

# TheCrimAcademy\_59\_Gundur

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## SPEAKERS

R.V. Gundur, Jenn Tostlebe, Jose Sanchez

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Jose Sanchez 00:00

Hi everyone. Welcome back to The Criminology Academy, where we are criminally academic. I'm Jose Sanchez.



Jenn Tostlebe 00:19

And my name is Jenn Tostlebe.



Jose Sanchez 00:21

And today we have Dr. RV Gundur on the podcast to talk with us about his new book: Trying to make it: The enterprises, gangs, and people the American drug trade.



Jenn Tostlebe 00:30

RV Gundur is a criminologist based in Australia. He studies illicit enterprises, gangs, and cybercrime. He holds a PhD in criminology from Cardiff University, which is the basis of his book "Trying to make it," which we'll talk about today. He also has degrees in international relations and Latin American Studies and worked as a teacher in the US and Spain. Besides his book, his work has appeared in government reports in several academic journals. And he has taught in the UK, Singapore, and Australia. Thank you so much for joining us today RV. We're excited to have you!




R.V. Gundur 01:05

Jenn. Jose, thank you so much for having me.

 **J** Jose Sanchez 01:08

So in today's episode, we're going to start off with some basic broad questions about drugs, gangs, and politics, to kind of help us set the stage to talk about your new book, which is going to make up the majority of the discussion. And, yeah, we usually have like, three topics that we try to hit. But I think this is a first for us where we're actually covering an entire book, we decided to just devote most of the time to the book. And yeah, so we're very excited to have this conversation. And with that being said, Jenn, why don't you go ahead and get us started?

 **J** Jenn Tostlebe 01:41

Alright. Thanks, Jose. Okay, so our first question for you, RV, is if you can give us an overview of how the drug market has changed over time in the United States?

 **R** R.V. Gundur 01:54

That's such a big question. I think we should start breaking it down into smaller ones. First of all, we have to think of lots of different drug markets, there isn't a singular market with just one set of actors. We have to think that there's lots of different markets, which are happening. And I think, as we see legalization efforts happening in the US, particularly for cannabis, and we see decriminalization efforts happening elsewhere in the world, we can really see how those markets are different markets. Historically, there has always been an illicit trade, anywhere that you see something that's regulated, and drugs are no different. But the illicit drug trade is a relatively recent thing, right? It goes back 200/300 years, we're looking at Asia, we're looking at opium, we're looking at substances that, you know, we have colonization forces coming into different places and trying to control market dynamics in these places. Certainly in the US, the drug trade, as we know it today, is the result of a lot of criminalization of substances. And that criminalization happened around the turn of the last century. And we saw substances like cannabis, cocaine, opium and heroin be criminalized. And so really, that's the birth of the drug trade as an illicit force, right, that we are concerned about in a criminogenic sense. And we have this whole history of Henry Anslinger, who started his big crusade to criminalize a lot of these substances with cannabis and cocaine and opium being his main targets at an early part of the last century. And we see the US kind of taking on this role of being the custodians of the substances that should be criminalized. So over the 20th century, we have a big push to criminalize a bunch of substances and schedule them. And this is really the fundamentals of what underlies the question of the drug trade that we have today.

 **J** Jenn Tostlebe 03:48

And I like this idea of kind of breaking it down. And so our next question is related to a specific period in time, which is, what impact did the War on Drugs have on this illicit drug market in the US?

 **R** R.V. Gundur 04:04

The war on drugs, criminalized a lot of people and put a lot of people in prison. I think that its

impacts are more pronounced in terms of what it did to people rather than what it did to markets themselves. And that's something which is going to be a theme that I come back to a lot today, I think, is that the story of the drug trade is a story of people rather than a story of this nefarious organization or awful substance. And what the war on drugs did is it forced people to make decisions that created a lot of static in various places. Different parts of the war on drugs had consequences in terms of reshifting the way of the drug trade work, right. Certainly in the middle part of the last century. A lot of illicit substances coming from South America, most notably cocaine was being trafficked across the Caribbean. The war on drugs that was undertaken by Regan pushed a lot of that trafficking into Mexico. In terms of where the drugs are being trafficked through, that's something that the war on drugs has managed to change. In terms of consumption patterns, it hasn't done much, right. I mean, there's still a big demand for drugs, being high is something that a lot of people like to do. Certainly, there is a thesis to be made that most people indulge in something which is bad for them. And drugs is no different than that. Although, you know, the abuse of anything can lead to fatal consequences. And this is part of that conversation. But certainly, the war on drugs in terms of changing the drug trade has just really changed how people go about the business of the drug trade, rather than how people go about their day to day consumption of it.

**J** Jose Sanchez 05:44

Somewhat related to the policies that came during the war on drugs. It seems that we often have high profile cases that kind of get spotlighted. One that comes to mind you especially like during this era, is the Len Bias case. I don't know if you're familiar with it. But Len Bias was a basketball player. In 1986, he got drafted by the Boston Celtics second overall, pretty soon after that he died of a cocaine overdose. And his parents became very vocal advocates, especially because not long after that his brother was gunned down. So they became very vocal, like gun violence and drug advocates. And his case actually helped push a law in 1986, the Len Bias law, which basically outline that if someone died because of drug use, the person that provided them the drugs are going to need a minimum 20 year sentence and a \$2 million fine. This sort of started to come to mind. So early on in the book, I believe it's chapter one, you have a line where you say optics make the public care, worry, and demand action. And so we just wanted to ask if you could elaborate a little more on what you mean by optics. And what is the impact that these optics have?

**R** R.V. Gundur 07:01

Underneath my book, I guess the motivation for it was to challenge a lot of the narratives that we have commonly about the drug trade, we have a lot of negative narratives that create monsters who are participating in the sales and also the consumption of drugs. And when we think about the conversational entrepreneurs, the people who are able to set the public agenda, we see folks who are just trying to score political points often be able to set the story in terms of how we talk about things, we see this with immigration, we see this with gangs, we see this with violence. So a lot of the way that we think about the world has to do with the way that we see and we hear about it. And it's not only just folks who are part of the media doing this, it's also people who are a part of the fiction writers, right? You know, so we hear all of these stories, we see all of these portrayals. And they don't square in terms of everyday life in these spaces, they create all of these monsters. And I thought that having gone into the neighborhoods that I went into and spoken with the people who I spoke to, it was really important to show that a lot of what's happening here are just ordinary, everyday processes. So

I know that a lot of the concerns that people have, are these weaponized concerns, certainly in our contemporary political climate folks are worried about fentanyl and worried about it landing in candies, you know, and Halloween, but none of those things are actually on the real. And so I think that if we're going to have reasonable and productive conversations about drugs, drug control, and how people use drugs, then we need to really be honest about it. Certainly, there's a lot of movement going back to Len Bias in terms of understanding how consumers use drugs, right? What are the risks that people take? And what are the risks that they should not have to take? We might talk about that later today. But certainly reducing harm to consumers is really important. We can see a lot of parallels in terms of how regulation works. We have regulation in most countries in order to protect consumers, right? You know, we want to make sure that our cars are safe, we want to make sure that the food that we consume is safe, we want to make sure that the toothpaste cleans your teeth and doesn't poison us. And so regulations are parts of things that are involved in our everyday life. And so when we think about drugs, and we think about the harmful effects on them, that has to be part of the story as well.



Jenn Tostlebe 09:24

This makes me feel like we've done this in the past do like a little Mythbusters section. We should have done that!



Jose Sanchez 09:31

I was just think about that yesterday, was really to bring that back.



Jenn Tostlebe 09:34

But yeah, a little tangent. Also going into possibly one of these misconceptions that you know, oftentimes there seems to be this belief that drug problems, more specifically drug use, and the violence that is associated with the drug trade are very concentrated in these urban areas across America. You know, places like Chicago, Los Angeles and New York come to mind. Is this generally true? Or is this In fact, one of these misconceptions that we have?



R.V. Gundur 10:06

I think that the starting point for this is splitting those two concerns apart, right? A lot of times we have conversational entrepreneurs, people who are setting the agenda, blurring the lines between a lot of things that seem related, but aren't necessarily related. So in terms of drug use, you know, I grew up in small town America, Springfield, Illinois, it's the capital of the state. But you know, we have corn and soybean fields. And I remember, when I was a little boy, I would hear stories on the news of people going to the tanks that had anhydrous ammonia to renitrogant the soil, and to steal that ammonia in order to make crank, which is a kind of cheap amphetamine, right. My father was an addiction specialist, he served a community that was not an urban community, right. And so certainly, there was enough demand for his services. Even though my father had a very problematic past himself, he was able to maintain a job for his entire life. And so I think that one of the things that we tend to lose in the public discourse is the fact that this is a truly American problem, you know, and that's the reason why I have this

title for my book, trying to make it, because I feel like trying to make it as a truly American concept, right? You know, for those of us who are the children of immigrants, like I am, you know, we're trying to do better than what our parents did. And our parents are trying to see us do better than what they did. But that's also true for people who are born in the United States, right, trying to be a little bit more wealthy, have a little bit more access to opportunities than our parents did. And so, the drug trade is something which impacts all of the United States, but the trades that are there are not the same, right? They're different actors in different places. That's certainly true. But you know, there's a demand in order to forget about misery everywhere, right? Like, let's not sugarcoat it, a lot of people have really difficult lives, and they look to try to escape them by having some outlet that could be alcohol, that could be illicit drugs, right? So when we start talking about drugs in American society, I think it's unfair to say that this is an urban problem. This is certainly a problem that touched my very rural community when I was growing up.

R

R.V. Gundur 12:18

In terms of violence, this is something which is certainly part of the narrative, right? You know, we hear about New York, Chicago being violent places, even though the violence is not static over time. And certainly, in my research, when I was in the American Southwest, violence that was related to drugs was very rare. And that had to do with prison gangs saying, listen, we're not going to have violence in our communities because it's bad for business. That wasn't true unfortunately, in Chicago, there was more drug related violence. But that had to also do with, you know, the weird fact that prison gangs in Chicago weren't significant cogs in the drug trade. So they did not have this capacity to establish rules on the street that needed to be obeyed by the variety of street gangs that were on the street. So you had street gangs that were vying for really small parcels of land, corners that represented massive earning potential relative to what was available to them. And so they would fight tooth and nail to protect that. Whereas in places where there's a lot more drugs, there's a lot more business happening, that violence is not as present. I would say that, you know, a lot of these narratives where we have, oh, the cartels are going to be violent, they're gonna spill over the border, is complete nonsense. And police told me that right, I was talking to a woman who was the head of Haida, which is the High Intensity Drug trafficking area. And she was in Phoenix when I interviewed her. And you know, her point was, these people are business people, they're not going to engage in this behavior, because it brings attention to that and could elicit entrepreneurs who are trafficking drugs want to be as invisible as possible?



Jenn Tostlebe 13:53

Yeah, this question, Jose and I are coming from very different upbringings as far as geographics. Jose coming from LA, I'm from the Midwest as well. So there's a connection. I'm from Iowa, and, you know, the meth trade was very big in Iowa. And so having that and thinking of drug use, being an urban problem is very, you know, I don't see it in my head because, like you said, That's everywhere. So yeah, I like having the separation. And even though you were only what, an hour, two hours, Springfield from Chicago?

R

R.V. Gundur 14:29


A good three and a half hours. I was down state, you know, we and we have, you know, Central


Illinois, you know, it's just cornfields and soybean fields. And further south that you go we start looking at the kinds of things that drive people into substance misuse, right, like there we're talking about people who are living in poverty. Poverty is not an urban problem. A tremendous number of people who are facing poverty in the US live in rural settings. Right. So the things that are drivers of crime and of making choices which are not necessarily the best choices in terms of your everyday life are not unique to urban settings. But we're so accustomed to hearing folks, particularly who are on the right side of the political spectrum try to create and generate these scapegoats that are entirely urban, they're trying to create this differentiation between us and them, right, because they just don't want to be part of that same conversation, they don't want to have that really tough realization. But the truth of the matter is, is that I would venture to guess that most Americans have somebody in their family who has been affected by the drug trade as a user or as a seller, right. And that's something that people just don't necessarily want to own up to, in terms of the reality of what America is.

 J Jose Sanchez 15:44

So you started to touch on this a little bit, but I feel like this section has kind of devolved into like the myth busting section, like all these questions are asking you to clear these things or these misconceptions. But you know, you mentioned that one of the other narratives that gets passed around is like these border cities like El Paso, which we'll talk about a little more, kind of overrun or being threatened of being overrun by just high levels of violence because of cartels coming from Mexico. And I think this is salient for El Paso, because it's like a stone's throw away from Ciudad Juarez, which actually does have high levels of violence and a lot of cartel activity. And so you mentioned that they don't actually see these high levels of violence, and that it's probably because, like you're told, maybe being more business savvy and knowing that that's bad for business. But is that the only reason that or I guess I'm wondering, why is it that like El Paso would not have those higher levels of violence, but Ciudad Juarez, which is like right next door would. I guess I would just assume that they would behave in a similar manner.

 Jenn Tostlebe 16:48  
A spillover effect?

 J Jose Sanchez 16:49  
Yeah.

 R.V. Gundur 16:50  
Yeah, let's tackle this head on. Right. So we're talking about two different countries that have, you know, two different political systems, and very different approaches to policing and the rule of law. And those differences should not be lost on people who are looking at the border, right. The US is the US and that is something which, at least for the time being, is one element that says we're going to follow the rule of law, we generally trust law enforcement not to be corruptible. We generally trust law enforcement to respond to complaints. One of the things that I'd like to point out is there was a remake of the very popular show called the Bridge, right.

And the original takes place in Europe, between Denmark and Sweden. And there are these two bodies that are found at the border point of the bridge. And the remake was done in El Paso and Juarez. And this is completely not plausible, because if something like that happened at the border, and their premise was the power went off, and they were not able to see exactly what happened, you would have had a massive, long term military response on the border responding to that, because that would have just been such a massive breach of Homeland Security. Right. What we see in terms of the bridge is a point of a tremendous amount of security. So is that to say that border patrol agents are incorruptible? No, that's certainly part of the traffickers playbook, is to try to corrupt Border Patrol agents. Is that to say that there's going to be spillover violence, well that's also no, because that's really stupid. Because just like the violence on the border, as soon as it crosses into El Paso, you're going to have a tremendous amount of law enforcement or even military presence, right? Like El Paso has a military base there, right. So if something like that crossed the border, dollars to doughnuts, the military to be active, and would be policing the border. So that's something which is really important to realize that there are qualitative differences in terms of how people go through their everyday lives, navigating space, violence, and concerns in Mexico and in the United States. It is true, right before I went to Juarez in 2013, it was the most violent city in the world that was not in an act of war zone. El Paso was one of the safest cities of its size in the United States. It's held that rank for 30 years, and it fell off when there was the Walmart shooting a few years ago. Right, it took a white supremacist coming from somewhere else in Texas to come and to kill people. And this had nothing to do with the drug trade whatsoever. That being said, you know, you do have situations where people might disappear. You know, the violence all happens underwater, if it happens, if somebody who is involved in the drug trade feels like it's necessary to eliminate an opponent, there's no production. Thus, this is a person who is going to be targeted for their role, who is not necessarily going to be missed in any sort of substantial way, because maybe there are a know actor to law enforcement, and are just simply going to disappear off the map. So you know, these big displays of violence aren't happening. Smart criminal entrepreneurs are trying to be invisible. And this is something that a lot of people miss because we're used to watching television. We're used to watching the show. We want people who are studs. We want the Chapo Guzman's of this world. We want the all of the characters in Narcos are ostentatious, you know, cocaine sniffing maniacs, right? We see even the people in the Wire right, which I think is a really good representation of the drug trade. You know, there's still people who are visible in terms of that story. We don't see that they are operating invisibly all the time, right. This is something that we see as a fundamental truth in terms of high level actors in the drug trade in the US, they understand that there's a ton of money to be made. And they're not going to be trading in violence, because that is just horrible to their bottom line.

J

Jose Sanchez 20:39

Okay, so I think we've set a pretty decent foundation to start getting into your book. So the book was authored by RV, like we said, it's titled: Trying to make it: The enterprises, gangs, and people of the American drug trade. It was published this year 2022 by Cornell University Press. And this episode is actually one of RV's many stops in his book tour across the US. So we can talk about this towards the end of the podcast, but you do have a website where people can see like your dates of where you'll be next, because they want to give a presentation on this. But in this book, RV wanted to explore the American drug trade specifically, he wanted to uncover who actually participates in the drug trade, contrasted with the ways that the drug trade is portrayed by the media, something that we've been discussing over the last few minutes: politicians and other stakeholders. To do this RV explored Ciudad Juarez, El Paso,

Phoenix, and Chicago. He interviewed 129 People from law enforcement to gang members across these locations and he also studied court documents and proceedings. Would you say that this was a fair, quick and dirty summary of the book?

R

R.V. Gundur 21:50

Yeah, for sure.

J

Jose Sanchez 21:51

And so you sort of mentioned this a little bit earlier, but we want to ask you point blank, what was the motivation behind writing the book?

R

R.V. Gundur 22:00

The book comes from my work as a doctoral student, right. And I was very fortunate to be in a place that really fostered qualitative research, which I think is something that is not always valued in American criminology. It gave me license to be able to do field work that I think a lot of programs in the US, quite frankly, wouldn't be able to do. And I think that me having this privilege to be able to go and to unpack the mechanics of the drug trade in a way that I don't think has been done, at least recently, in this sort of multisided kind of way, was something that I was really excited to share. And I had also heard so many really important stories that people were telling me and I wanted to be able to share the humanity of these folks. I think when we read about the drug trade, there's a sense of dehumanizing people as a starting point. But I wanted to have a starting point where we're humanizing people first, and then exploring the motivations in terms of how they engage with the drug trade. And this was something that I thought was important. I also wanted to write a book that would connect with people. I felt like a lot of times, when we read things about illicit entrepreneurs, we create this us versus them kind of narrative. And, you know, I blended some of my background in terms of my life, and with the lives of these people, in terms of telling the story in an effort to try to get readers to connect with folks. And to see these are just ordinary human beings. These are ordinary Americans that are participating in this drug trade. And they could see how thin that line that separates this sort of world, this unlawful world from the worlds that we exist in, or maybe we're part of that world at some point in our life is.

J

Jose Sanchez 23:42

One of the things that I liked the most about this book is how easy it was to read, like, it's very digestible. And I wasn't quite expecting for it to open the way that it did. And then kind of, like you said, kind of weave your story into it. I really did appreciate that, because I think it really grounds the book, and it makes it really accessible. You know, like, I appreciate the Sykes and Matza's of the world. But if you ever read like Matza's books, they're really dense to get through, like you kind of have to, especially if you're a PhD student, like it's one of those must reads and you're going to be better for it. But it is really like trying to chew through a brick. And this is not that, right. So I really did appreciate that. It was a really easy read. I mean, in like the best way possible. So hats off to you for being able to do that.



 R.V. Gundur 24:33

Thank you so much. I really appreciate that.



Jenn Tostlebe 24:35

So you mentioned that this was like part of your doctoral research, and maybe I should know this, but was this like your dissertation then that you turned it into a book? Or was this like a side project that somehow you were working on on top of everything else we have to do in grad school?

 R.V. Gundur 24:55

Yeah, so it was my dissertation which got turned into a book but what happened was is that from the time that I submitted my dissertation, a lot of stories ended. So this is a lot more than what the dissertation was. So many of the people who were in my book, I've found out from one way or another, either died or you know, had some sort of final event that kind of put a button on their story. And I think that I tied off almost every loose end with the exception of two that I can think of off the top of my head. So in some respects, you know, my book is complete in terms of the stories that it's able to tell right from when I met these people, to the end of their lives in many, many circumstances. And so the stories that I was able to put into this book, a lot of the information was first started, you know, in terms of my dissertation field work, but then it was closed as life went on. And so in some respects, there's a tremendous amount of closure in the book that I didn't have, actually when I finished my dissertation.



Jenn Tostlebe 25:56

All right. So we thought that the cities that you're covering in your book makes sense, some of which we've talked about, you know, Juarez and El Paso being sister border cities, Juarez having this history of violence and the drug cartels, whereas as you mentioned, El Paso does not very different, especially as far as country, you also cover Phoenix, which isn't this border city, but it does have a significant immigrant population, which you write has really been associated with criminality, and Chicago has historically been seen as one of the major gangs, cities to also cover. Can you tell us a little bit more about your sites, you know, how you selected them, and maybe how they're interconnected, and the role that they play then in the drug trade?

 R.V. Gundur 26:42

Sure. I selected these cities for two reasons. One is that they were in the media at the time that I was gearing up to do field work. Right. So El Paso has been in the media for 20/30 years in terms of its threat. I mean, I think we have this sort of right wing narrative that the threat is upon us and there's the border, and we have to secure the border. So it's one of those evergreen kinds of places that gets coverage, whether it's justified or not, I certainly don't think it is justified. Chicago is a similar kind of story, right? It's one of these evergreen, you know,

threat narratives that we have, oh, there's all of the gangs in Chicago. So those two places were places that I was able to select just because they were going to be constants. And Phoenix at the time was a place where there was this narrative that there's all of these kidnappings happening that are related to the drug trade. And it was debunked later. And we can talk about that in a bit. But it was making this national press in terms of the threat of drug cartels, and it's one of the things that I think, was really important to go there where I was able to debunk the notion that you have drug cartels that are running roughshod in the United States, right. Like, that's just simply isn't the case. Other cities could have been good places to see. But as I was writing and I was developing networks, and you know, asking people can I visit your university and so on. These were the places where I was able to gain access, right. So I gain access to the west side jota in Juarez, I was able to have access UTEP in El Paso, ASU in Phoenix, and Loyola, Chicago in Chicago. And so having these spaces to be able to work and have safe places for me to interview people were really important. And so once I was able to negotiate that access, then it provided the bedrock that I was able to build upon in terms of doing the field work that I did.



Jenn Tostlebe 28:26

Were there any other cities that you did consider, but then ended up not going to?

R

R.V. Gundur 28:31

Yeah, I wanted to go to either LA or to San Diego and see what was going on. But I was not able to negotiate access through a university there. So when we're doing field work of this nature, we have to think about the time and the resource limitations, right? You know, I was time constraint, I had a year for field work. So I did all of this field work in 11 months, and I had income constraints, right. So I won to grant through the ESRC, which was the funding body that paid for my tuition. And that had to cover all of my costs, right. And so I mean, these are really real considerations when we're doing this kind of work. So even though I would have loved to go to other places, I just didn't have either the time or the money to do more.

J

Jose Sanchez 29:12

This seems like a lot for 11 months. Like there's just a lot of work. I've been doing some field work over the last few years. Trying to get like this much in 11 months seems like a real undertaking. So I don't know how you did it, but it's very impressive.

J

Jose Sanchez 29:29


So in the first chapter, you discuss how you made connections using Craigslist. Most people still know what Craigslist is. I feel like it's kind of falling out of favor a little bit. Maybe, you know, at least...


R


R.V. Gundur 29:40

What do you do now? Do you use TV off of Facebook marketplace or something?

what do you do now? Do you use TV or Facebook marketplace or something?

 **Jose Sanchez** 29:44  
Yeah.

 **Jenn Tostlebe** 29:45  
I was going to say Facebook, yep.

 **Jose Sanchez** 29:47  
Yeah, think Facebook marketplace has really kind of taken that over. But we'd be interested in hearing a little bit more about this Craigslist process. Like would you say that this was generally successful and did you have to find a way to sort of filter people replying to you, in good faith versus someone just kind of like maybe like, screw around with you.

 **R.V. Gundur** 30:06  
You know, like this goes back to that question, how do you cover a lot of ground in a short amount of time. And certainly I floundered for probably the first two and a half to three months that I was in El Paso. Right. So I spent a lot of time in immigration court, which was largely a dead end. And, you know, trying to figure out how I was going to connect with people because I didn't have relationships in these communities, like I wasn't from any of these places. I tried to get the contacts that academics who are already there, but you know, they were few and far between with the exception of Arizona, you know, Arizona kind of blew up. But you know, El Paso, I didn't really have a lot of ins with folks, right. So I had one person here and another person there, that, you know, started to set the scene for me. And what was happening is, is like, I just didn't really know how to go up and talk to people, there was nothing that was happening on the street, you know, like, it was pretty empty. And so that's when this notion of let me just put an ad up on Craigslist and see what happens came to me, right? So I put the ad up on Craigslist. And I learned a lot about how it kind of functioned, right. Put this ad up, I'm like, I'm a student, I'm looking for people who have done time in prison for a drug charge, but like a minimum amount of time that I wanted people to have been sentenced to. And I told them that I was compensating them for their time. And then slowly, people started to call me right. And so the ad had a lifespan, it was like maybe two or three days, I can't remember off the top of my head, and then it would die. And I would have sort of, I guess, harvested respondents from that particular ad. And then I placed it again, and it would be at the top of the list, and people would call me again. And so over everything, I think I interviewed 42 people, you know, based on the Craigslist ad alone, and it was great, because I was interviewing people who had a lot of knowledge about the drug trade, but were from different parts of the city and from different organizations. I had people in El Paso, who were Barrio Azteca, and then Chuco Tango, and then a bunch of different little street gangs. And then I had people who there was one guy who was Aryan Brotherhood, who came to see me. And so for those of you listening, right, like I'm not a white person. And so to me, it was really amazing that I had this guy who was from a white supremacist prison gang come and sit down and talk to me and sort of spill

his guts in a way, which I felt was very factual, you know, straight to the point, a matter of fact, in terms of how things worked. And I even gave that guy a ride home, he was very cordial with me, you know, it's kind of an interesting thing. One of the things that I learned talking to, he wasn't the only Aryan Brotherhood guy that I spoke to. And you know, all of these guys were happy to do business with people from different races, right. They were business minded individuals who stuck to their ideology when it came to their sort of internal politics and interpersonal relationships with romantic partners and so on. But in terms of screening people to get to that question, there were certain things that happened that taught me that I had to screen people. Let me back up. When I was in El Paso, you know, everybody was relevant, right? You know, even the people who hadn't done that much time, knew quite a lot, because they were being locked up with people who did. They were able to paint different perspectives of the carceral experience. So I talk a lot about prisons in this book without ever having gone to a prison. That's because I was able to get people who had been recently released from prison to tell me what their experiences were. And you don't have to talk to huge numbers of people, which is another thing, which I think people don't realize, particularly when you come from the sort of quantitative background of having validity, right, you know, like, talk to 10 people who don't know each other. And they tell me precisely the same story in terms of what the politics of prison are. What are the chances that they're lying to me? They don't know each other. They're not from the same ethnic groups. They're not from the same gangs. And you know, 90% of the story that they tell me is the same, it's probably going to be the same, right? So this is something that happens through triangulation in terms of what we think about in qualitative research, right. And so qualitative work does have the ability to be able to tell you really big stories without having to, you know, survey truckloads of people. And that's something that I think is really important for everybody who's doing social science work to understand that it's really important to not dismiss the power and explanatory power of qualitative work. But going back to your question of, you know, how can we find folks. Did you know that people can go to prison for a DUI? Did either of you know that, like I didn't, when I was in the field, right. So like, you know, people were responded to me, and they were like, oh, yeah, I went to prison. Yeah, I had aggravated DUI. I'm just like, aggravated DUI? How drunk were you? Right? And so then I started to screen people like, okay, you know, did you go to prison for these things? And then Chicago was interesting, because where I put the ads mattered, right, so Craigslist started filtering my ads. They were just like, oh, no, you can't put your ads on this, wherever I was putting them and I had to, like start paying to place the ads and so on. So there were growing pains and the whole learning process in terms of how that worked, but out of probably the you know, 42 people that I interviewed, I would say that only one or two were not helpful.



Jenn Tostlebe 35:03

That's awesome.



Jose Sanchez 35:04

That seems like a really big success rate for Craigslist.



R.V. Gundur 35:08

It was awesome, right?



Jenn Tostlebe 35:10

Yeah, maybe we need to bring Craigslist back.

R

R.V. Gundur 35:14

I published a paper on this methodology. And it's something that other sociologists before me had done. Meredith Worden used Craigslist in order to recruit respondents. And it makes sense, right, you have a lot of people who've been released from prison, who are looking for odd jobs, right. And so where do you look for work, you're looking for work on Craigslist, and you're looking for any way that you can make some bucks to be able to buy food to be able to buy supplies for your child. And so a lot of folks are looking for pro social opportunities to be able to contribute. And many of my respondents were happy to contribute to me specifically, because they viewed me as a student. And they viewed what they were sharing with me as a pro social behavior. So many people who've been incarcerated been told that they're not worth a damn thing, right, that they have nothing positive to contribute to society, that nobody's gonna care about them. And here I was representing a person who was just ready to listen to their story. And they understood that they were helping me get my dissertation that I had almost nothing to give them except for this gift card. And it was something that worked extremely well, because, you know, people are very charitable, in terms of telling me a story, and in a way that they felt was authentic, right, like a lot of times people use those images. Oh, have you seen oz? Have you seen The Wire? Have you seen whatever television show that they had been exposed to maybe even while they were incarcerated? And they said, Look, you know, that's BS, right? That's not how any of this works. This is exactly how things go down. Those dynamics are just nonsense. That's to sell tickets and to get viewers.



Jenn Tostlebe 36:52

All right. So we want to kind of move forward in this episode by going in order of your chapters using that as like a guide. And so first, you really talk about El Paso, Ciudad Juarez, and then move into immigration courts. So you have done this a little bit. But can you just describe the dynamics like the interrelationship between the two cities, because it sounds like what we've talked about, they're not very much like given their geographic proximity. So can you just describe the dynamic there.

R

R.V. Gundur 37:26

They're not alike in terms of the way that they run, but they are a metropolitan area that ebb and flow with people having transnational families that exist across the border. And before the violence really escalated at the beginning of this century, you know, it was really common for people in Juarez, and people in El Paso to cross the border on a daily basis in both directions. Now, we see a lot of people who still live in Juarez who are coming to El Paso to work, that's still a really common thing. But it's less common to see folks who are based in El Paso to go, just for jollies, to Juarez, right. And some people still do that, you know, and there is a tremendous Inter National transnational community, I guess. There's an incredible transnational community that exists on that border. Now, the community is one right, even though the cities and the

dynamics are distinct. And so this is something which is quite important. Immigration is a different story, right? Immigration is part of the story in a sense, because it is a port of entry. Right? It's a place where there's a tremendous number of people who are trying to cross the border, that border crossing has changed over time, you know, with the Trump administration, forcing people to wait for their court dates, Juarez has changed quite a lot. In 2019, when I went back to visit it, you know, you saw tent cities that were along the border of people who couldn't afford anything else. But then you also saw the complete change, right, this refurbishment of Juarez's downtown, it was beautiful, you know, you had all of these Cuban people who were there who were waiting for their turn for work, and their larger community was pumping money. And so they invested it into things like restaurants and rehabbing hotels that were dingy and used for sex work previously. You have lights that were working in the city center that hadn't been lit for years. So you know, it's a place which is certainly quite different on both sides of the border. But it would be a mistake to think of it as something that is separate in a real sense.



Jenn Tostlebe 39:22

You've touched on this a little bit, just given your answer that you just had, but what role did immigration courts play in this area?

R

R.V. Gundur 39:31

You know, I think that the biggest role of immigration court in terms of gangs and the drug trade is deporting people who have been, you know, who've been convicted of a crime, you know, a felony offense. And so what you start to see and this is a story that we see with MS 13. MS 13 is not a gang from El Salvador. It's a game from LA. Same thing with 18th Street, Barrio 18. And certainly when we start to see how Barrio Azteca went to Juarez, this is the same story, right? You have people who are clicked up in prison and then deported. And so with them, they brought their gang identity and sort of the paradigms that they were familiar with. And then they use them as structures upon which to build various types of enterprises and social control structures. So in terms of immigration court, you know, it's not a place where we're seeing a bunch of folks who are involved in the drug trade go through it, you know, I didn't hear stories of people who were, you know, drug traffickers, and the rest of it. But, it is a place where you do see people who've been convicted of other crimes being deported. And when they go back to whatever country that is of their birth, they may not have structures that they can plug right into, they may not even speak the language in some cases. And so they lean on these other structures that they're familiar with, which are not necessarily part of the drug trade.

J

Jose Sanchez 40:47

So when you were in Ciudad Juarez, one of the things that you point out in your book that you noticed was the role of the PRI, or El Partido Revolucionario institucional. And their sort of the need to control the licit but also illicit protection markets? Can you tell us more not just like in Mexico, but also in the US, what the role of politics and like the government is with the drug trade?



R

R.V. Gundur 41:17

You know, Mexico is a special case that, you see, this political party established dominance across social life for almost a century. And that's something that we just haven't had in the United States. You know, it could be argued that there's a movement that is trying to accomplish a very similar thing in the US, but I won't go there. In Mexico, certainly, for a long time, illicit entrepreneurs had to respect the PRI. They had to respect what their wishes were. And when we start talking about territories, and how people could move and operate within those territories, that was all governed by the PRI up until probably the 1970s. What happened was, the Mexican government was forced to liberalize right, you know, in order to engage in the sort of free trade agreements in the United States, one of the conditions the Carter administration placed was that you have to liberalize your politics. And with that liberalization of politics, you had a liberalisation of criminal markets. And we saw this not only in the drug trade, right, so there's a guy, a friend of mine, Rolando Cho, who wrote about kidnapping. And so he's talking about how the kidnapping groups were able to use this shift in terms of market dominance of the PRI to be able to engage in criminal activity that previously just simply wasn't on the table, because there was such a coordinated and concerted response to that kind of criminal activity that happened in the drug trade as well. And so what we saw in the past 50 years was this liberalization of the drug trade and protection rackets. And so as you have these drug trafficking organizations emerge, they start to think, Okay, I no longer have to pay off these politicians, I can establish my own protection rackets. And they're not going to have a coordinated effort against me. And so this is one of the underlying reasons why we see so much violence and contention in terms of the drug trade and Mexico.

J

Jose Sanchez 43:11

There appear to be connections that were made between El Paso and Phoenix when it came to the drug trade, and the players that appear to be gang members. And then in, as you mentioned, prison gang members, and they seemed to start to really come into focus. So we want to talk to you a little bit more about gang members and drugs. You know, first, we know that gang members tend to engage in more alcohol and drug use than non gang members. However, there's this pervasive narrative that gang members are heavily involved and even may control the illicit drug market. Famously, Jeff Sessions claimed that MS 13 was sort of like the key player in the drug trade. Is there any truth to that? Is that more myth than fact? Do gangs really control the American drug trade?

R

R.V. Gundur 44:04

They control parts of the drug trade in some places. Right? I don't think that it's fair to say that anybody has control over the American drug trade, like I said, at the opening of the show, there are a tremendous number of drug trades. There are certainly players who have had outsized roles in terms of the drug trade, like the Flores twins, who I cover in the Chicago section of the book. They were amazing in terms of the volume and the quality of drugs that they pushed into the US. They moved between two to 3 billion straight into the US. Now, they would be selling to wholesalers. And this is generally how you would see things work. You know, you have somebody who's running logistics, who is moving into a wholesale kind of arrangement. And then these wholesale volumes are going to be staged in hubs and the wholesale volumes will be broken down into smaller hole will sell volumes and then moved on to another hub point. And then eventually it will trickle down into a market. There'll be some areas in the United

States where gangs are, you know, probably the primary retail distributors. But it's very unusual in the US to see gangs being wholesalers with possible exception of Barrio Azteca on the border, just because they're so connected, right? The dynamics in terms of their proximity to wholesalers is completely different compared to prison gangs elsewhere in the United States. That being said, the Mexican Mafia in Arizona, which there are many Mexican Mafias that are not related, you know, in the United States. The Mexican Mafia in Arizona did have some connections to a wholesale weight, but they certainly didn't have a monopoly, they were one avenue in terms of bringing wholesale amounts of drugs into that area, and then being able to resell it to the variety of affiliated street gangs. But they certainly weren't the only avenue. That'd be a mistake to think that ending their supply would completely stop the consumption of drugs in that community.



Jenn Tostlebe 46:09

Sounds so complicated, how it's breaking down. So I'm sure the stories were really interesting to kind of get all of these components.



R.V. Gundur 46:17

I think one way that you can think of it to make it less complicated is that its supply chain logistics, right. And so if you can start to think about any product that you might consume, you know, your phone, the bread that you have on your table, you have different actors who are specializing in various parts of that supply chain, somebody who is, you know, let's take the example of bread, somebody who's growing the wheat, somebody who's then transporting that wheat to the miller, who's going to turn that into flour. Somebody who's taking that flour, and then selling it as a wholesaler, right, and grading it out or whatever, to bakeries, and then maybe to grocery stores, who then are retailing it to the consumer, with other products, you know, like the loaves of bread that you might buy, also at the baker or the grocery store. And so when you start thinking of drugs as being the same, then you can start to understand how the actors come together, right? There's no one person or organization that is doing production, logistics, value at on selling, wholesaling, and then retailing, that doesn't hardly exist. There's only a couple of examples in history where we see that happening in contemporary marketplaces, that's not what happens because it doesn't make sense. You know, what everybody's trying to do, regardless of you know, them participating in licit supply chain, or an illicit supply chain is trying to specialize in something they do really well. And then sell on. Because when you sell on, you get money. And then once you have sold on risk is over, right. So whatever happens to that product downstream, makes no difference to you. Right. So like, if you are the farmer and you've sold your wheat, and then the person who's organized logistics, you know, has a problem with their truck and it gets flooded. That's not your problem that the wheat is all scunked out. Right? That's the logistics guys problem. And so the drug trade works exactly in the same way.



Jenn Tostlebe 48:09

Yeah, thanks for breaking it down. That makes a lot of sense. And a good way of thinking about it. So we've mentioned the kidnappings that occurred in Phoenix, and then how much attention they received. And you mentioned that as kind of one of these reasons for selecting Phoenix as



one of your locations. Can you tell us a little bit about these events and how, you know, they shaped the drug trade in Phoenix.

R

R.V. Gundur 48:34

So what was happening in Phoenix is that we had rip crews. And for those of you who don't know what a rip crew is, it's an organization, a group of people or maybe one person who is targeting drug traffickers or drug dealers trying to steal their product, and then to resell it. You know, this is depicted famously by Michael K. Williams as Omar in the Wire right. He was basically a one man rip crew. And he would go and target individuals who had stash, steal that stash and then sell it for his profits. So he was not part of the normal supply chain. He was basically a disruptor in the supply chain. So what was happening in Phoenix is that you had organizations that were doing this, you know, little groups that were doing this, and they were finding out where the stash houses were right, staging places, right? So staging is where you keep drugs in a location before you're going to move it on in terms of the logistics supply chain. And, you know, a great place to store drugs are upper middle class neighborhoods where there's not a whole lot that's going on, you know, you don't have to worry about people watching you. You know, like, if you grew up in sort of that neighborhood, you don't actually talk to your neighbors, because that's not what you're doing. And as long as you have kind of a normal pattern of life, nobody's going to bother with you. So what was happening actually, at the time was these rip crews would make mistakes from time to time, and they would go into a house and they would tie everybody up, right? Because it was pretty common to have a family living in this house in order to create that sort of normal pattern of life. And they would tie everybody up, they would ransack the house looking for these drugs and then say, Oh, crap, you know, there's no drugs here. So we're gonna leave and then just leave everybody tied up. Now, kidnapping is one of these things that you know, when you hear the word kidnapping, most people think of taking somebody and putting them in another location, right? Kidnapping can be charged simply by depriving somebody of their liberty in their own home. Right. So if somebody breaks into your house, ties you up, and then steals everything, one of the charges that they will face will be a kidnapping charge, right, because they've deprived you of your liberty without your consent. And so when the public is looking at this kidnapping stuff, they think, oh, you know, there's a lot of movement that's happening when that wasn't the case at all.



Jenn Tostlebe 50:39

Yeah, that's really interesting. Like, they just made a mistake, basically.

R

R.V. Gundur 50:44

Somebody screwed up.



Jenn Tostlebe 50:45

Yeah. Crazy.

R

R.V. Gundur 50:46

And so what ended up happening is, yeah, you know, those people had their houses broken into, but they weren't being killed, you know, nothing was happening, right? Because the criminal entrepreneurs there, again, were business people, right? Like, they did not want to be in situations where they were escalating the risk and creating more problems. They were there not to steal somebody's laptop, they were there to steal, you know, something that would be street value, hundreds of 1000s of coke or heroin or methamphetamines. So you know, that was a completely different business. And so there's this big narrative that the cartels are behind it, but the cartels aren't running logistics in the US. You know, I was talking to one of the Flores Twins, right. He reached out to me since my book was published, and we had a conversation. And one of the things that he mentioned, was that people always thought that Chapo Guzman could determine how they ran their business in the US. And Chapo knew that that wasn't how this was going to work. They paid their bills, they paid the money, they assumed the responsibility. So whatever their business was, was their business. And he didn't have any sway in terms of how they went about their business. It was their choice to do business as they did, which was a nonviolent way, by the way. And the drug cartel, you know, that they contracted for they were effectively subcontractors had absolutely no sway in terms of how they did their business, they just care that they paid their money.

R

R.V. Gundur 50:48

So speaking of the Flores Twins, you keep mentioning the Flores Twins, I think now's a good time to really, maybe dig into them a little bit and actually really kind of dig into Chicago, which was like the final location. And there's two stories of the drug trade that you kind of get at when talking about Chicago. The first one was the retail trade that happens at the street level, but also like this high level international wholesale, that happens like with like the Flores twins. Why did you focus on these two elements in Chicago? And were they not present in the other locations?

R

R.V. Gundur 52:43

Yeah. So in the other locations, what we started to see was a lot of things happening behind closed doors, right? Because the business of the drug trade had become pretty slick, right? So we saw delivery services, we saw trap houses, you know, where somebody would drive up, go into a house, buy their product and leave, right, similar to what you would do in dispensary today, right? Like you all are in Colorado. So you have dispensaries. And you know, that business model has been around, you know, with illicit sellers well, before countires were up and operational, you know, the kind of visibility that the drug trade had in El Paso and Phoenix was just completely different, right? It was more or less invisible, right? Like nobody was out there publicly drawing attention to themselves, because they live by that adage that if we're going to make it rich, we're going to do this invisibly. I keep coming back to that point. But you know, one of the people who I interviewed in this was a woman called Julie Marquez, who was a defense attorney for one of the crime families in New York. And this was the point that she made, she said, you know, the most valuable assets to a criminal organization are people who you've never heard of. Right. So the person at the top is a massive target for law enforcement, because they can parade them around. We've got the kingpin, you know, we've made a big intervention. And the people at the bottom are people who law enforcement likes to parade

around, we're cleaning up the streets, you know, we're tough on crime. But the people in the middle who are the real movers and shakers in terms of the drug trade, or any business, for that matter, you know, are the folks who are actually making it and doing well, I mean, we can think about this concept in our everyday lives, right? What's a really good position to be in? Middle management, right, like, middle management has so little accountability, but they really make things work. If you're in middle management, maybe you have your enemies, people hate you, but no one's gonna take you down, right? You're not the first person who's going to lose their job, if there's a restructure in your organization, right? That's going to be your boss who's going to have to fall on his or her sword, or it's going to be the people at the bottom. Being in the middle is a great place to be. And that's true in the drug trade. And that's what I was seeing and El Paso and Phoenix.

R

R.V. Gundur 54:46

I saw that in Chicago as well. But what was happening in Chicago is that there was more visible element to the drug trade, right? You still saw people on the street corner who were you know, selling hand to hand in part because you had so many different neighborhood gangs that were trying to facilitate these sales. So their districts, their sort of selling jurisdictions were far more constrained. And so the way that they would go about selling was completely different. So that's why I focused on the retail sells in Chicago. And then Flores twins, you know, the Flores twins, they were the singularly most successful logistics operators that the US has ever seen. Right. And as I mentioned, before, they move two to 3 billion with the B street value into the United States. And they operated in a dozen cities, right, they have a podcast now with 50 cent that you can listen to, which is fascinating. And they talk about what they. These are boys who got started as boys, right? They started in the drug trade when they were 17 years old. And by the time that they were 19, or 20 years old, they had revenues of multi-millions every month, right? You know, they kept on working until they were in their mid to late 20s, in which case, they faced threats, but they also did what a lot of other people who are in their mid to late 20s do which is exit or try to find a place to exit. Right, you know, so like for those of you who study life course criminology, right, like they behave as what we would predict for a lot of people who are in illicit enterprise, right? They start, they get to a point in their lives, they have kids, they have other responsibilities, and they're just like, Listen, I don't want to die behind this anymore. And so, you know, they went state's witness and testified against a number of illicit entrepreneurs. And, you know, the rest is history, they served 15 years, and now they're living in witness protection somewhere in the United States. So I think that's a really important story to see that they had a lot of luck, and a lot of pre existing connections. So a lot of the retail, you know, kids who I was talking to have these dreams of becoming, you know, Pablo Escobar, except not getting shot off a roof. They actually did it. But they also had the wherewithal and the connections that made that happen.



Jenn Tostlebe 56:58

One thing, I just want to touch on this because I thought it was interesting. In your email, you mentioned the Flores twins, and then this aspect of fentanyl, which is like, you know, all the thing right now that everyone's talking about. And so can you just tell everyone a little bit about what you said regarding the connection there?



 R

R.V. Gundur 57:16

Yeah. So when I was talking to Margarito Flores, Jr, he and I had a conversation, he reached out and we had a Skype conversation. And one of the things that he pointed out is that, you know, the drugs that they moved, they moved pretty high quality drugs to the nodal cities, right, that were sold off. And so what that meant is, you know, ordinarily, when you have these fragmented supply chains, what's happening is that you have the drugs which are staged in a intermediary city, and then they're sold on, but before they're sold on, oftentimes, they're adulterated... cut. And so a lot of the cut is stuff, which is not good for you. And most recently, it's you know, the cut has been fentanyl. Now, if somebody ingest too much fentanyl, and they're not expecting it, they're going to die. And so this is something that the Flores Twins understood. And so when they were moving coke to Chicago, there were two things. Number one is that the quality of the coke in Chicago was the best that it's ever been its history. And there was no fentanyl because they knew that their consumers would die behind it. So they didn't want consumers who were dying. So it's quite fascinating how illicit entrepreneurs make business decisions that actually have a social consciousness to it. In my book, I talked about this in sort of two locations, right. One is the Flores Twins. I don't actually talk about the Flores Twins in the book in terms of this, because I didn't know, but you know, the Flores Twins ensured that there was some kind of regulation, that there was not going to be any fentanyl in their product, they just didn't deal with it. Right. But prison gangs also had this regulation, that there was going to be safety on the streets, right? If you engage in unauthorized violence on the street, then you were going to be punished when you got eventually caught or your cumpa got caught or whoever, right. And so that's the reason why you don't see widespread violence drive by shootings in places like El Paso and Phoenix, right? They happen once in a blue moon, if at all, right? You know, a lot of people don't really understand the role of illicit entrepreneurs in terms of imposing social control, which actually keeps communities and users safe. It sounds like one of those things, you wouldn't be able to convince your average American that that's true, but indeed, it is true. And what we see is that when you take away some of those incentives, or capacities, then you have really horrible outcomes, you know, like the street violence in Chicago, right? Prison gangs are weak, you know, they have absolutely no control over that. And now you have fragmented supply chains, and what does that mean? You have fentanyl being introduced into the supply chain, which has, you know, fatal consequences for many, many Americans.



Jenn Tostlebe 59:50

And that's exactly why I wanted to kind of ask that because I know we've heard, you know, or read in other research this aspect of neighborhoods really wanting to keep the gangs in the neighborhood because it actually keeps them safe and has a layer of protection. And so, like you mentioned, I think that's just something that a lot of people don't think of in this social consciousness. So yeah, thanks for sharing that with us. I thought it was really interesting.



Jenn Tostlebe 1:00:14

Well, unfortunately, in our limited amount of time, we couldn't cover the book from cover to cover. But we did try to cover some of the broader points. But is there anything else that we didn't discuss that you feel is important or that you would like to mention?



R**R.V. Gundur 1:00:30**

I think that I'll leave us on this note. My book is a study of the drug trade, but it's also a study of people. And it's a study of neighborhoods, and it's a study of communities. And so I'm glad that we were able to talk about a lot of those topics today. And I thank you both for giving me the time to be able to talk about these people who I was able to meet and whose stories I was able to write about, had that privilege in my book. And hopefully this gives everybody a taste of what's in there. And you know, they can see the complexities of the drug trade and the humanity that is interwoven with something that is often demonized and mystified within the way that we think and talk about it. So thank you so much for the opportunity today. It's been a pleasure to be here.

**Jenn Tostlebe 1:01:11**

Yeah. Thank you so much for joining us.

J**Jose Sanchez 1:01:13**

Yeah, like wise. How can people get a copy of your book?

R**R.V. Gundur 1:01:17**

So people can buy it at their favorite book retailer, it's on Amazon, it's on the Cornell University Press website. I have discount links on my website, which is <https://ravejudgerun.com/book>. So if you go there, you know, you can get 30% off. There's the discount codes for folks who are living in the Americas or folks who are living in the rest of the world. My books actually coming out as an audio books at some point next year, there's a very talented actor in New York who's reading it. So if you prefer to listen to books, rather than read them, then hang tight for that. But yeah, so there's plenty of different ways to grab it. And if you have any questions, you know, please feel free to reach out all of my information is on my website, [ravejudgerun.com](https://ravejudgerun.com).

J**Jose Sanchez 1:01:59**

Awesome. Well, thank you again, we really appreciate you coming on and speaking to us about your book. Like I said, it's a really easy, interesting read. It's great. Highly recommend it.

R**R.V. Gundur 1:02:10**

Thank you.

**Jenn Tostlebe 1:02:11**

Hey, thanks for listening.



Jose Sanchez 1:02:13

Don't forget to leave us a review on Apple podcasts or iTunes. Or let us know what you think of the episode by leaving us a comment on our website at [thecriminologyacademy.com](http://thecriminologyacademy.com).



Jenn Tostlebe 1:02:22

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Jose Sanchez 1:02:34

Or email us at [thecrimacademy AT gmail.com](mailto:thecrimacademy@gmail.com).



Jenn Tostlebe 1:02:37

See you next time!