among girls. As the detective for the Innocence Lost Task Force explained, one out of every three teen runaways are approached by a pimp or lured into prostitution within 48 hours of running away.

In order to reduce pimping, outreach and awareness programs should be developed for males to teach them respect for themselves and females. They should also learn the true meaning behind much of the slang used in common speech. For example, the Director of Wellness at Grossmont High School explained that boys often use words such as ‘pimp’ or ‘ho’ without fully understanding the definition and impact of those words. She noted that having confidential conversations one-to-one or in a group setting, often may have positive effects on a participant’s outlook and awareness of the realities of pimping. Stories and experiences shared by former prostituted victims can also have a powerful impact on male participants. Pimping and prostitution issues should be integrated into awareness and esteem-building programs, such as in schools, churches and clubs and as part of available government services such as Child Welfare and Probation. By using a multi-agency approach, young people could gain important life skills that would assist them in dealing with difficult home and social situations. Additionally, outreach programs could target youths at risk for gang-involvement because interviewees for this study emphasized that gang-related pimping is on the rise.

As noted, the crime of pimping is gaining the attention of San Diego law enforcement, social service providers, and policy makers. Through interviews and research, it is evident that this issue is multi-layered; therefore, it would be impossible for any one institution to tackle it individually. The sergeant in charge of the Regional Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force explained this dilemma as an onion, where one needs to peel back many layers:
[Human sex trafficking] is like a horrible onion, that every time you pull [a] layer back thinking you’ve got it, there’s just another layer there, where you’re like, “Oh my word, I didn’t even think about that part.” So now we have to work on peeling back another layer, but that’s ok, we’re at least moving forward and addressing the issue. (personal communication, September 29, 2011)

The San Diego County Board of Supervisors’ Advisory Council is currently focused on these issues and is developing policies and practices to effectively manage them from a multi-agency perspective.

Arguably, the first step in reducing domestic human sex trafficking is to create increased awareness and provide more data about this issue. A paradigm shift in the public’s perception of prostitution is vital for this awareness to succeed. Two common misconceptions about prostitution that serve to promote abuse are: (1) prostitutes are willing participants and (2) prostitution is a victimless crime. Increased awareness about prostitution, pimping and gang-related activities might encourage citizens to report illicit activity and suspected victimization. Removing the label of ‘prostitute’ and replacing it with ‘victim,’ may significantly alter perceptions of -- and responses to -- this complex issue.

However, it can be argued that increasing awareness may potentially cause a moral panic, since it is difficult to know whether domestic human sex trafficking is truly increasing due to a lack of previous data with which to compare current estimates. A moral panic occurs when “[a] condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests” (Cohen, 2002, p. 9).

**Theoretical Implications**

The research for this thesis was exploratory and descriptive and did not involve the testing of any criminological theories but the findings lend some support to deterrence/rational choice based theories. According to the interviewees, pimps are engaging in this crime because there is minimal risk of being apprehended and the monetary rewards are significant. This supports deterrence theory, in which an individual calculates the certainty, severity, and celerity of the punishment (Bentham, 1907). Rational choice expanded on this theory and argued that an individual’s motivations and fears will affect whether or not they will participate in the criminal activity and the actions always benefit the offender (Clarke & Cornish, 1985). Rational Choice theory was originally based on property crimes but can be applied to domestic human sex trafficking. The detective for the
Innocence Lost Task Force explained Rational Choice theory as it relates to pimping and prostitution: “Because it is such a huge money maker, the risk outweighs the potential arrest or harm to them, so, to them, pimping is extremely rewarding.” He explained the amount of money a pimp typically makes:

A typical street pimp will have anywhere from one to five girls for him at a time, that’s average. The average quota for a girl to make is between $500 and $1500 a day. So you just have to do the math on that: if they have 5 girls and each one has a $500 quota per day, that’s $2500 dollars per day, and they are normally working 6-7 days a week. So that’s quite a bit of money, tax free, under the table, and of course the pimp keeps every single dime. (personal communication, September 28, 2011)

In traditional criminal enterprises such as narcotics, the pimp is subject to arrest when purchasing, transporting, and selling his drugs. With sex trafficking, the pimp incurs minimal risk of arrest because he can conduct his business from private locations, often hidden from law enforcement. As a result, the degree of certainty, severity, and swiftness is relatively small. The monetary reward for a pimp far outweighs the risk of being caught, prosecuted, and harshly punished.

Deterrence theory posits that if the risks are higher, then the crime rates should decrease (Bentham, 1907). There has been research to suggest that increased perception of risk is ineffective in reducing criminal behavior and perceptions of risk are highly situation-specific (Paternoster, 1987; Piliavin, Gartner, Thornton, & Matsueda, 1986). Other studies have also shown that cities with increased police presence tend to have higher crime rates, disproving deterrence theory (Nagin, 1998). If deterrence works then cities with the death penalty should have lower homicide rates; research suggests this is not the case (Radelet & Akers, 1996).

Bentham (1907) would suggest that increasing punishment for pimps would reduce the number of prostituted victims. As seen with the war on drugs, harsher penalties did not result in reducing drug use. Beginning in the 1980s, harsh policies and strict prison sentencing was created to combat the growing drug problem in the United States. Between 1980 and 2005 drug incarceration increased ten-fold and accounts for 22 percent of the prison population in the United States (Caulkins & Chandler, 2006; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). The same could be argued for increasing the sentences for human sex trafficking and pimping offenses. The detective for the Innocence Lost Task Force noted, “Unfortunately,
for every pimp that I arrest, 5 or 10 more are going to pop up all over the place. So it is really difficult to combat that crime.” Therefore, increasing penalties may not be the answer to reduce the issue in the county; a focus on outreach programs for at-risk youth may be more effective.

Routine Activities theory suggests that crime is more likely to occur when there is a suitable target, a motivated offender, and lack of capable guardian (Felson & Cohen, 1977). A Routine Activities approach would suggest that the lack of enforcement on adult websites such as Craigslist Backpage, has propelled the growth of internet prostitution. Due to pressure from the community, Craigslist recently deleted their ‘adult services’ section. However, according to the sheriff of the Regional Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force, when the Craigslist’s ‘adult services’ website was removed, ten similar websites replaced it. The lack of capable guardianship perpetuates the ease of internet solicitation and increases the number of prostituted victims. Over the past few years, motivated offenders, commonly referred to as Johns, primarily solicit sex using online services rather than on the street due to the lack of an appropriate guardian with respect to internet sites (Felson & Cohen, 1977). Further research is needed to empirically test deterrence/choice theory and routine activity theory and their relationship to domestic human sex trafficking.

**Implications for Future Research**

Additional research is needed on domestic human sex trafficking to provide better estimates of the magnitude and nature of the domestic human sex trafficking issue in San Diego. Further research efforts should include: (1) interviews with pimps, (2) interviews with prostituted victims, (3) data from various social service and rehabilitation programs, and (4) contact and arrest data from law enforcement agencies.

Maintaining an accurate countywide database on the number of prostituted victims and pimps contacted and/or arrested is essential for obtaining grants that fund victim services and law enforcement. In addition, such a database is a good resource to inform community leaders and citizens about prostitution activities in their area. The sergeant in charge of the Regional Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force stated that he is frequently asked for verifiable domestic human trafficking data and statistics. Without consistent funding, it is nearly impossible to track pimps, prostituted victims and crime statistics and maintain an accurate
database. Without this type of verifiable data, it becomes even more difficult to apply for grants and obtain funding. Currently, federal grants are the primary source of funding for social service providers and law enforcement personnel focused on domestic human trafficking issues. One notable exception is the San Diego Police Department, an agency that budgets for a dedicated vice unit to combat domestic human trafficking issues occurring in the city.

Interview respondents also noted that there was little data on pimps’ home life and what motivated them to start pimping. Future research should include interviews with pimps to determine how and why they become pimps and how gang affiliations play a role in that process. The Director of Wellness for the Grossmont Union High School District noted gang members recruit pimps on high school campuses in San Diego County; future research should assess the veracity of such claims. Besides prevention programs, there is a need for rehabilitation, including enhanced correctional treatment programs for individuals convicted of pimping and domestic human trafficking.

Additional research is needed to examine the extent of gang involvement with respect to domestic human sex trafficking in San Diego and nationwide. This thesis research suggests that gang-controlled prostitution has increased over the last five years and is estimated to account for at least 90 percent of all pimping cases in the city of San Diego. Future research should examine the scope of pimping activities within a gang, and whether pimping is undertaken by a small group of members or is a group-wide enterprise. Such research would also explore the degree to which rival gangs work together and share information and resources to maximize profits from pimping and prostitution. Additional research on prostitution and gangs is needed in order to strategically create appropriate law enforcement and social service programs, responses, and policies.

**CONCLUSION**

Through practitioner interviews and a detailed analysis of local law enforcement data, this study examined various aspects of domestic human sex trafficking in San Diego County. Although there were several limitations, including a small non-probability sample of practitioners, and lack of direct access to pimps and prostituted victims, the research offers contributions to the literature on this issue. This study confirmed the link between pimping,
prostitution, gangs, and domestic violence and revealed a significant lack of resources and available programs to assist prostituted victims. Results from this study suggest that awareness is an essential first step to address domestic human sex trafficking. Study results from the limited data were largely consistent with other research findings but there were some findings that suggest San Diego County’s domestic human sex trafficking may have unique features, which warrant further investigation.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A

IRB APPROVAL
September 15, 2011

Student Researcher: Katherine Morgan  
Faculty Researcher: Dr. Dana Nurge  
Department: Public Administration

Protocol Title: Domestic Human Trafficking, Pimping, and Prostitution Enforcement in the United States and San Diego: A Policy Analysis and Case Study  
Contract/grant number: N/A  
vIRB Number: 674077  
Risk Level: No greater than minimal  
Regulatory Determination: Approved per 45 CFR 46.110, Categories 6 & 7

Dear Ms. Morgan:

The referenced protocol was reviewed and approved in accordance with SDSU’s Assurance and federal requirements pertaining to human subjects protections within the Code of Federal Regulations (45 CFR 46, 21 CFR 50). This review is valid through September 15, 2012, and applies to the conditions and procedures described in your protocol. Please notify the IRB office if your status as an SDSU-affiliate changes while conducting this research study (you are no longer an SDSU faculty member, staff member or student).

Please note your expiration date. To request continued recruitment, data collection and/or data analysis, a Report of Progress must be submitted prior to the expiration date of your study. A lapse in approval requires that all research with human subjects be suspended until approval is obtained and may result in a temporary hold on funds, if your study is funded. The investigator will be out of compliance with federal regulation and university policy if human subjects continue to be involved in this project without a valid IRB approval.

The approved consent form has been uploaded to your protocol file within the vIRB system, within the Supporting Documents section (Morgan_674077_Informed_Consent_IRB_STAMPED.pdf). This document bears the SDSU IRB’s stamp of approval. Print a copy of this stamped form to use when documenting informed consent from research participants. Changes may not be made to the consent document without prior review and approval of the IRB. You are required to keep signed copies of the consent document for three years after your project has been completed or terminated.
Please note the following:

a) For studies requiring consent translation: The SDSU Institutional Review Board (IRB) does not verify the accuracy of the translated document. IRB approval of this document for use in subject recruitment is based on your assurance that the translated document reflects the content of the IRB approved English version of the document.

b) If recruitment will take place through an outside agency or organization, confirm with that institution that you have permission to conduct the study prior to initiation of any study activities.

c) Approval is contingent upon the completion of the SDSU human subjects tutorial (found at: http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~gpo/login.php) by all members of the research team. This certification must be renewed every 2 years.

d) If any changes to your study are planned, you must submit a modification request and receive IRB approval prior to the implementation of study changes. To submit a modification request, access the protocol via the WebPortal, on the protocol Main Page, you will need to click on "Modifications" under Protocol Maintenance and enter a report. Once you have filled in your responses on the report form, click "submit".

NEW REQUIREMENTS!

- To document your modification in detail, access your currently approved protocol in the "Full Document Viewer." Copy and paste the document into Word and use "track changes" to document revisions to your protocol. Save the file (Name_Modification_Date) and upload it to your protocol file. When approved by the IRB, this document will be the current version of your approved protocol.

- If a change to the approved consent form(s) or other uploaded document(s) is being requested, changes must be documented using the "track changes" feature in Word. Upload the revised form to your iIRB protocol file. This form will be reviewed by the IRB. If you do not have a copy of your approved consent form, request a copy from the IRB office.

c) The SDSU IRB requires investigators to report any problems that arise during the course of an IRB approved research study. Serious adverse events or unanticipated problems that are life-threatening or have resulted in serious injury or death must be reported to the IRB immediately whenever possible or within at least 48 hours from the onset of the incident. All other problems must be reported to the SDSU IRB within 5 days. To complete and submit an adverse event report, go to the Protocol Main Menu, click on “Adverse Events” under “Protocol Maintenance” and follow the instructions. For more information and consultation, contact the IRB office directly via Email at: IRB@mail.sdsu.edu or telephone: 619-594-6622, Monday through Friday from 8:00AM to 4:00PM.
f) To submit a request to extend IRB approval, log in to your WebPortal account and access the protocol. On the protocol Main Page, click on "Progress Reports" under Protocol Maintenance and enter a report. Once you have filled in your responses on the report form, click "submit". You should receive an automated email verifying IRB receipt of your Report of Progress.

NEW REQUIREMENT! Within the description box of the Report of Progress form, indicate which, if any, consent form(s) you are requesting to renew. Refer to the Consent Form Development section of the protocol and provide the IRB with the specific file names and date(s) of upload of the consent document(s) you are requesting to renew.

For questions related to this correspondence, please contact the IRB office ((619) 594-6622 or e-mail irb@mail.sdsu.edu). To access IRB review application materials, SDSU’s Assurance, the 45 CFR 46, the Belmont Report, and/or any other relevant policies and guidelines related to the involvement of human subjects in research, please visit the IRB web site at http://gra.sdsu.edu/research.php.

Graduate Students: This notification may be used as documentation to register in Thesis 799A. Attach a hard copy of this notice to your Appointment of Thesis/Project Committee form prior to submitting the completed form to Graduate and Research Affairs - Student Services Division.

Sincerely,

Jeanne Nichols  
Chair, Institutional Review Board

Brienne Larsen-Mongeon  
Regulatory Compliance Analyst

Amy McDaniel  
Regulatory Compliance Analyst

Choya Washington  
Regulatory Compliance Analyst
APPENDIX B

RECRUITMENT SCRIPT
(Recruitment Script) Hello (insert name of potential interviewee), my name is Katie Morgan and I am the working on my Master’s thesis at San Diego State University in Criminal Justice and Criminology. The purpose of my research is to gain a comprehensive understanding of domestic human trafficking, specifically involving pimping and prostitution in the San Diego County. I am interviewing individuals from a variety of institutions who have professional and knowledgeable experience with this topic. The interview will last no more than 30 minutes and can be conducted at any location that is convenient to you. I will be willing to answer any questions you may have and the Institutional Review Board at SDSU has approved this research. You will be given an informed consent form to sign with more information regarding the study. However, if you have any questions that have not been addressed you will be given an opportunity before the interview starts to ask and I will be happy to answer them. You may also ask questions at any point throughout the interview. If you will be willing to participate in this study, please contact myself at 480.861.7789 or at katiemorgan5@gmail.com.
APPENDIX C

CONSENT SCRIPT
(Consent Form Script) Thank you for agreeing to participate in my study regarding domestic human trafficking. Please read this informed consent form. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please feel free to ask me at any point before, during, or after the interview. If you have no immediate questions please sign and date at the bottom of the form. You will be given a copy of this form for your records. It also has contact information for my advisor, the Institutional Review Board, and myself if you have any future questions or concerns regarding the interview or the study.
APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORM
CONSENT FORM

My name is Katie Morgan and you are invited to participate in a study I am conducting. I am a Masters student in the Criminal Justice and Criminology program at San Diego State University. I hope to gain a better understanding of domestic human trafficking (i.e. pimping and prostitution) in San Diego. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of your knowledge in this field.

If you decide to participate, I will administer an interview with questions regarding domestic human trafficking. The interview will average around 30 minutes and take place at a private location convenient to you. All interview transcriptions will be held on a password-protected computer. At the end of the study, the information will be saved to a USB drive and stored in a locked cabinet in my research advisor’s office at San Diego State University. Information from interviews will be used for my Master’s thesis at San Diego State University and will be published in the university’s library.

There are no direct benefits for participating, but the knowledge gained through this study may help inform practices and polices relating to these issues.

All information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential. Information will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. I will not include your name on any written products of this research unless you specifically provide me permission to do so. The only risk to you for participating in this study pertains to the revealing of any identifiable information. With your permission I plan to disclose the agency you work for, your role within that agency, the number of years of experience within that agency and/or with these issues, and the information provided in this interview. If you are uncomfortable with any of the aforementioned information being used, please let me know and I can use more general descriptions (e.g. “a member of a law enforcement agency”).

Please do not give any identifiable information about anyone else during the course of the interview. This includes, but is not limited to, names and other information about pimps and/or prostitution cases that are currently under investigation.

Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not prejudice your future relations with San Diego State University or any other agency. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and to discontinue participation at any time without penalty. The Committee on the Protection of Human Subjects at San Diego State University has reviewed and approved the present research.

If you have any questions, please ask. If you have any additional questions later, you may contact my advisor, Dr. Dana Nurge, at 619-594-6877. Questions regarding the rights of research subjects may be directed to the Committee on the Protection of Human Subjects at irb@mail.sdsu.edu.

You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

YOU ARE MAKING A DECISION WHETHER OR NOT TO PARTICIPATE. YOUR SIGNATURE INDICATES THAT YOU HAVE DECIDED TO PARTICIPATE, HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED ABOVE.

Signature __________________________________ Date ________________

Is it acceptable to include the name of office/agency: [ ] YES [ ] NO
Is it acceptable to include your job title/position: [ ] YES [ ] NO

Signature of Investigator ____________________________________________
APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
Questions for Interviews

Demographics

1. What is your position and what agency do you work for? (Conditional on approval)
2. Can you please describe your role in that agency?
3. How long have you worked there?
4. How long have you specifically worked on issues relating to prostitution or pimping?
5. How much of your daily tasks/time are associated with this problem? What other issues/tasks does your job require of you?
6. What is the response of your agency to this problem?

Prostitution/Johns in San Diego

7. How serious of an issue do you believe is child and youth sexual exploitation to San Diego? (Somewhat Serious, Serious, Very Serious)
8. What is your best guess on the ratio of pimps/prostitutes you arrested/helped vs. how large the problem is?
9. Do you have the resources at your agency to be able to help the majority of the prostituted victims?
10. What effect does prostitution have on communities? On businesses?
11. What are the patterns of sexually exploited youth? (Originate and stay in SD, originate and leave, or come from other areas to SD)
12. What are the characteristics of sexually exploited youth? (i.e family life, background, friends, etc)
13. What do you find are the most common reasons females engage in prostitution? (Money, drugs, food/shelter, other)
14. Regarding Johns, what are common characteristics do you notice? (i.e military, race, age, ethnicity)
15. Do you think the problem is the supply or the demand? Both?

Pimping in San Diego

16. What role do pimps have in prostitution of youth in San Diego?
17. What percentage of prostitutes do you think have a pimp in San Diego?
18. What is the most common age or age range of prostitutes in this county? Age of pimps?
19. What are the characteristics of a pimp’s background? (i.e clothing, family life, abused/abuser, age, race, anything)
20. What are common items pimps tend to have? (i.e cell phones, guns, etc)
21. Does race/ethnicity play a role? If so, what trends do you see?
22. How prevalent are drugs with pimps/prostitutes? What, if any, are most common?
23. Do pimps tend to have sex with any of his girls?
24. Do girls tend to accuse their pimp of rape? What about rape from Johns? How is it investigated? Who investigates it? Do they often go to trial?
25. How often is emotional abuse? How often is physical abuse?
26. How do the girls get out? What happens to them if they are “too old”? What is the trajectory of these girls?
27. What role, if any, do gangs in San Diego play in pimping? How have you seen it change over the years? Explain the dynamics, how it works, etc.
29. How can others be trained to notice/help this issue? Where do you think training will be most useful? (law enforcement, schools, communities, business, etc.) Who should do the training?
30. If you already train others, how successful do you think it has been? Where do you get the information for your training? Has there been any evaluation of this training course?

**Addressing the Issues**

31. Where/how do you start a pimp investigation? Are there other ways besides a victim coming forward to prosecute a pimp? (for law enforcement/attorneys only)
32. What are the perceived service needs of sexually exploited youth? What exists now? What can be changed? What is ideal?
33. Do you think media plays a role in how society views this situation? (i.e ignores it, portrays it wrong, etc.)
34. Does the problem exist in the schools? How? If so, how can they be addressed? What resources would be needed in order to get this done?
35. What could the community residents, if anything, do to help the problem?
36. Why do you think this problem is relatively unknown? How do you think this can be changed?
37. Where can victims currently go for safety? Is there enough safe places for them to go? What else, if anything, is needed?

**Policies**

38. Are the current policies effective? Do they help/hinder your efforts?
39. What policy changes would you like to see? Do you think current sentencing for these crimes is fair? Would you like to see them get more/less time in prison?
40. What sentences to pimps/prostitutes tend to receive? Do pimps/prostitutes tend to serve their full sentence?
41. What are you thoughts on how these issues are defined in the law? Do you think the terms of a pimp/prostitute should be changed?
42. Do you think there are other forms of punishment that would work for either the prostitute or the pimp? (i.e more safe houses, rehabilitation, juvenile hall, etc)

**Future Directions**

43. What do you think are the factors that keep this industry thriving? How would you go about trying to fix the problem?
44. In regards to funding, is there enough/not enough to help with the problem? Where would you allocate funds?
45. Is this a multi-agency issue? If so, what agencies would need to be involved?
46. What practices/services could be implemented to help with this issue?
47. Is there anything important that you notice that I didn’t ask here today?