

# **HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN MINNESOTA**

A Report to the Minnesota Legislature

2019

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Full Report

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### 2018 Human Trafficking Report

In 2005, the legislature passed Minnesota Statutes, section 299A.785, which mandated the creation of the human trafficking task force, an assessment of human trafficking in Minnesota, and the requirement for an annual report to the legislature by the Department of Public Safety. In 2008, the legislature amended the statute and called for a biennial study and report on human trafficking.

The Minnesota Statistical Analysis Center (MNSAC) in the Department of Public Safety Office of Justice Programs (OJP) is tasked with implementing this legislative requirement. The 2018 Human Trafficking report is the eighth in the series of reports.

Minnesota Statutes section 299A.785 requires collection of the following:

1. Data on trafficking-related offenses and trafficking victims.
2. Information on trafficking routes and patterns as well as methods of transportation.
3. Information on the social factors, including pornography, that contribute to and foster trafficking.

To obtain data on human trafficking victims in Minnesota, training, and perceptions of the crime, MNSAC administered an online survey to those most likely to come into contact with victims: law enforcement agencies and service providers.

- The MNSAC invited all police departments and sheriffs' offices in Minnesota to complete the survey.
  - 349 agencies out of 422 participated, yielding an 83 percent response rate.
- The MNSAC also surveyed service providers throughout Minnesota.
  - 193 providers out of 250 participated, resulting in a 77 percent response rate.

The 2018 Human Trafficking report supplements survey data with data on human trafficking incidents from the Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension's Uniform Crime Report (UCR). Data on human trafficking and human trafficking-related charges and convictions come from the Minnesota State Court Administrator's Office. The report also draws on existing research conducted in Minnesota and throughout the U.S.

There are some limitations of the 2018 Human Trafficking survey and report. For one, there is a discrepancy between the number of labor trafficking and sex trafficking incidents reported in the BCA's UCRs and the number of investigations reported in the MNSAC's human trafficking surveys. Limited recall among law enforcement agencies could account for this discrepancy. The data discrepancy could also be because some investigations start in one year and end in another.

Another possible explanation is that law enforcement agencies report certain human trafficking incidents differently. When reporting incidents to the BCA, law enforcement agencies might not report all incidents, or they might report an incident under a crime category that is not counted as human trafficking. By contrast, when reporting incidents to the MNSAC, law enforcement agencies might report all labor trafficking and sex trafficking investigations regardless of the ultimate crime categorization for BCA reporting.

## Defining and Fighting Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is the:

“recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs...”<sup>1</sup>

Federal efforts to prevent and combat human trafficking include:

- In 2000, the U.S. Congress passed and President Clinton signed into law the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, known as the TVPA.<sup>2</sup>
- The TVPA called for preventing human trafficking, established protections and assistance for trafficking victims, and strengthened the prosecution and punishment of traffickers.

State efforts to address human trafficking include:

- In 2005, Minnesota enacted the first of several anti-trafficking statutes.
  - Like the TVPA, Minnesota’s laws impose criminal and civil penalties for labor trafficking and sex trafficking.
  - The 2005 statute mandated a human trafficking needs assessment and a plan to prevent human trafficking.
- In 2011, Minnesota enacted the Safe Harbor for Sexually Exploited Youth law.
  - Safe Harbor automatically treats minor sex trafficking victims as sexually exploited youth, not delinquents, so they cannot be charged with prostitution or prostitution-related crimes.<sup>3</sup> Safe Harbor also calls for the provision of victim services for sexually exploited youth.
- In 2016, Minnesota expanded Safe Harbor for Youth and raised the maximum age of eligibility for Safe Harbor victim services from 18 to 24.<sup>4</sup>
- In 2017, the Minnesota legislature mandated an assessment and strategic plan to expand Safe Harbor victim services to all, regardless of age.<sup>5</sup>
- In 2018, Minnesota enacted the Sex Trafficking Prevention and Response Training law.
  - The law requires every hotel and motel employee in the state to complete training on how to recognize, identify and respond to sex trafficking. Those who operate hotels and motels must also conduct ongoing awareness campaigns.<sup>6</sup>

## Risk Factors of Human Trafficking

According to existing research, a variety of social factors raise the risk of being trafficked. Though trafficking does not require movement, it usually happens in the context of migration, authorized or unauthorized.<sup>7</sup> Migration is movement within a country (domestic migration) or movement from one country to another (international migration).<sup>8</sup> Migration, and therefore trafficking, is driven by push factors (reasons to migrate *from* a certain region or country) and pull factors (reasons to migrate *to* a certain region or country).<sup>9</sup>

- Push factors include poverty and weak political systems.<sup>10</sup>
- Pull factors include economic opportunity and the demand for cheap labor and sex.<sup>11</sup>

Anyone can be a human trafficking victim, but scholars suggest push and pull factors put certain demographics at increased risk.

- Low socioeconomic status and homelessness significantly raise the risk of being trafficked.<sup>12</sup>
- Women and girls; people of color; young people; LGBTQ people; immigrants; youth involved in the juvenile justice or child welfare system; and those with a disability, physical or mental illness, or a history of victimization are also vulnerable to being trafficked.<sup>13</sup>
- Men and boys are at risk of being labor trafficked, and those who are homeless are susceptible to being sex trafficked.<sup>14</sup>

### The Mechanics of Human Trafficking

Typical human trafficking imagery depicts victims with cuts and bruises who are gagged and bound in ropes, handcuffs or chains. However, although physical violence is common, physical captivity and restraint are rarely the means by which victims are trafficked.<sup>15</sup> In fact, victims often have freedom of movement.<sup>16</sup>

- Research finds traffickers recruit victims using fraud and deceit and entrap them using psychological control and coercion.<sup>17</sup>
- Studies show the common tools of psychological control and coercion include:
  - Document seizure
  - Debt bondage and bogus contracts
  - Isolation
  - Threats to family and friends
  - Participation in illegal acts
  - Verbal abuse and humiliation<sup>18</sup>

### Human Trafficking Training and Perceptions in Minnesota

There is a growing awareness and increase in human trafficking training among law enforcement agencies and service providers in Minnesota. Training is critical, because most victims do not self-identify and report the crime due to fear of arrest and criminalization, retaliation, and harm to family and friends.<sup>19</sup> Self-identification is also rare due to shame, self-blame, or embarrassment, or because victims do not think they are victims.<sup>20</sup>

Results from the 2018 Human Trafficking Survey reveal:

- 77 percent of law enforcement agencies and 86 percent of service providers reported that some proportion of their staffs are trained to identify and respond to human trafficking.
- 60 percent of law enforcement agencies and 79 percent of service providers reported the ability to confidently explain human trafficking issues.
- 37 percent of law enforcement agencies and 54 percent of service providers were confident in their ability to identify victims.
- 48 percent of law enforcement agencies and 60 percent of service providers said they could properly investigate or respond to human trafficking respectively.

The majority of law enforcement agencies believe investigating labor trafficking and sex trafficking is important (62 percent and 86 percent, respectively), but:

- 39 percent of law enforcement agencies said they lack time, and 51 percent said they lack resources to properly conduct investigations.

With regard to resources:

- 17 percent of law enforcement agencies have formal written human trafficking procedures, protocols or policies.
- 28 percent of law enforcement agencies have a designated human trafficking investigation unit, group, or officer(s).
  - 24 percent of those units are full-time, and 66 percent are part-time.
  - 1 percent of those units investigate labor trafficking, 42 percent investigate sex trafficking, and 45 percent investigate both labor and sex trafficking.

In Minnesota, service providers face several challenges when serving human trafficking victims. The human trafficking survey reveals:

- 40 percent of service providers said it is difficult to locate victims.
- 34 percent of service providers reported a lack of support and coordination among local, state and federal agencies.
- 26 percent of service providers noted a lack of support and coordination among service providers in Minnesota.
- 53 percent of service providers reported a lack of funding and resources to properly serve human trafficking victims.
- A lack of training and information (34 percent), language barriers (20 percent), and the absence of culturally specific services (30 percent) were also cited as challenges to serving victims among service providers.

### Labor Trafficking Victims in Minnesota, 2017

According to the BCA's UCR, law enforcement agencies reported no labor trafficking incidents in 2017.

The human trafficking survey finds that in 2017:

- Law enforcement agencies identified 21 labor trafficking victims.<sup>21</sup>
- Service providers identified 394 labor trafficking victims.
- 69 percent of labor trafficking victims were identified in the Twin Cities.
- 44 percent of labor trafficking victims were adult men, and 42 percent were adult women.
- 60 percent of labor trafficking victims were Hispanic/Latinx.

With regard to age and gender, the human trafficking survey results show:

- 61 percent of labor trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were adult women.
- 46 percent of labor trafficking victims served by service providers were women, and 40 percent were adult men.

In terms of race and ethnicity, the survey reveals:

- 56 percent of labor trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were Asian or Asian-American, 28 percent were Hispanic/Latinx, and 17 percent were white



- 63 percent of labor trafficking victims served by service providers were Hispanic/Latinx.

Of the labor sectors in which labor trafficking victims were trafficked, the survey finds:

- 40 percent of law enforcement agencies that conducted labor trafficking investigations reported trafficking in restaurants.
- Of the service providers who served labor trafficking victims, 46 percent served victims trafficked in households (e.g., housekeeping, nanny), 38 percent noted trafficking in restaurants, and 27 percent said agriculture was a popular labor sector.

Law enforcement agencies that investigated labor trafficking witnessed the fraud and deception used to recruit labor trafficking victims.

- 64 percent of survey respondents that conducted an investigation reported that victims pursued a job opportunity learned of from a friend, family member or former employer.

### Sex Trafficking Victims in Minnesota, 2017

According to the BCA's UCR, law enforcement agencies reported 173 sex trafficking incidents in 2017.

The human trafficking survey finds that in 2017:

- Law enforcement agencies identified 401 sex trafficking victims.<sup>22</sup>
- Service providers identified 2,124 sex trafficking victims.
- 60 percent of sex trafficking victims were identified in the Twin Cities.
- 59 percent of sex trafficking victims were women, and 25 percent were girls under 18.
- 32 percent of sex trafficking victims were black, 31 percent were white, and 20 percent were American Indian.

Regarding age and gender, the human trafficking survey shows:

- 74 percent of sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were adult women.
- 31 percent of sex trafficking victims served by service providers were women over 24 years old, 25 percent were women between 18 and 24, and 25 percent were girls under 18.

With respect to race and ethnicity, survey results find:

- 47 percent of sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were white, and 30 percent were black, African-American or African.
- 33 percent of sex trafficking victims served by service providers were black, African-American or African; 28 percent were white; and 23 percent were American Indian.

Of the sectors in which sex trafficking victims were trafficked:

- 96 percent of survey respondents reported sex trafficking in commercial sex and escort services.

Of the venues in which sex trafficking victims were trafficked:

- 73 percent of survey respondents reported identifying victims trafficked in hotels.
- 63 percent said victims were trafficked in private residences.

Sex traffickers used various recruitment methods. The human trafficking survey finds:

- Of law enforcement agencies that investigated sex trafficking, 63 percent reported the use of the boyfriend/intimate partner pimp. Non-intimate partner pimps and pimp-coerced woman traffickers were common, noted by 30 percent of agencies.
- Among service providers that served sex trafficking victims, 82 percent noted the use of a boyfriend/intimate partner pimp, 47 percent reported trafficking by a non-intimate partner pimp, and 45 percent served victims trafficked by a family member.

### Criminal Justice Responses to Human Trafficking in Minnesota

Human trafficking investigations do not necessarily lead to arrests and prosecutions, and most cases go unprosecuted.<sup>23</sup> According to existing research, barriers to identifying, investigating, and prosecuting human trafficking include:

- Lack of human trafficking training, time, and resources.
- Difficulty navigating human trafficking laws and definitions.
- Misidentification and misreporting.
- Trauma.
- Negative attitudes about victims.
- Lack of victim support and services.
- Public attitudes.

The human trafficking survey finds that in 2017:

- Law enforcement agencies conducted 21 labor trafficking investigations and made two arrests.
- Law enforcement agencies conducted 401 sex trafficking investigations and made 182 arrests.

Data from the Minnesota State Court Administrator's Office show that in 2017:

- Prosecutors filed 4 labor trafficking charges, and one resulted in a conviction.
- Prosecutors filed 96 sex trafficking charges, and 32 resulted in a conviction.

### Conclusion

There is a growing awareness of human trafficking among law enforcement agencies and service providers in Minnesota. Increased education and training as well as resources for identifying victims and investigating human trafficking results in a greater ability to serve victims and hold traffickers accountable.

Minnesota has made tremendous strides preventing and combatting human trafficking, particularly sex trafficking. An earlier adopter of anti-trafficking laws, Minnesota continues to make progress with its most recent legislative efforts, Safe Harbor for Sexually Exploited Youth and Sex Trafficking Prevention and Response Training. Although education and awareness campaigns are critical to prevention efforts, it is important to address labor trafficking and the push and pull factors, particularly poverty, that contribute to human trafficking.

## INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking has existed in various forms throughout history and around the world.<sup>24</sup> Although prevention efforts are recent, human trafficking is not a new phenomenon. A widespread issue, it is also not a problem that affects a particular part of the world, country, or region in the U.S.; rather, it is a global one.

Human trafficking is the:

“recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs...”<sup>25</sup>

It involves an:

- a) **Act** (“recruitment, transportation, transfer...”) and a
- b) **Means** (“...by means of...”) for the purpose of
- c) **Exploitation** (“...sexual exploitation, forced labor or services...”).

In 2000, the U.S. Congress passed and President Clinton signed into law the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, known as the TVPA.<sup>26</sup> The TVPA called for preventing human trafficking, established protections and assistance for trafficking victims, and strengthened the prosecution and punishment of traffickers. The U.S. Department of Justice is responsible for prosecuting human trafficking-related offenses under the federal law.

Federal efforts to fight human trafficking are important, but states are at the forefront of efforts to effectively combat trafficking and prosecute offenders.<sup>27</sup> In 2003, states began passing anti-trafficking laws, and by 2013, every state had criminalized human trafficking. Minnesota was among the early adopters of anti-trafficking legislation, enacting its first law in 2005.

According to Minnesota Statutes section 609.281, subd. 5, labor trafficking entails:

- (1) the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, enticement, provision, obtaining, or receipt of a person by any means, for the purpose of:
  - (i) debt bondage or forced labor or services;
  - (ii) slavery or practices similar to slavery; or
  - (iii) the removal of organs through the use of coercion or intimidation; or
- (2) receiving profit or anything of value, knowing or having reason to know it is derived from an act described in clause (1).<sup>28</sup>

In Minnesota Statutes section 609.321, subd. 7a, sex trafficking is defined as:

- (1) receiving, recruiting, enticing, harboring, providing, or obtaining by any means an individual to aid in the prostitution of the individual; or

(2) receiving profit or anything of value, knowing or having reason to know it is derived from an act described in clause (1).<sup>29</sup>

Like the federal TVPA, Minnesota's laws impose criminal and civil penalties for labor trafficking and sex trafficking. A major difference between the TVPA and Minnesota's state statute concerns the means by which victims are trafficked. Although the TVPA requires proof of the use of force, fraud, or coercion, Minnesota's law does not.

In 2005, the legislature passed Minnesota Statutes, section 299A.785, which mandated the creation of the human trafficking task force, an assessment of human trafficking in Minnesota, and the requirement for an annual report to the legislature by the Department of Public Safety. The Minnesota Statistical Analysis Center (MNSAC) in the Department of Public Safety Office of Justice Programs (OJP) was tasked with coordinating the human trafficking task force and contracted for a statewide needs assessment, which was completed in 2006.<sup>30</sup> The OJP convened and managed the legislatively mandated task force until it sunset in 2011, after which the Minnesota Department of Health assumed responsibility for convening and coordinating the task force.<sup>31</sup>

In 2008, the legislature amended the statute and called for a biennial study and report of human trafficking. The biennial reporting requirement remains with the OJP, and the 2018 Human Trafficking report is the eighth in the series of reports.

Minnesota Statutes section 299A.785 requires collection of the following:

1. Data on trafficking-related offenses and trafficking victims.
2. Information on trafficking routes and patterns as well as methods of transportation.
3. Information on the social factors, including pornography, that contribute to and foster trafficking.

To obtain data on human trafficking victims in Minnesota, training, and perceptions of the crime, the MNSAC administered an online survey to those most likely to come into contact with victims: law enforcement agencies and service providers. Survey data is supplemented with data on human trafficking incidents from the Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension (BCA). Data on human trafficking and human trafficking-related charges and convictions come from the Minnesota State Court Administrator's Office. The report also draws on existing research conducted in Minnesota and throughout the U.S.

## **COMMON MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT HUMAN TRAFFICKING**

Misconceptions about the definition of human trafficking make it difficult to identify, prevent, and prosecute the crime. The following section clarifies common misconceptions.

### **Misconception #1: Trafficking Requires Transporting Victims**

It is possible to engage in trafficking without moving victims anywhere – neither across international borders nor within a country.<sup>32</sup> International, federal and state definitions of trafficking do not require transporting victims.

### **Misconception #2: Migration, Smuggling and Trafficking are Synonymous**

Migration, smuggling and trafficking are often confused with one another, but they are distinct.

Migration is simply movement from one region to another, within a country or across countries. It can be authorized and voluntary or unauthorized and voluntary.<sup>33</sup> When migration is unauthorized and voluntary, it is called smuggling.

Although smuggling and trafficking are both crimes, they are distinct. Smuggling, an unauthorized border crossing, is considered a crime against the destination country. By contrast, trafficking is a crime against a person.<sup>34</sup>

The primary difference between smuggling and trafficking involves consent. Smuggling requires the consent of the person being smuggled, and there is no actual or implied coercion.<sup>35</sup> People who are smuggled pay a fee to be smuggled into a country, and their relationship with the transporter ends upon entry to the destination country.<sup>36</sup> Smuggling is voluntary, so those who are smuggled violate the law, but they are not victims. Conversely, trafficking is involuntary and is conducted without the consent of the person being trafficked.<sup>37</sup> As such, people who are trafficked are victims. In short, if one agrees to an unauthorized border crossing, it is smuggling. If one does not agree, it is trafficking.

There are instances in which smuggling turns into trafficking, but they still remain distinct.<sup>38</sup> It is possible for someone to agree to smuggling and then get trafficked. This can occur if the smuggled person is not free to leave the transporter. If a smuggling debt is incurred and binds the smuggled person to the transporter, the smuggled person becomes a trafficking victim and the transporter becomes a trafficker.<sup>39</sup> Trafficking occurs when the smuggled person is forced to work to pay off the debt or is sold to other traffickers.

### Misconception #3: Trafficking Requires Physical Restraint/Captivity

Anti-trafficking campaigns often use the language of modern-day slavery to describe trafficking and show victims restrained in chains, handcuffs and ropes. In reality, the use of physical captivity and restraint is rare.<sup>40</sup> Instead, victims are controlled psychologically and often have freedom of movement.<sup>41</sup>

International, federal and state definitions of trafficking do not require victims to experience physical captivity or restraint. Although international and federal definitions require the use of fraud, force or coercion, Minnesota's definition recognizes that human trafficking can occur by any means.<sup>42</sup>

### Misconception #4: Minors Can "Choose" to Sell Sex

Under federal and state law, minors cannot consent to sex, and those who provide sex are automatically treated as victims. It does not matter whether the minor "agreed" to commercial sex or not.<sup>43</sup>

In 2011, Minnesota passed the Safe Harbor for Sexually Exploited Youth law, which went into effect in 2014. Safe Harbor established legal protections for minors involved in the commercial sex industry.<sup>44</sup> It defines minor sex trafficking victims as sexually exploited youth, not delinquents, and as such, they cannot be charged with prostitution or prostitution-related crimes. The law also calls for the provision of victim services for sexually exploited youth. In 2016, the state expanded Safe Harbor and raised the maximum age of eligibility for Safe Harbor victim services from 18 to 24.<sup>45</sup>

Minnesota's approach to helping sexually exploited youth is called No Wrong Door.<sup>46</sup> A result of 12 meetings with 65 stakeholders across the state, No Wrong Door consists of 11 recommendations

for identifying and serving sexually exploited youth and preventing their sexual exploitation. It seeks to provide a safe harbor for sexually exploited youth, treating them as crime victims. The premise of No Wrong Door is that no matter who (e.g., law enforcement, service provider, social worker, child protection, child welfare, medical provider) comes into contact with sexually exploited youth or regardless of which door a youth enters (e.g., hospital, hotel, church, community organization, social services), youth will be referred to Safe Harbor regional navigators who will help them access crime victim services, support services, and housing services.

## **FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING**

According to existing research, a variety of social factors, discussed in more detail below, contribute to human trafficking. Though trafficking does not require movement, it usually happens in the context of migration, authorized or unauthorized.<sup>47</sup> Migration is movement within a country (domestic migration) or movement from one country to another (international migration).<sup>48</sup> Migration, and therefore trafficking, is driven by push factors (reasons to migrate *from* a certain region or country) and pull factors (reasons to migrate *to* a certain region or country).<sup>49</sup>

### **Push Factors**

#### **Poverty**

Scholars find that poverty is a primary risk factor for human trafficking, both domestic and international.<sup>50</sup> A lack of employment and educational opportunities and few opportunities for upward mobility contribute to migration and efforts to seek economic opportunities in another region or country.<sup>51</sup> Weak economic systems that produce low-wage jobs coupled with insufficient social safety nets also contribute to trafficking.<sup>52</sup>

#### **Weak Political Systems**

Political instability fuels migration from one country to another and therefore fuels international human trafficking. Unstable or oppressive political regimes are powerful reasons to migrate and seek opportunities elsewhere.<sup>53</sup> Other push factors, such as widespread gender inequality and gender-based violence, political conflict, civil disorder and widespread violence, and grave human rights violations spur migration.<sup>54</sup>

### **Pull Factors**

#### **Economic Opportunity**

Researchers note that the promise of economic opportunity is a primary pull factor contributing to both domestic and international trafficking. The prospect of employment and educational opportunities, economic upward mobility, improved standards of living, and a better life are powerful reasons to migrate to a certain area or country.<sup>55</sup>

With regard to international trafficking, scholars categorize countries as origination or destination countries, with people migrating from the former to the latter.<sup>56</sup> Push factors such as poverty and weak political systems in origination countries prompt migration to destination countries.<sup>57</sup> Pull factors such as economic opportunity, perceived wealth and prosperity, and other imagined benefits lure migrants to destination countries.<sup>58</sup>

#### **Demand**

Demand for sex and demand for cheap labor, especially in agriculture, restaurants and domestic work – and therefore migrant workers – are critical factors contributing to human trafficking.<sup>59</sup>

They are pull factors in domestic as well as international trafficking. Demand, along with economic opportunity, stimulates migration within a country and attracts migrants to destination countries.

Some scholars argue that pornography creates a demand for sex and therefore sex trafficking,<sup>60</sup> but there is no empirical evidence that pornography consumption is related to sex trafficking.<sup>61</sup> Rates of pornography consumption are higher than rates of purchasing sex.<sup>62</sup> In fact, pornography consumption has increased since the early 1970s,<sup>63</sup> but rates of purchasing sex have held fairly steady and even declined slightly.<sup>64</sup> If pornography use produced a demand for sex, then the number of people purchasing sex would be higher.<sup>65</sup>

There is little real-world research on pornography consumption.<sup>66</sup> A popular research topic, the influence of pornography on people's behavior, particularly aggression and violence against women, has been studied in laboratories. However, any laboratory research on pornography consumption is problematic. For one, research is conducted in a controlled environment, not the real world. The way in which pornography is consumed in a laboratory is not the way in which it is consumed in real life, because those under study cannot masturbate.<sup>67</sup> Second, laboratory experiments are not conducted on representative samples. Participants are volunteers, and they are not representative of the population.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, many have consumed pornography, so it is difficult to identify the alleged effects of pornography in a controlled setting.<sup>69</sup> Lastly, in a laboratory setting, it is virtually impossible to isolate the effect of pornography on people's behavior.<sup>70</sup> As a result, any laboratory experiment fails to provide insight on the impact of pornography on people's behavior. Taking all these points into consideration, even if there was laboratory research on the relationship between pornography use and sex trafficking, the results would be suspect.

Under federal law, any commercial sex act involving a minor constitutes sex trafficking. As such, producing child pornography is by definition sex trafficking.<sup>71</sup> Possessing child pornography is not usually considered sex trafficking, but it is directly and indirectly related to it. Consuming child pornography creates a demand for its production, and its production involves the sex trafficking of children.<sup>72</sup> There is no empirical research on whether child pornography creates a demand for minor sex trafficking.<sup>73</sup>

## **RISK FACTORS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING**

Anyone can be a human trafficking victim, but scholars suggest the push and pull factors described above put certain demographics at increased risk. Trafficking occurs when someone's vulnerabilities intersect with a demand for labor or sex.<sup>74</sup> Those with a low socioeconomic status; women and girls; people of color; young people; LGBTQ people; immigrants; youth involved in the juvenile justice or child welfare system; and those with a disability, physical or mental illness, or a history of victimization, are susceptible to being trafficked.<sup>75</sup> In short, traffickers prey on the most vulnerable because they are "easier to recruit, control, and exploit."<sup>76</sup>

### **Socioeconomic Status**

Prior research shows a low socioeconomic status is a risk factor of human trafficking.<sup>77</sup> Poor people and those without educational and employment opportunities migrate within a country or to another country to pursue economic opportunities. This leaves them vulnerable to being trafficked. Indeed, most sex trafficking victims would leave if they had better opportunities.<sup>78</sup>

In particular, a lack of education heightens the risk of being trafficked. Those without education are especially attractive to traffickers because they are unlikely to know their legal rights and how to get help.<sup>79</sup>

### Homeless/Runaway/Throwaway/Orphan

In Minnesota, poverty and homelessness are primary risk factors for sex trafficking and exploitation.<sup>80</sup> Researchers find a lack of affordable housing options, inability to meet basic needs, unequal pay, and an absence of a living wage and resources contribute to trafficking in the state.<sup>81</sup>

As such, homeless people and those without family support – runaways, throwaways (children who have been abandoned, neglected, or kicked out of their home), and orphans – are at a higher risk of being trafficked.<sup>82</sup> Those without family support are especially vulnerable, because they are unlikely to have someone looking for them and are unlikely to want to be found.<sup>83</sup>

Additionally, those who have aged out of foster care, youth involved in the juvenile justice or child welfare system, and LGBTQ youth are especially susceptible to being sex trafficked and exploited because of their increased risk of poverty and homelessness.<sup>84</sup>

### Age and Gender

Age and gender are other risk factors for human trafficking. With regard to sex trafficking, research finds most victims are women and girls.<sup>85</sup> However, boys and young men, particularly those who are homeless, are vulnerable to being sex trafficked, and the number of male sex trafficking victims is increasing.<sup>86</sup> Young people, beginning in adolescence, are in demand and at a heightened risk of being sex trafficked until they become less profitable and “age out” in their mid-twenties.<sup>87</sup>

With respect to labor trafficking, research finds women and girls are at risk of being trafficked in household industries such as housekeeping and child care.<sup>88</sup> Men and boys are prone to being trafficked in construction, mining and manufacturing.<sup>89</sup>

### Race

Anti-trafficking campaigns often depict sex trafficking victims as white middle-class women and girls.<sup>90</sup> However, studies reveal that sex trafficking victims are disproportionately women of color, especially black, Hispanic/Latinx and American Indian women.<sup>91</sup>

Race is correlated with socioeconomic status, which is one reason why it is a risk factor for being sex trafficked.<sup>92</sup>

Another reason involves racialized gender stereotypes of women of color. Historically, women of color were constructed as promiscuous, erotic and hypersexual.<sup>93</sup> Such stereotypes create and reinforce the belief that women of color are naturally suited for the sex trade, always available and willing to provide sexual services.<sup>94</sup> These racialized gender stereotypes fuel sexual fetishes and the eroticization of women of color, contributing to demand for them.<sup>95</sup>

Researchers in Minnesota find that women of color are susceptible to being sex trafficked for other reasons. Sex buyers are predominantly white men, and some seek out black women or American Indian women to fulfill their racist and violent fantasies.<sup>96</sup> The mistreatment of women of color is an extension of the rape and violence committed against them during colonization and enslavement.<sup>97</sup>



Other research on commercial sexual exploitation in Minnesota cites the sexual colonization, exploitation and abuse of women of color, particularly American Indian women and girls, as reasons why race is a risk factor.<sup>98</sup>

### Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity

Research shows those who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, gender non-conforming, or queer are susceptible to being sex trafficked. The primary reason is the increased likelihood of homelessness among LGBTQ people, particularly youth.<sup>99</sup> Compared to their non-LGBTQ counterparts, LGBTQ youth are more likely to face rejection by their families and encounter negative school experiences (e.g., bullying, abuse, lack of safety).<sup>100</sup> As a result, they are more likely than non-LGBTQ youth to be runaways or throwaways and become disproportionately homeless as a result. Research finds LGBTQ youth make up 10 percent of the youth population but account for 20-40 percent of homeless youth, and sex trafficking studies of homeless youth reveal that about half the victims are gay or bisexual young men and boys and transgender girls.<sup>101</sup>

### Immigrant Status

Immigrants, particularly undocumented immigrants, are at an increased risk of being trafficked, particularly labor trafficked. Although U.S. citizens are more likely than non-citizens to be sex trafficking victims, non-citizens are more likely than citizens to be labor trafficking victims.<sup>102</sup>

Scholars propose a variety of reasons why immigrants, particularly undocumented immigrants, are vulnerable to being trafficked, and chief among them is poverty.<sup>103</sup> Undocumented immigrants also have limited work options, and this makes them susceptible to being both labor and sex trafficked in Minnesota, according to existing research.<sup>104</sup> Immigrants are also less likely than citizens to know their legal rights and understand trafficking laws.<sup>105</sup> Additionally, they are unlikely to speak English, often isolated from their family and friends, and fear arrest and deportation if they are undocumented, all of which limits their ability to leave and seek help.<sup>106</sup>

Scholars suggest that immigrants are susceptible to being trafficked because of restrictive immigration laws. Immigration barriers raise the cost of migrating to the U.S., and as a result, increase the odds of trafficking.<sup>107</sup> Migrants incur travel costs, and those without money to migrate promise to pay their debts to their transporters upon arrival. Such situations render immigrants prone to being trafficked.

### Disability/Mental and Physical Illness/Addiction

Previous research finds people with disabilities, physical or mental illnesses, or addiction are vulnerable to being sex trafficked due to a lack of adequate health care.<sup>108</sup> Without treatment and medications, they may be unable to attain and maintain gainful, steady and legal employment and attain financial security.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, those struggling with addiction are caught in a cycle of use and sex trafficking as they need money to support their habit.<sup>110</sup> They are also appealing to traffickers, because a fear of arrest and criminalization prevents them from contacting authorities and seeking help.<sup>111</sup>

Studies conducted in Minnesota suggest that addiction is another reason why American Indian women are at risk of being trafficked. As a consequence of colonization, American Indians face high rates of substance use and abuse.<sup>112</sup> Illicit substances are used to cope with the hopelessness, pain, and despair resulting from historical trauma and cultural loss.<sup>113</sup>

## Victimization

According to existing research, a history of victimization, particularly physical abuse and sexual abuse, is a risk factor of trafficking.<sup>114</sup> One reason is that abuse is correlated with running away from home and therefore homelessness, which makes one vulnerable to being trafficked.<sup>115</sup> Another reason is violence and abuse are normalized, preventing one's ability to recognize when trafficking occurs.<sup>116</sup>

Those who have been sexually abused are especially susceptible to being sex trafficked because they do not learn how to have healthy sexual relationships.<sup>117</sup> As a result, to feel empowered, some may enter the sex trafficking industry in an effort to exert control over their sexuality.<sup>118</sup> Others may feel resigned to being sex trafficked, believing that at the very least, they should get paid to be sexually abused.<sup>119</sup>

Researchers in Minnesota find American Indian women are vulnerable to being trafficked because they are disproportionately affected by high rates of physical abuse, sexual abuse, domestic violence, sexual assault, and rape, all of which are risk factors for being sex trafficked.<sup>120</sup>

## THE MECHANICS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Typical human trafficking imagery depicts victims with cuts and bruises who are gagged and bound in ropes, handcuffs or chains. However, although physical violence is common, physical captivity and restraint are rarely the means by which victims are trafficked.<sup>121</sup> In fact, victims often have freedom of movement.<sup>122</sup> Traffickers recruit victims using fraud and deceit and entrap them using psychological control and coercion.<sup>123</sup>

### Recruitment: Fraud and Deception

There is a reason why poverty is a primary factor contributing to human trafficking. Poverty, combined with hope, make a dangerous combination. A hope for a better life and economic opportunities leads people to take risks.<sup>124</sup> By doing so, they become susceptible to being trafficked because their vulnerabilities are easily exploitable.<sup>125</sup>

Fraud and deceit lay the foundation for human trafficking, and research demonstrates people typically become victims by being tricked. They hear about a job opportunity through their social networks (who may or may not know it is a trafficking situation) or are recruited.<sup>126</sup> The use of recruiters is common in international trafficking, and usually the recruiter is the trafficker.<sup>127</sup> Traffickers might use fake employment agencies or false-front businesses to recruit victims.<sup>128</sup> They entice victims with a hope for a better life for themselves and their families.<sup>129</sup> Some traffickers charge recruiting fees, and research finds that on average, victims pay \$6,150 for their "job opportunity."<sup>130</sup>

Victims often cooperate with traffickers during recruitment because they do not know they are entering a trafficking situation.<sup>131</sup> Traffickers lie about the nature of the job or the working conditions to recruit victims.<sup>132</sup> Victims think they will be a housekeeper, nanny, or laborer,<sup>133</sup> or will participate in a study abroad program or beauty pageant.<sup>134</sup> After accepting what they believe is a legitimate job or opportunity, they are deceived.<sup>135</sup> This "bait-and-switch" technique is common among both labor traffickers and sex traffickers.<sup>136</sup>

Traffickers might use total deception to recruit victims. For instance, mail-order bride schemes can be covers for sex trafficking.<sup>137</sup> Or, a victim accepts employment as a nurse but ends up working

in domestic service, or a victim agrees to work in a massage parlor, restaurant, or hotel but is sex trafficked.<sup>138</sup> Sometimes sex traffickers use half-truths to recruit victims. For example, a victim decides to work as an escort or exotic dancer as long as sex is not required but then ends up being sex trafficked.<sup>139</sup>

### Entrapment: Psychological Control and Coercion

After using fraud and deception to recruit victims, scholars find traffickers use psychological control and coercion to entrap them and keep them entrapped. As a result, victims are unlikely to leave the trafficking situation or seek help, even if they have the chance to do so.<sup>140</sup> Indeed, most victims interact with the public (e.g., the sex industry, restaurants, hospitality, construction) and law enforcement, but few leave because of these encounters.<sup>141</sup> Thus, psychological control is far more effective than physical control, which is one reason why the use of physical restraint and captivity is rare.

Another reason why traffickers prefer psychological control and coercion is because it makes detecting, arresting, charging and prosecuting human trafficking difficult.<sup>142</sup> When law enforcement officials, lawyers and judges think victims are physically, not psychologically, controlled, they doubt whether trafficking has occurred because victims were “free to leave.”<sup>143</sup> Members of the public are similarly skeptical. Those who encounter victims do not believe them and fail to act unless there is physical restraint.<sup>144</sup>

Debunking the myth that trafficking victims are typically held captive and physically restrained is critical. If those who come into contact with victims do not understand the ways in which trafficking occurs, most victims will not be identified or receive services, and the vast majority of traffickers will not be held accountable.<sup>145</sup>

### Document Seizure

According to researchers, a common means by which traffickers exert psychological control and coercion on victims is document seizure. Following recruitment, traffickers seize victims’ passports, visas and other identifying documents.<sup>146</sup> This makes it virtually impossible for victims to leave, especially if they are immigrants.

### Debt Bondage and Bogus Contracts

Traffickers also use a system of debt bondage and bogus contracts to keep victims entrapped. Oftentimes, victims are financially indebted to their traffickers due to recruitment fees, transportation costs, and food and housing expenditures.<sup>147</sup> Traffickers draw up bogus contracts, impose fraudulent charges and high interest rates, and manipulate victims’ debts.<sup>148</sup> There is a lack of transparency, so victims do not know how much money they make (if any) or whether they are actually paying down their debt.<sup>149</sup> Moreover, traffickers typically control victims’ money.<sup>150</sup>

### Isolation

Key to psychological control is isolation. Scholars find that traffickers isolate victims from their communities, families and friends.<sup>151</sup> Of course, victims who are immigrants are naturally isolated geographically, culturally and linguistically.<sup>152</sup> To further isolate victims, traffickers restrict victims’ communication with their friends and family.<sup>153</sup> They also deny to victims transportation and access to medical care.<sup>154</sup>

Isolation is critical to psychological control because it reduces victims’ resistance to being trafficked and increases their dependence on their traffickers.<sup>155</sup> It also limits victims’ abilities to

seek help and leave. The goal is to “break” victims so they become subservient to their traffickers.<sup>156</sup>

### Threats to Family and Friends

Traffickers often threaten to harm victims’ families and friends to induce cooperation and prevent them from leaving.<sup>157</sup> Those who traffic immigrants claim to have military connections and say the military is at the ready to hurt victims’ families and friends in their home countries.<sup>158</sup>

### Illegal Acts

According to previous research, traffickers, particularly sex traffickers, often encourage victims to engage in illegal acts and behaviors in an effort to maintain control.<sup>159</sup> Taking part in illegal activities reduces the likelihood of leaving and contacting authorities. Victims fear they will not be perceived as victims and will be arrested and criminalized for commercial sex or drug use instead.<sup>160</sup> This is one reason why those struggling with addiction are attractive to sex traffickers.

For the same reason, immigrants are appealing to labor traffickers. The looming threat of contacting immigration authorities reduces the possibility that victims leave.<sup>161</sup> Fear of arrest, criminalization, and deportation binds them to their trafficker.<sup>162</sup> Although some immigrants are undocumented, others are authorized upon entry into the U.S. However, due to document seizure, legal visas expire, and documented immigrants become undocumented.<sup>163</sup>

### Verbal Abuse and Humiliation

Other ways in which traffickers, particularly labor traffickers, maintain psychological control over victims is through verbal abuse and humiliation. Demeaning victims lowers the chance that they will leave and seek help.<sup>164</sup> For undocumented immigrants, verbal abuse and humiliation are particularly effective when combined with threats to contact immigration authorities. Labor traffickers tell them they are failing their families if they do not cooperate or that nobody will help them because they are undocumented.<sup>165</sup> The specter of deportation is powerful; getting deported is considered failure and brings shame on the families of those forced to return to their home country.<sup>166</sup>

## IMPACT OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING ON VICTIMS

### Trauma

Research shows victims often experience trauma as a result of being trafficked. Trauma varies across individuals, depending on types of trafficking, how long a victim was trafficked, age at which trafficking began, and the degree of psychological coercion and violence inflicted.<sup>167</sup> Trauma also results from poly-victimization, or being a victim of multiple crimes (e.g., trafficking as well as physical and sexual violence).<sup>168</sup>

Trauma has profound effects on the brain, body, and relationships. It affects how one thinks and how memories are made and stored.<sup>169</sup> It impacts how stress and emotions are handled and how threats are perceived.<sup>170</sup> As a result of trauma, trafficking victims may struggle to cultivate healthy relationships.<sup>171</sup> Reuniting with family members can be difficult due to being gone too long and the victim’s development of a distrust for others.<sup>172</sup>

### Physical and Mental Health

A substantial body of research finds that trafficking victims deal with a variety of physical and mental health problems. Victims experience physical abuse, sexual assault and violence, and they

often live in close quarters in uninhabitable places without nutritious food.<sup>173</sup> Injuries and health issues often go untreated and worsen.<sup>174</sup> Post-traumatic stress, anxiety, depression, self-harm and suicide ideation, dissociation, and substance abuse are common.<sup>175</sup> Treating the mental health consequences of trafficking is especially challenging, because traffickers exercise psychological control over their victims.<sup>176</sup> However, doing so is critical; otherwise, re-traumatization and a return to trafficking is likely.<sup>177</sup>

### Financial

Trafficking also takes a financial toll on victims. For labor trafficking victims, leaving the trafficking situation does not absolve them of their debts; they must still repay recruitment fees.<sup>178</sup> However, they do not have money to do so, because they likely did not make money while being trafficked, and they usually do not receive restitution or civil damages.<sup>179</sup>

### Social Stigma

A 2018 study on sex trafficking and exploitation in Minnesota found that those who provide sexual services are often stigmatized.<sup>180</sup> Social stigma and its attending negative stereotypes prevent those who are trafficked and exploited from getting the help and care they need, particularly in small towns and in rural Minnesota.<sup>181</sup> They are either treated poorly or denied housing, employment, medical care, or mental health services.<sup>182</sup> They are also shunned by family and friends.<sup>183</sup>

## PREVENTING AND COMBATTING HUMAN TRAFFICKING

### Legal Efforts

As discussed in prior sections, there have been several federal and state legal efforts to prevent and combat human trafficking. At the federal level, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), passed in 2000, sought to prevent trafficking, established protections and services for victims, and strengthened efforts to prosecute traffickers and hold them accountable. Subsequent reauthorizations in 2003, 2005, 2008 and 2013 continued efforts to prosecute trafficking crimes and punish traffickers, expanded the scope of trafficking-related crimes, authorized civil remedies, called for human trafficking research, and established grant programs to combat trafficking.

Minnesota enacted its first anti-trafficking statute in 2005. Since then, the state has intensified its efforts to prevent, prosecute, and penalize the crime. It expanded the scope of trafficking, extended protections and services to sexually exploited youth, and increased punishments. As mentioned, the state enacted Safe Harbor for Sexually Exploited Youth in 2011, classifying minors under 18 as victims and barring criminalization for prostitution and prostitution-related crimes. Safe Harbor also extended victim services to sexually exploited youth, and in 2016, the state raised the age of eligibility for services from 18 to 24.

Recognizing that hotels are common venues for sex trafficking, Minnesota enacted Sex Trafficking Prevention and Response Training in 2018.<sup>184</sup> Hotels are attractive venues because they offer anonymity and are temporary in nature.<sup>185</sup> Sex transactions can be quick and potentially take no longer than half an hour, making detection difficult.<sup>186</sup> As such, training hotel staff is critical in the fight against sex trafficking.

Minnesota's law requires every hotel and motel employee in the state to complete training on how to recognize, identify, and respond to sex trafficking. Those who operate hotels and motels must

also conduct ongoing awareness campaigns. At a minimum, they must hang a poster with information on identifying and reporting sex trafficking where it is visible to employees.

### Non-Legal Efforts

There have been several non-legal efforts to prevent and combat human trafficking. National and state hotlines have been established, and awareness campaigns have sprung up around Minnesota, the U.S., and the world. Awareness campaigns in origination countries warn people of the risks, dangers and harm of human trafficking.<sup>187</sup> Other campaigns seek to curb demand for sexual services.<sup>188</sup>

There are also awareness campaigns targeting those most likely to come into contact with trafficking victims – transit employees (e.g., buses, airports, taxis) and hotel employees.<sup>189</sup> Organizations such as the End Child Prostitution Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT), an international anti-trafficking organization, and the American Hotel and Lodging Association work to train hotel staff on how to identify and respond to human trafficking.<sup>190</sup>

Other campaigns to prevent human trafficking pursue changes in public policy. There are efforts to prevent the root causes of trafficking – poverty, homelessness, and lack of educational and employment opportunities.<sup>191</sup> There have also been calls on governments to regulate the labor markets in which people are labor trafficked, such as nightclubs, massage parlors, construction, hotels and restaurants.<sup>192</sup>

## 2018 HUMAN TRAFFICKING REPORT: DATA AND METHODS

In 2005, the Minnesota legislature passed Minnesota Statutes section 299A.785, which mandated the study of human trafficking and publication of an annual report.<sup>193</sup> In 2008, the state amended the statute and called for a biennial study and report.

The MNSAC in the OJP is tasked with implementing this legislative requirement. The 2018 Human Trafficking report is the eighth in the series of reports.

Minnesota Statutes section 299A.785 requires collection of the following:

1. Data on trafficking-related offenses and trafficking victims.
2. Information on trafficking routes and patterns as well as methods of transportation.
3. Information on the social factors, including pornography, that contribute to and foster trafficking.

To obtain data on human trafficking victims in Minnesota, training, and perceptions of the crime, the MNSAC administered an online survey to those most likely to come into contact with victims: law enforcement agencies and service providers. The MNSAC emailed invitations to participate in the survey in mid-November of 2018. They sent a follow-up email at the end of November and a third email reminder at the beginning of December. In mid-December, the MNSAC followed up with those who had not yet completed the survey over the phone. At the beginning of January of 2019, the MNSAC sent a final email invitation.

The MNSAC invited all police departments and sheriff's offices in Minnesota to complete the survey. A total of 349 agencies out of 422 participated, yielding an 83 percent response rate.

The 2018 Human Trafficking report supplements survey data with data on human trafficking incidents from the BCA's Uniform Crime Report (UCR). Under the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008 (Public Law 110-457), law enforcement agencies must submit their human trafficking data to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). This information is collected by the BCA and included in the annual UCR. Annual UCRs track human trafficking incidents, but they contain limited information on the demographics of trafficking victims. The UCRs also do not provide details on investigations, such as trafficking routes and patterns. As such, a survey is administered to fulfill the legislative requirement.

Given that many trafficking victims do not come to the attention of law enforcement, the MNSAC also surveyed service providers throughout Minnesota. A total of 193 providers out of 250 completed the survey, resulting in a 77 percent response rate. The MNSAC surveyed government-based and community-based service providers of direct crime victim services. The MNSAC extended survey invitations to providers that work with vulnerable populations, such as at-risk youth, homeless people, and immigrants and refugees. The MNSAC also surveyed homeless shelters, health care facilities that provide medical care to at-risk populations, youth programs, and outreach programs, because these are potential points of contact for trafficking victims.<sup>194</sup>

Data on human trafficking and human trafficking-related charges and convictions come from the Minnesota State Court Administrator's Office. The report also draws on existing research conducted in Minnesota and throughout the U.S.

### Limitations

There are some limitations of the 2018 Human Trafficking survey and report. For one, the number of human trafficking victims in Minnesota is likely higher than the number reported. Trafficking is a hidden crime, and traffickers and victims alike work hard to avoid detection.<sup>195</sup> There are several barriers to identifying victims, and even when victims come into contact with law enforcement officials or service providers, they are not identified or are misidentified.<sup>196</sup> As such, obtaining accurate estimates of human trafficking victims is difficult.

It is also important to note that information collected from law enforcement agencies and service providers is based on their memory of calendar year 2017. Few respondents systematically collect human trafficking data, so the information in this report consists of estimates and their recollections when they took the survey at the end of 2018 or beginning of 2019.

There is also a discrepancy between the number of labor trafficking and sex trafficking incidents reported in the BCA's UCRs and the number of investigations reported in the MNSAC's human trafficking surveys. Limited recall among law enforcement agencies could account for this discrepancy. The data discrepancy could also be because some investigations start in one year and end in another.

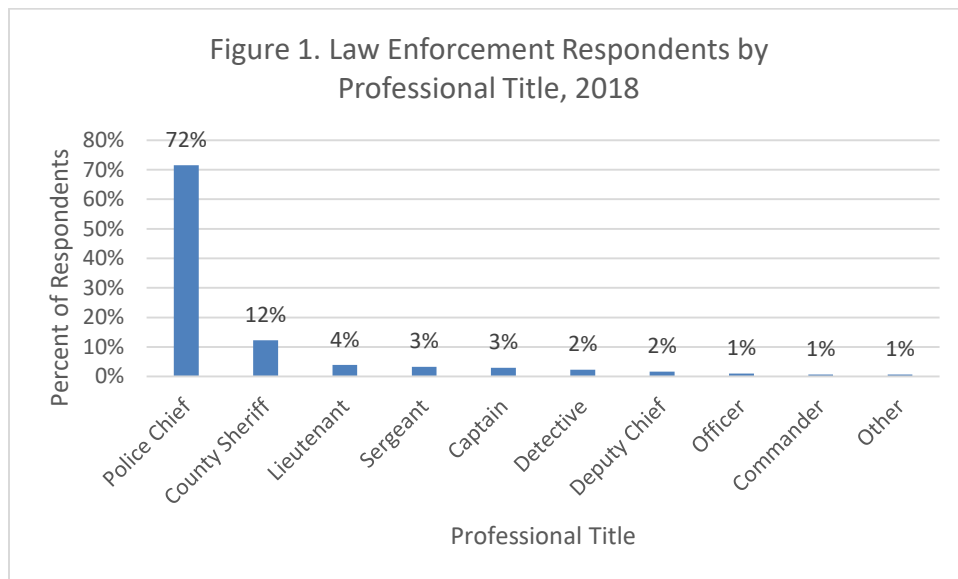
Another possible explanation is that law enforcement agencies report certain human trafficking incidents differently. When reporting incidents to the BCA, law enforcement agencies might not report all incidents, or they might report an incident under a crime category that is not counted as human trafficking. By contrast, when reporting incidents to the MNSAC, law enforcement agencies might report all labor trafficking and sex trafficking investigations regardless of the ultimate crime categorization for BCA reporting.

## Respondents

The following section provides a brief snapshot of the law enforcement agencies and service providers that completed the 2018 Human Trafficking Survey.

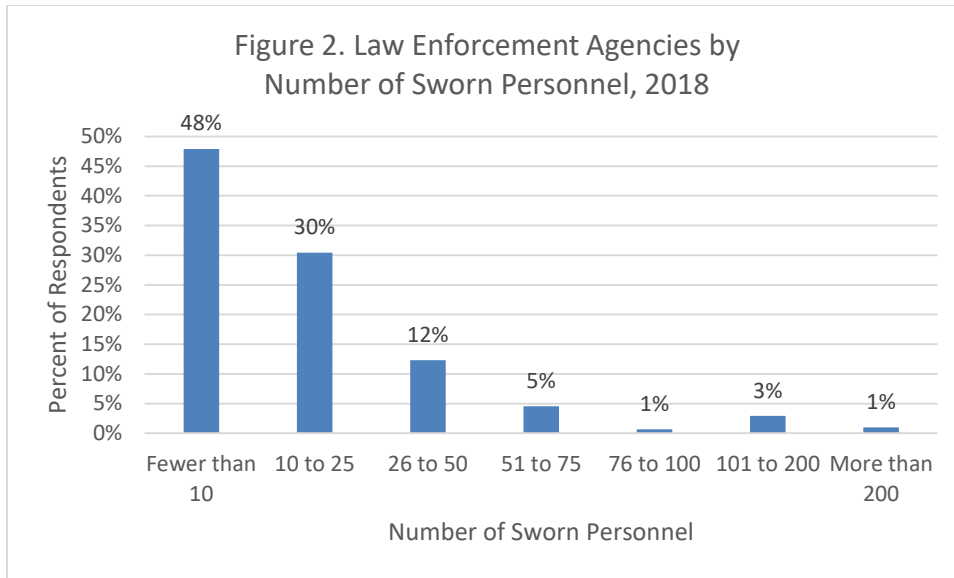
### Law Enforcement Agencies

Eighty-three percent of law enforcement agencies in Minnesota took the human trafficking survey. Figure 1 displays percentages of respondents by their professional title. Of those who responded, 72 percent were police chiefs and 12 percent were county sheriffs. Small percentages of respondents were lieutenants (4 percent), sergeants (3 percent), and captains (3 percent). Detectives (2 percent), deputy chiefs (2 percent), officers (1 percent), commanders (1 percent), and all others (1 percent) made up the remaining respondents.

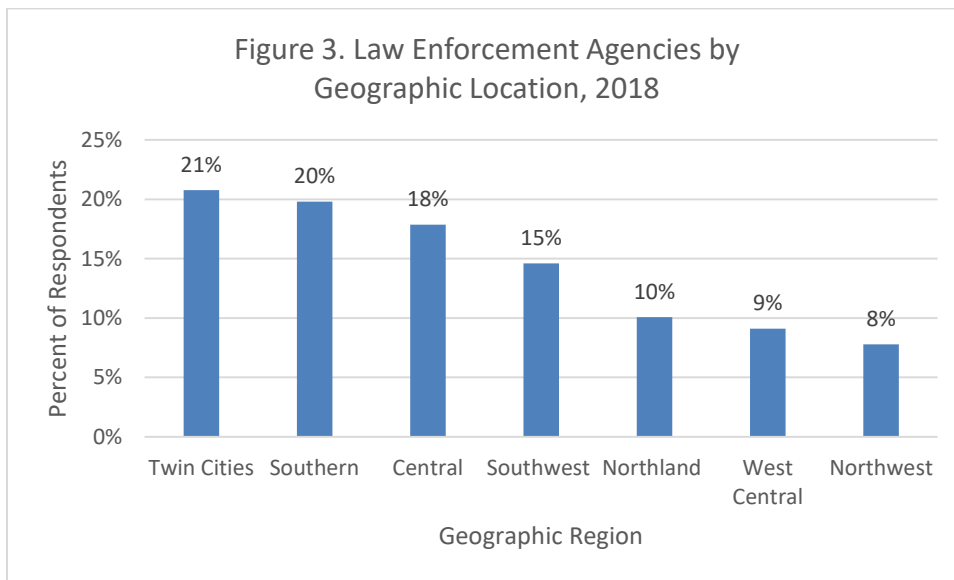


In terms of agency size, a range of law enforcement agencies was represented among respondents. Figure 2 shows the percentage of respondents by number of sworn personnel. Almost half the respondents (48 percent) are from agencies with fewer than 10 sworn personnel. Nearly one-third (30 percent) are from agencies with 10 to 25 personnel. Twelve percent of respondents have 26 to 50 personnel in their agencies, and 5 percent are from agencies with 51 to 75 personnel. A small percentage of respondents (3 percent) have 101 to 200 personnel at their agency, 1 percent have 76 to 100, and another 1 percent have over 200.





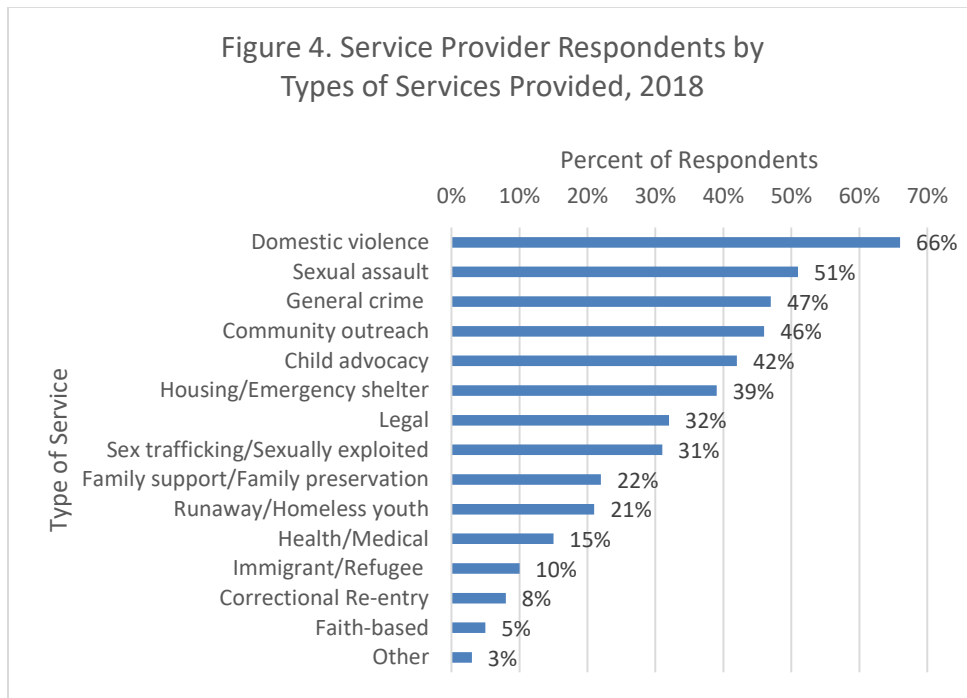
Law enforcement agencies across Minnesota completed the survey. Figure 3 presents the percentage of respondents by geographic region. Twenty-one percent of respondents are in the Twin Cities, and 20 percent are from the Southern region. Agencies from the Central region made up 18 percent of respondents, while the Southwest comprised 15 percent. Ten percent are in the Northland, while 9 percent are from West Central Minnesota. Agencies in the Southwest region were 8 percent of respondents.



### Service Providers

Of the service providers invited to participate in the human trafficking survey, 77 percent completed it. The survey asked service providers to indicate all the types of services they provide, and Figure 4 displays the results. A majority of respondents serve domestic violence victims (66 percent). Approximately half the respondents provide services to sexual assault victims (51 percent) and general crime victims (47 percent). Forty-six percent of respondents perform community outreach, and 42 percent provide child advocacy services. Those that provide housing

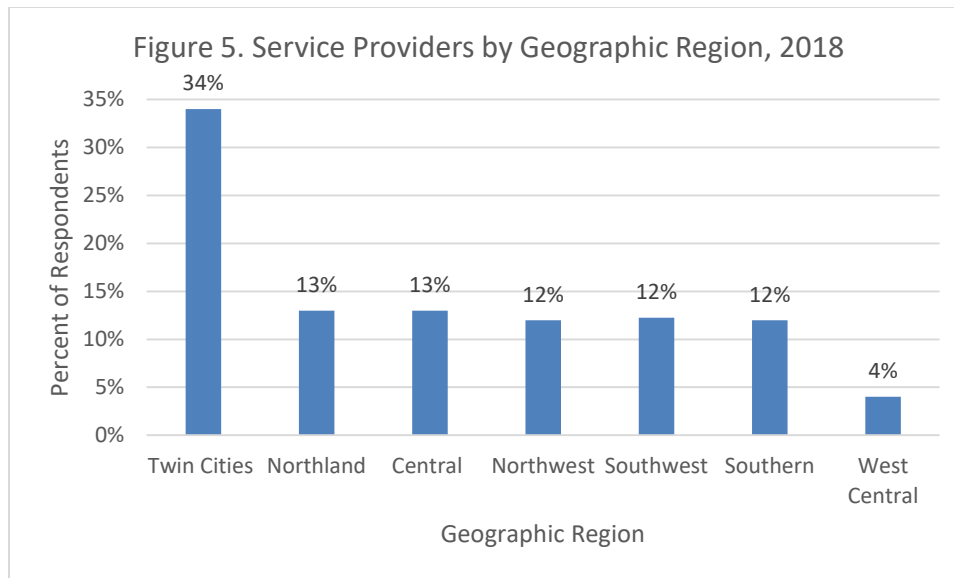
or emergency shelters made up 39 percent of respondents. Nearly one-third provide legal services (32 percent) or services to those who have been sex trafficked or sexually exploited (31 percent). Family support/family preservation providers comprised 22 percent of respondents, while providers serving runaways and homeless youth were 21 percent of respondents. Fifteen percent of respondents provide health care to at-risk populations, 10 percent assist immigrant and refugee communities, and 8 percent provide correctional re-entry services. Faith-based providers made up 5 percent of respondents.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because service providers could select multiple types of services.

Of the service provider respondents that provide trafficking-specific services, 17 percent have labor trafficking-specific services, and 43 percent provide sex trafficking-specific services.<sup>197</sup> Thirty-one percent of respondents received grant funds to serve human trafficking victims. This is an increase from 2016, when 22 percent of service providers received funding to serve human trafficking victims.

Each region in Minnesota was represented by the respondents, presented in Figure 5 below. A plurality (34 percent) of respondents are in the Twin Cities. Thirteen percent are in the Northland, and 13 percent are in Central Minnesota. Service providers in the Northwest, Southwest, and Southern regions each made up 12 percent of respondents. Four percent of respondents are located in West Central Minnesota.



## HUMAN TRAFFICKING TRAINING

Learning to identify and respond to human trafficking is vital to prevention and prosecution efforts. As mentioned, it is common for trafficking victims to interface with the public.<sup>198</sup> If those most likely to encounter victims lack knowledge of the crime and the ability to recognize when it occurs, it is impossible to provide proper victim services and hold traffickers accountable.

Training law enforcement officers is especially important because they are the “gatekeepers” to the criminal justice system.<sup>199</sup> Studies find that when officers receive human trafficking training, they are more likely to conduct investigations and make arrests.<sup>200</sup> Though the federal government prioritizes human trafficking prosecutions, it relies on local law enforcement agencies to be its “eyes and ears for recognizing, uncovering and responding to circumstances that might appear to be a routine street crime, but ultimately turn out to be a human trafficking case.”<sup>201</sup> Law enforcement officers are in the best position to identify human trafficking, but without awareness and knowledge of the crime, they cannot investigate it.<sup>202</sup> Consequently, without investigations, there are no arrests, prosecutions, or punishments.

Training service providers to identify and respond to human trafficking victims is also critical. Previous research suggests most victims are reluctant to self-identify, so it is important that service providers correctly identify victims. Under-identification or misidentification hinders victims’ ability to receive services, especially trafficking-specific services and trauma-informed care, and leave their traffickers.<sup>203</sup>

Lastly, human trafficking training is crucial to obtaining accurate counts of victims. A low number does not necessarily mean trafficking is not occurring or that it is not a problem. Rather, a low number likely indicates a lack of knowledge and awareness of the crime. If those most likely to come into contact with victims do not know how to identify human trafficking, it will go overlooked and underreported.

As Figure 6 below shows, 77 percent of law enforcement agencies in Minnesota reported that some proportion of their staffs are trained to identify and respond to human trafficking. Only 13 percent stated that no staff member has ever received human trafficking training. One-third (33 percent)

of agencies noted that one-quarter of their staff completed human trafficking training. Sixteen percent claimed half their staff is trained to identify and respond to human trafficking, and 14 percent said three-quarters of their staff is trained. There is a small percentage (14 percent) of agencies with all staff members trained to detect human trafficking. Ten percent of agencies did not know whether staff ever completed human trafficking training.

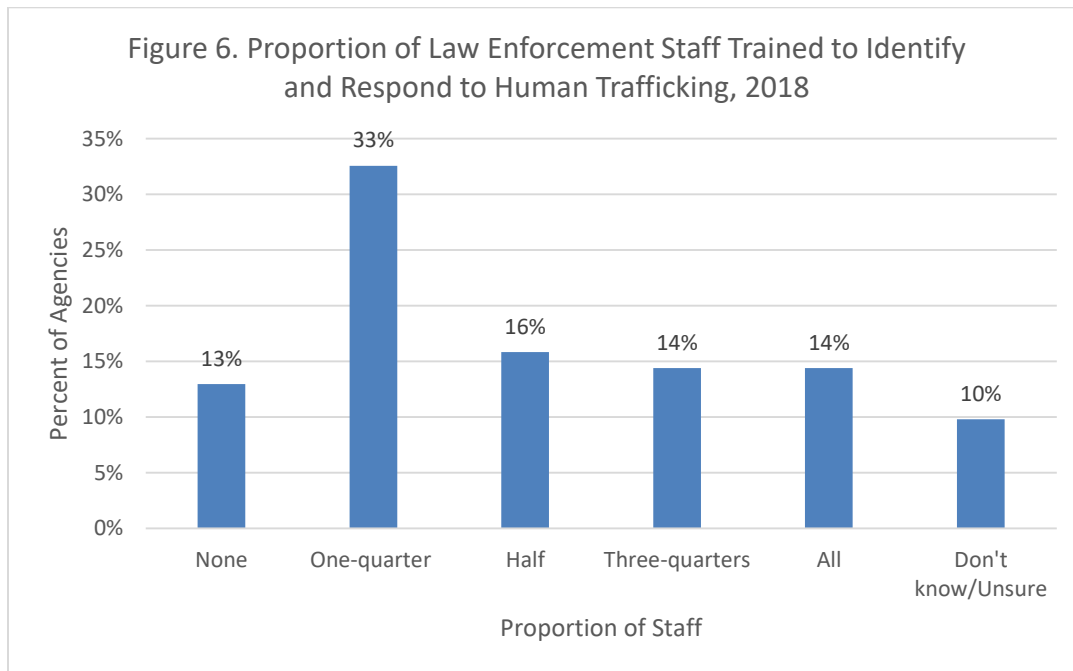


Table 1 presents how often and when various types of law enforcement staff received human trafficking training. With regard to command staff (e.g., chiefs, deputy chiefs, sheriffs, inspectors, commanders), a little over one-third (35 percent) receive training every two years. One-quarter (25 percent) are trained every year, and 6 percent complete training only at new recruit/academy training. Eleven percent of command staff never received human trafficking training, and one-quarter (25 percent) of agencies were not sure whether their command staff was trained.

There are similar patterns among supervisory staff (e.g., majors, captains, lieutenants, sergeants). Thirty-four percent are trained every two years, and 20 percent complete annual training. Five percent learn to identify and respond to human trafficking at new-recruit/academy training, and 13 percent receive no training. Twenty-nine percent of agencies did not know how frequently supervisory staff complete training.

It appears that slightly more line staff (e.g., officers, deputies, troopers) than command and supervisory staff participate in human trafficking training. Every two years, 37 percent of line staffs undergo training, and 21 percent complete annual training. Thirteen percent receive training at new recruit/academy training, and 6 percent are not trained. Twenty-four percent of agencies were not sure how often line staff complete training.

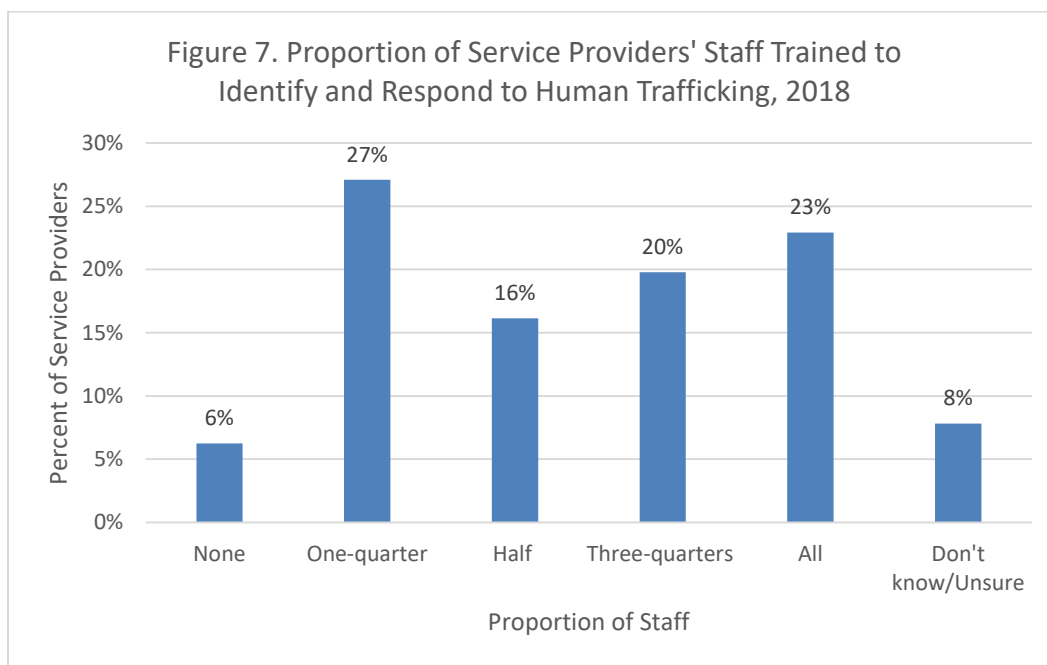
Training among civilian/administrative staff is rare. A little over half (56 percent) never go through human trafficking training, and a little over one-third (35 percent) of agencies did not know whether their civilian/administrative staff was trained. Two percent are trained at new

recruit/academy training, 3 percent are trained every year, and 6 percent complete training every two years.

**Table 1. Frequency of Human Trafficking Training Received by Law Enforcement Staff, 2018**

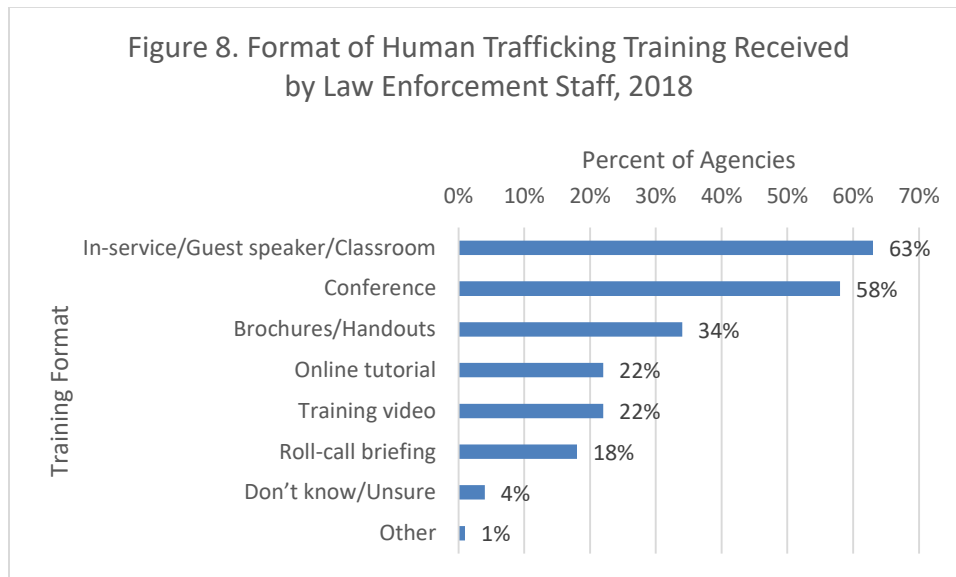
	New recruit/ Academy training	Once a Year	Every 2 Years	Never	Don't know/ Unsure
Command Staff	6%	25%	35%	11%	25%
Supervisory Staff	5%	20%	34%	13%	29%
Line Staff	13%	21%	37%	6%	24%
Civilian/Administrative Staff	2%	3%	6%	56%	35%

Patterns in human trafficking training among service providers' staff track similarly to training among law enforcement staff. Figure 7 displays the proportion of service providers' staff trained to identify and respond to human trafficking. Only 6 percent of service providers did not have any staff members trained to respond to human trafficking. Twenty-seven percent reported that one-quarter of their staff receive training, and 16 percent noted half the staff is trained. Twenty percent of service providers disclosed that three-quarters of their staff completed human trafficking training, and 23 percent said everyone in their agency is trained on how to identify and respond to trafficking. Only 8 percent of service providers did not know the details of training.



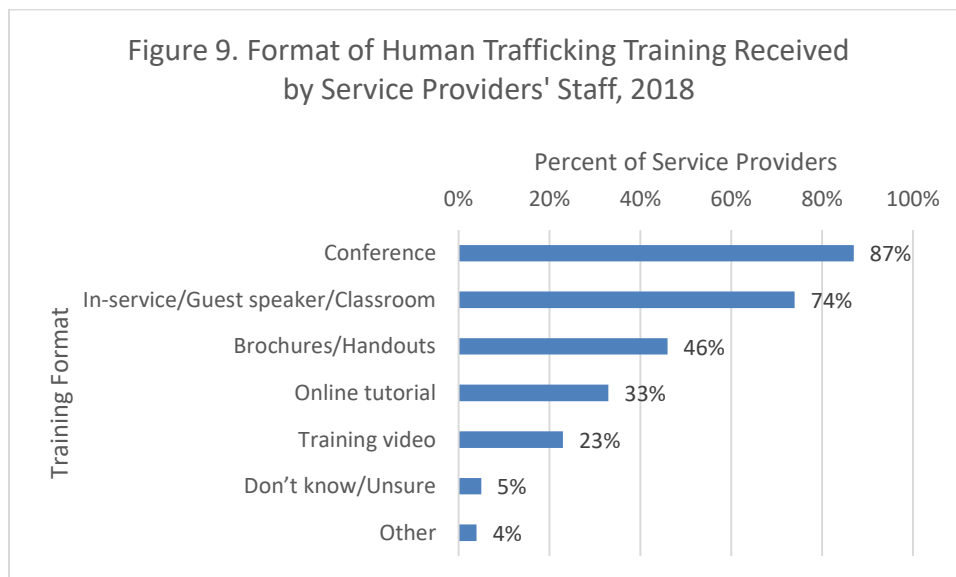
Regarding the ways in which law enforcement agencies were trained to identify and respond to human trafficking victims, Figure 8 shows the formats by which training was received. The most popular type of training was an in-service/guest speaker/classroom training. Sixty-three percent of agencies reported using this method. Regional and national conferences were also popular ways to learn about human trafficking, used by 58 percent of agencies. About one-third (34 percent) of

agencies used brochures and handouts, and 22 percent used online tutorials or training videos. Roll-call briefings were the least popular training method; 18 percent of agencies used this format.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because agencies could select multiple formats.

In-service/guest speaker/classroom training and regional and national conferences were also popular training tools among service providers, shown in Figure 9 below. Nearly three-quarters (74 percent) of service providers drew on the former to train their staffs, and almost all (87 percent) relied on conferences. Forty-six percent of service providers used brochures and handouts, and one-third (33 percent) used online tutorials. Training videos were also fairly popular, used by 23 percent of service providers.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because service providers could select multiple formats.

Although the overwhelming majority (77 percent) of law enforcement agencies reported that some proportion of its staff completed human trafficking training, Table 2 suggests respondents are

unsure of their ability to identify victims and investigate the crime. Although 60 percent of the agencies strongly agreed or agreed their agency can confidently explain human trafficking issues, 30 percent were in the middle – neither agreeing nor disagreeing. Only 9 percent said they cannot explain general issues related to human trafficking.

In terms of identifying human trafficking victims, 37 percent of agencies were confident in their ability to do so. However, 44 percent appear hesitant – 42 percent neither agree nor disagree that it is difficult to identify victims, and 2 percent were undecided. Eighteen percent of agencies expressed difficulty with identifying human trafficking victims.

Almost half (48 percent) the agencies said they know how to properly investigate human trafficking cases, while 17 percent do not know how to conduct investigations. One-third (33 percent) neither agreed nor disagreed and 2 percent were undecided.

**Table 2. Law Enforcement Agencies’ Agreement with Statements on Identifying and Responding to Human Trafficking, 2018**

	Strongly agree/ Agree	Strongly disagree/ Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Undecided
My agency can confidently explain general issues related to human trafficking.	60%	9%	30%	1%
It is difficult for my agency to identify human trafficking victims.	18%	37%	42%	2%
My agency knows how to properly investigate human trafficking cases.	48%	17%	33%	2%

Service providers appear more confident than law enforcement agencies in their ability to respond to human trafficking victims, based on Table 3 below. The proportion of those that were undecided or neither agreed nor disagreed with the statements on identifying and responding to human trafficking was much lower.

Seventy-nine percent of service providers strongly agreed or agreed that they can confidently explain general issues related to human trafficking. Only 12 percent were undecided or neither agreed nor disagreed, and 11 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed. The majority (54 percent) was confident in their ability to identify human trafficking victims, but 21 percent found that difficult. Twenty-one percent neither agreed nor disagreed, and 4 percent were undecided.

Although the majority (60 percent) of service providers thought they could confidently respond to human trafficking victims, 19 percent said they could not. Twenty-two percent neither agreed nor disagreed or were undecided.

**Table 3. Service Providers’ Agreement with Statements on Identifying and Responding to Human Trafficking, 2018**

	Strongly agree/ Agree	Strongly disagree/ Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Undecided
My agency can confidently explain general issues related to human trafficking.	79%	11%	10%	2%
It is difficult for my agency to identify human trafficking victims.	21%	54%	21%	4%
My agency can confidently explain how to properly respond to human trafficking victims.	60%	19%	20%	2%

It is important to understand that identifying human trafficking victims is difficult. As mentioned, trafficking is a hidden crime, and traffickers and victims work hard to avoid detection.<sup>204</sup> Thus, it is not surprising to discover that a sizeable proportion of law enforcement agencies and service providers lack confidence in their ability to deal with human trafficking.

There are several barriers to identifying human trafficking victims. For one, victims often avoid self-identifying and try to stay hidden. They do so largely out of fear – fear of their traffickers, law enforcement, arrest and criminalization, detention and deportation, retaliation, and harm to family and friends.<sup>205</sup> Or, some victims may not think they are victims, or they refuse to admit it because they are embarrassed or blame themselves for their situation.<sup>206</sup> Another reason why victims typically do not come forward is related to a lack of education and awareness – they do not know their rights, that trafficking is a crime, or that alternatives and services are available.<sup>207</sup> Victims may also sympathize with their trafficker due to trauma and trauma bonds, and this prevents them from self-identifying.<sup>208</sup>

Human trafficking is a complicated crime, and that in and of itself makes it difficult to identify victims and easy to misidentify them. Sometimes trafficking victims are mistaken for victims of intimate partner violence, rape, or sexual assault. Or worse, victims are not identified as victims and instead misidentified as prostitutes or undocumented immigrants and treated as criminals.<sup>209</sup>

Other times, victims are not perceived as victims. This can occur when there is confusion about the definition of trafficking. When it is incorrectly believed that trafficking requires movement or physical captivity, victims who are not moved or physically restrained are not considered victims.<sup>210</sup> The perception that victims are not really victims can also occur when there is a failure to recognize that anyone can be a trafficking victim. Oftentimes, men and boys who are sex trafficking victims are overlooked, and trafficking victims who are U.S. citizens are similarly dismissed.<sup>211</sup>

Sometimes victims are not considered victims if they are not “ideal” or “pure.”<sup>212</sup> Women and girls, sex trafficking victims, and those who are rescued from their traffickers, not those who escape, tend to be deemed “ideal.”<sup>213</sup> “Ideal” victims are also credible victims, and victims’ credibility is called into question if they are undocumented, engage in substance use, or do not cooperate with investigations.<sup>214</sup>



## HUMAN TRAFFICKING PERCEPTIONS IN MINNESOTA

The following section turns to law enforcement agencies' and service providers' perceptions of human trafficking in Minnesota. It examines challenges law enforcement agencies face when investigating the crime. It also sheds light on the barriers service providers confront when serving human trafficking victims.

### Law Enforcement Agencies

Human trafficking identification and investigation are correlated with training as well as law enforcement officials' perceptions of the crime. Researchers find that officers who think human trafficking is rare are less likely than those who do not to investigate the crime or make arrests.<sup>215</sup> A low number of investigations and arrests then leads officers to believe human trafficking is not a problem, producing a self-fulfilling cycle of inaction.

Law enforcement agencies in Minnesota, however, take human trafficking seriously. As Table 4 shows, a majority of respondents claimed that investigating labor trafficking and sex trafficking was important to their agencies. Sixty-two percent strongly agreed or agreed that investigating labor trafficking was important, and 86 percent strongly agreed or agreed it was important to investigate sex trafficking.

There was, however, a gap between law enforcement agencies' attitudes on human trafficking and the resources to fight it. Most said they lack the resources to conduct a proper investigation. Only a little over one-third (35 percent) of the agencies have time to investigate human trafficking, and only one-quarter (24 percent) have the resources to run a proper investigation. Conversely, 39 percent of agencies lack time and 51 percent lack resources to properly investigate human trafficking. Approximately one-quarter neither agreed nor disagreed or were undecided on these topics.

These results align with nationwide research on the topic. Scholars find a lack of time and resources is a major barrier to human trafficking identification and investigation. Even if law enforcement agencies believe trafficking is a problem, inadequate resources significantly hinder their ability to identify victims and launch investigations.<sup>216</sup> A shortage of staff to investigate the crime and interview victims, in addition to a lack of resources for training and technical assistance, impairs investigation efforts.<sup>217</sup>

Though law enforcement agencies in Minnesota felt ill-equipped to properly investigate human trafficking, they expressed confidence in helping victims. Seventy-seven percent of law enforcement agencies know whom to contact for victim assistance. This is perhaps a testament to the effectiveness of human trafficking training as well as the collaborations and connections between law enforcement agencies and service providers.

**Table 4. Law Enforcement Agencies' Agreement with Statements on Efforts to Stop and Prevent Human Trafficking, 2018**

	Strongly agree/ Agree	Strongly disagree/ Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Undecided
Investigating labor trafficking is important to my agency.	62%	9%	27%	1%
Investigating sex trafficking is important to my agency.	86%	4%	10%	1%
My agency has the time to properly investigate human trafficking.	35%	39%	25%	1%
My agency has the resources to properly investigate human trafficking.	24%	51%	23%	2%
My agency knows whom to contact for human trafficking victim assistance.	77%	10%	13%	0%

Empirical evidence demonstrates the importance of resources to human trafficking investigations. Researchers find that agencies with trained staffs, protocols to guide investigations, policies on how to respond to trafficking, and specialized investigation units are more likely than those without to conduct investigations and make arrests.<sup>218</sup>

In Minnesota, 17 percent of law enforcement agencies have formal written procedures, protocols, or policies on how to properly identify and respond to human trafficking cases. Three-quarters (75 percent) do not, and 8 percent of agencies do not know whether their agency has any procedures in place.

Figure 10 presents the percentage of law enforcement agencies with designated human trafficking investigation units, groups, or officers from 2014 to 2018. Though investigation personnel increased since 2014, they remain rare. In 2014, 15 percent of law enforcement agencies had a designated officer or unit responsible for investigating human trafficking. That percentage increased to 28 percent in 2016 and remained the same in 2018.

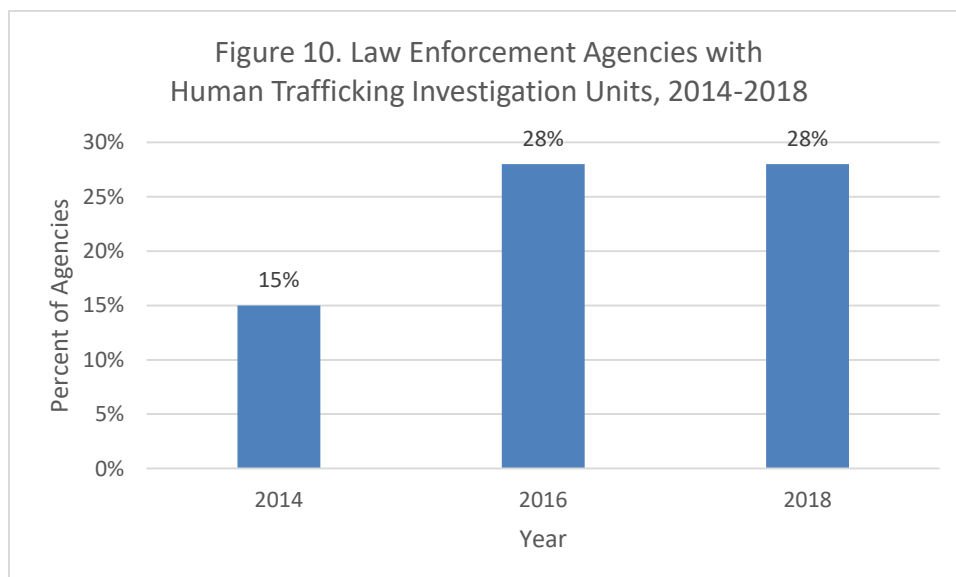


Table 5 displays the percentage of human trafficking investigation units that were full-time and part-time from 2014 to 2018. In 2014, 5 percent of units were full-time, and 7 percent were part-time. That percentage increased slightly in 2016, when 6 percent of the human trafficking investigation units were full-time and 11 percent were part-time. By 2018, among agencies with designated human trafficking investigation personnel, there was a substantial growth in full-time and part-time units. Approximately one-quarter (24 percent) was full-time, and two-thirds (66 percent) were part-time.

**Table 5. Full-Time and Part-Time Human Trafficking Investigation Units, 2014-2018**

	2014	2016	2018
Full-Time Unit	5%	6%	24%
Part-Time Unit	7%	11%	66%

With respect to the type of trafficking investigated, Table 6 compares the percentage of agencies with designated investigation units that investigate labor trafficking, sex trafficking, and labor and sex trafficking in 2016 and 2018. In 2016, there was no investigation unit dedicated to labor trafficking investigations. By contrast, 63 percent of investigation units focused on sex trafficking, and 36 percent investigated both labor and sex trafficking. In 2018, 1 percent of investigation units concentrated on labor trafficking investigations, and 42 percent were dedicated to sex trafficking investigations. While the percentage of designated units centering on sex trafficking investigations decreased from 2016 to 2018, the percent focused on both labor and sex trafficking increased. In 2018, nearly half (45 percent) of investigation units investigated both labor and sex trafficking.

**Table 6. Human Trafficking Investigation Units by Type of Trafficking Investigated, 2016-2018**

	2016	2018
Labor Trafficking	0%	1%
Sex Trafficking	63%	42%
Labor and Sex Trafficking	36%	45%

### Service Providers

Human trafficking studies suggest service providers face a variety of challenges when serving victims. Due to the nature of the crime, human trafficking victims have unique needs compared to other types of crime victims.<sup>219</sup> Because they are isolated and completely dependent upon their trafficker, victims have nothing but the clothes they are wearing when they leave.<sup>220</sup> Consequently, they are in immediate need of housing, food, transportation, medical care and safety for themselves, family and friends.<sup>221</sup> Other needs include trauma-informed care, substance abuse treatment and immigration assistance.<sup>222</sup>

Table 7 displays service providers' agreement or disagreement with statements on various barriers to serving human trafficking victims in Minnesota. Forty percent of service providers strongly agreed or agreed it is difficult to locate victims, while 27 percent strongly disagreed or disagreed. Thirty percent did not agree or disagree, and 4 percent were undecided.

Approximately one-third (34 percent) of service providers reported that a lack of support and coordination among local, state, and federal agencies was a challenge they face when serving human trafficking victims. A smaller percentage, 26 percent, thought a lack of support and coordination among service providers in Minnesota was a barrier to victim services. Five percent and 3 percent, respectively, were undecided, and about one-third neither agreed nor disagreed.

A lack of resources and trafficking-specific services available to human trafficking victims is common, and research suggests the demand for services often exceeds its supply.<sup>223</sup> Indeed, in Minnesota, as mentioned in prior sections, only 17 percent of service providers provide labor trafficking-specific services, and 43 percent have sex trafficking-specific services. In a similar vein, as the table below shows, 53 percent of service providers reported that a lack of funding and resources was a barrier to serving human trafficking victims. However, 18 percent thought they had sufficient funding and resources to serve victims. Thirty percent were either undecided or neither agreed nor disagreed.

As discussed in previous sections, 86 percent of service providers claimed some proportion of its staff completed human trafficking training. However, 34 percent reported that a lack of training and information was a challenge they face when serving victims. By contrast, nearly half (47 percent) did not think a lack of training was a barrier to victim services. Eighteen percent did not agree or disagree, and 1 percent was undecided.

According to existing research, language and cultural barriers are often challenges to serving human trafficking victims.<sup>224</sup> However, only 20 percent of service providers in Minnesota said language barriers made it difficult to serve victims, and 30 percent reported that the absence of culturally specific services was an obstacle to victim services. Approximately half did not think language or culture were barriers to serving human trafficking victims. A little over one-quarter (29 percent and 28 percent respectively) neither agreed nor disagreed or were undecided.

**Table 7. Service Providers' Agreement with Statements on Challenges Faced when Serving Human Trafficking Victims, 2018**

	Strongly agree/ Agree	Strongly disagree/ Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Undecided
It is difficult for my agency to locate victims.	40%	27%	30%	4%
There is a lack of support/coordination among local, state, and federal agencies.	34%	28%	33%	5%
There is a lack of support/coordination between my agency and other state service providers.	26%	40%	32%	3%
My agency lacks funding/resources.	53%	18%	27%	3%
My agency lacks human trafficking training/information.	34%	47%	18%	1%
Language barriers make it difficult for my agency to serve victims.	20%	50%	27%	2%
A lack of culturally-specific services makes it difficult for my agency to serve victims.	30%	43%	26%	2%

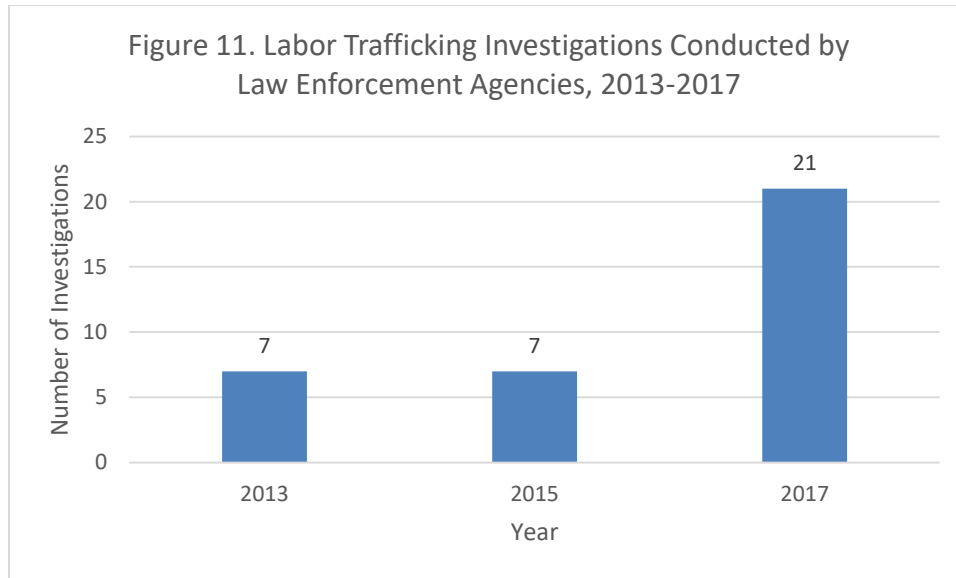
## HUMAN TRAFFICKING PREVALENCE IN MINNESOTA

The next section examines the prevalence of human trafficking in Minnesota in 2017. It provides estimates of the number of labor trafficking and sex trafficking victims and discusses the geographic region of Minnesota in which they were identified, their demographic characteristics, and the sectors and venues in which they were trafficked.

### Labor Trafficking Victims

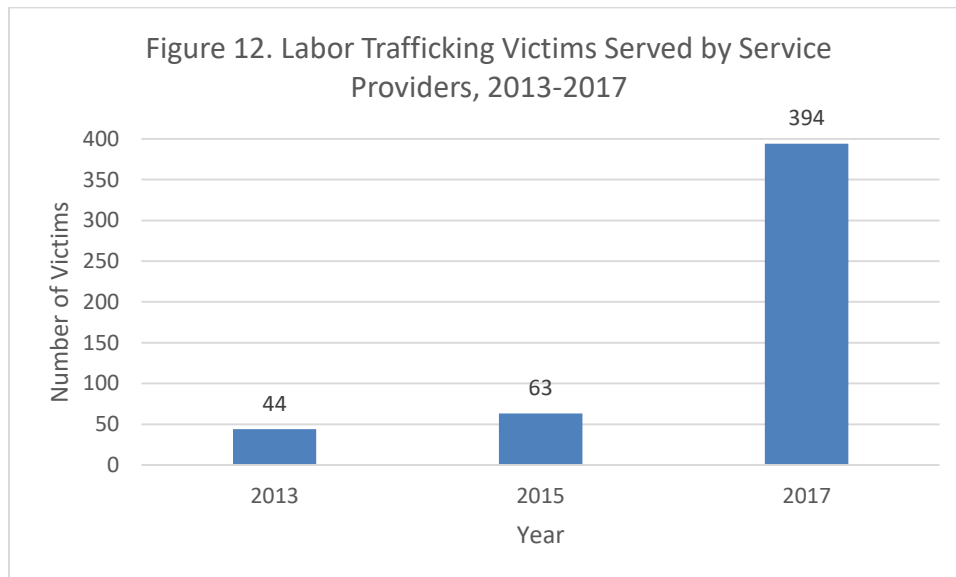
According to the BCA's UCR, law enforcement agencies reported no labor trafficking incidents in 2017. There were no incidents reported in 2015 or 2016.

However, human trafficking survey results reveal that in 2017, law enforcement agencies identified 21 victims of labor trafficking.<sup>225</sup> Figure 11 presents the number of labor trafficking investigations conducted by law enforcement agencies from 2013 to 2017. Prior human trafficking surveys found that in 2013 and 2015, law enforcement conducted seven labor trafficking investigations. That number rose to 21 in 2017.



Service providers witnessed a similar uptick in labor trafficking victims, shown in Figure 12 below. In 2013, service providers served 44 labor trafficking victims. The number increased to 63 in 2015 and sharply rose to 394 in 2017.

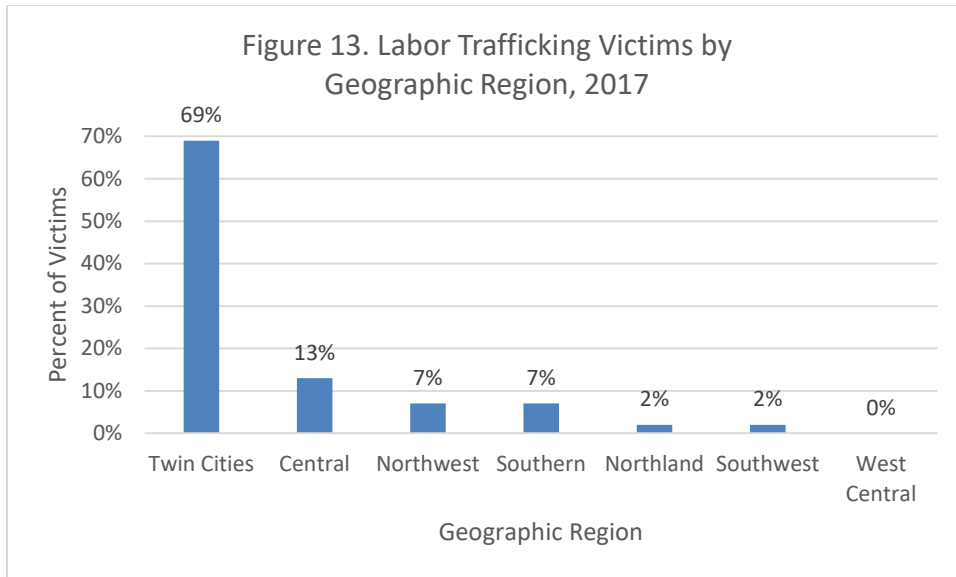
More awareness, education and training likely account for the rise in labor trafficking victims identified by both law enforcement agencies and service providers. Increasing numbers of labor trafficking victims may not reflect an increase in labor trafficking. Since 2013, as discussed, there has been a growth in the number of human trafficking investigation units and more attention paid to labor trafficking in particular.



### Geographic Region

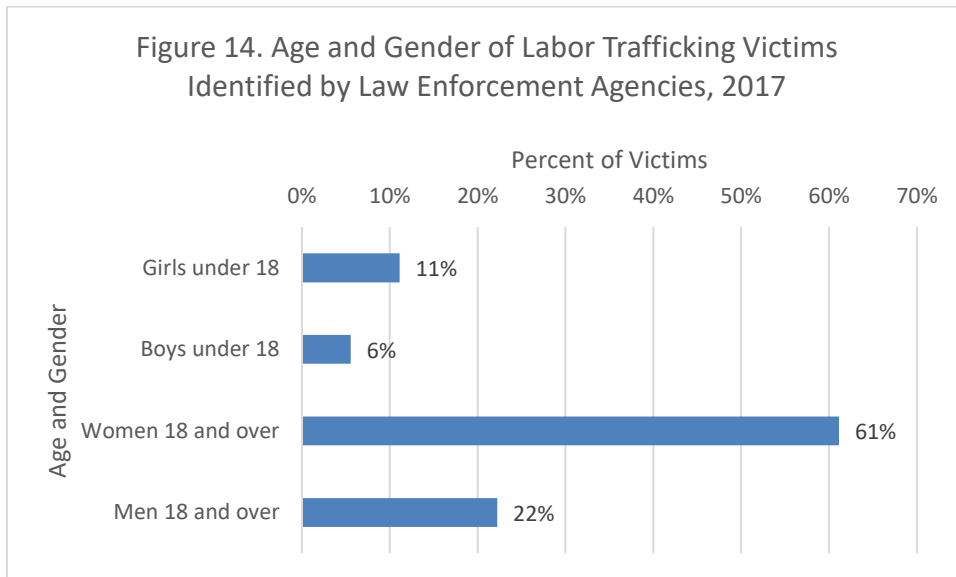
Turning to the geographic region in which law enforcement agencies and service providers identified labor trafficking victims, Figure 13 shows a majority of victims (69 percent) were identified in the Twin Cities. Thirteen percent were identified in Central Minnesota, and 7 percent in the Northwest and Southern regions. Law enforcement agencies and service providers identified

very small percentages (2 percent) of victims in the Northland and Southwest. They detected no labor trafficking victims in West Central Minnesota.

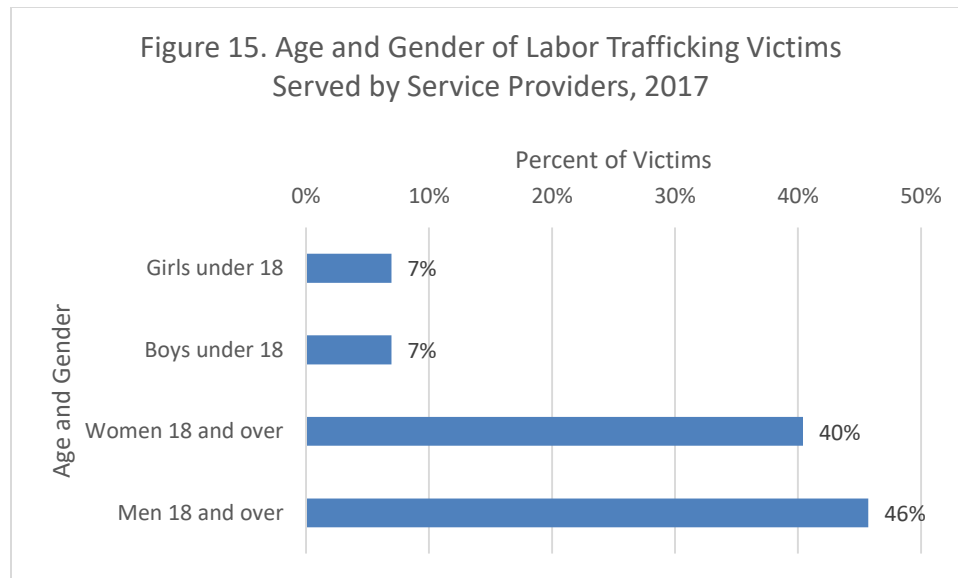


#### Demographics of Labor Trafficking Victims

Figure 14 displays the percentage of labor trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies by age and gender. A majority (61 percent) of labor trafficking victims were women. By contrast, 22 percent of labor trafficking victims were men. Children made up a small percentage of victims; girls were 11 percent and boys were 6 percent of labor trafficking victims.



There was less of a gender disparity among labor trafficking victims served by service providers. Figure 15 presents the percentage of victims who were women, men, girls, and boys. Forty-six percent of victims were women, and 40 percent were men. Girls and boys were each 7 percent of victims served.



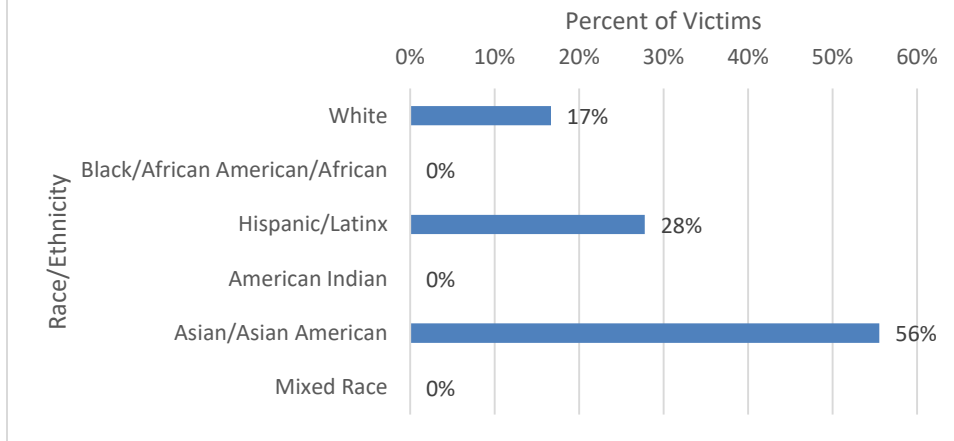
Some explanations for the demographic difference in results could be a lack of public support for labor trafficking investigations and gender and xenophobic biases. Existing research suggests law enforcement officers may be reluctant to prioritize human trafficking and allocate resources for its investigation when there is a lack of public support.<sup>226</sup> Scholars find they reserve their investigations for the most egregious cases – those involving sex trafficking and/or minors because there is widespread support for their investigation.<sup>227</sup>

Because labor trafficking usually involves undocumented immigrants, adults, and men, previous research finds that since there is little public support for its investigation, law enforcement agencies are reluctant to prioritize labor trafficking investigations.<sup>228</sup> Based on this research, it is possible that law enforcement agencies in Minnesota identified more female victims than did service providers because they were more likely to overlook and less likely to investigate labor trafficking cases when they involved male victims. Indeed, as mentioned, although 86 percent of law enforcement agencies agreed it was important to pursue sex trafficking cases, only 62 percent thought it was important to investigate labor trafficking.

Turning to other characteristics of labor trafficking victims, Figure 16 shows the percentage of victims identified by law enforcement agencies by race and ethnicity. A little over half (56 percent) were Asian or Asian-American, while 28 percent were Hispanic/Latinx. Seventeen percent of labor trafficking victims were white. Law enforcement agencies did not identify any victims who were black or African-American or African, American Indian, or mixed race.

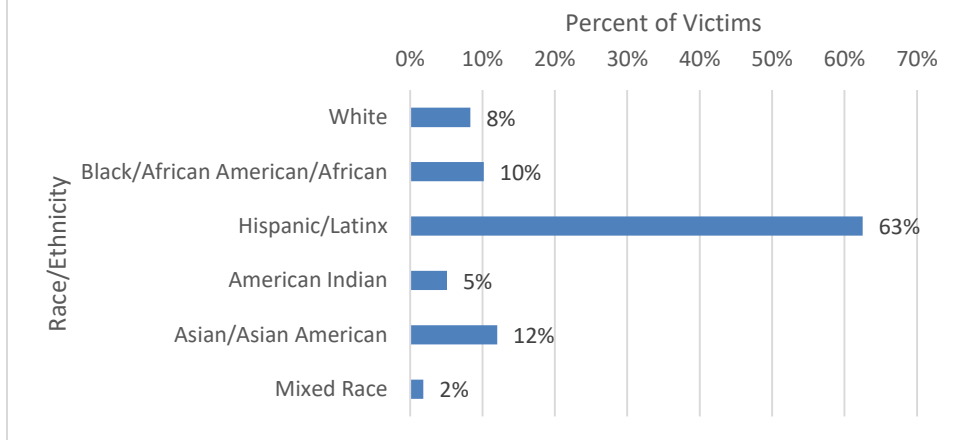


Figure 16. Race and Ethnicity of Labor Trafficking Victims Identified by Law Enforcement Agencies, 2017



A different pattern emerges when examining the race and ethnicity of labor trafficking victims served by service providers in Figure 17 below. Here, a majority (63 percent) of victims were Hispanic/Latinx. Only 12 percent were Asian or Asian-American, and 10 percent were black or African-American or African. A small percentage (8 percent) was white. American Indians made up 5 percent of victims served, and 2 percent were of mixed race.

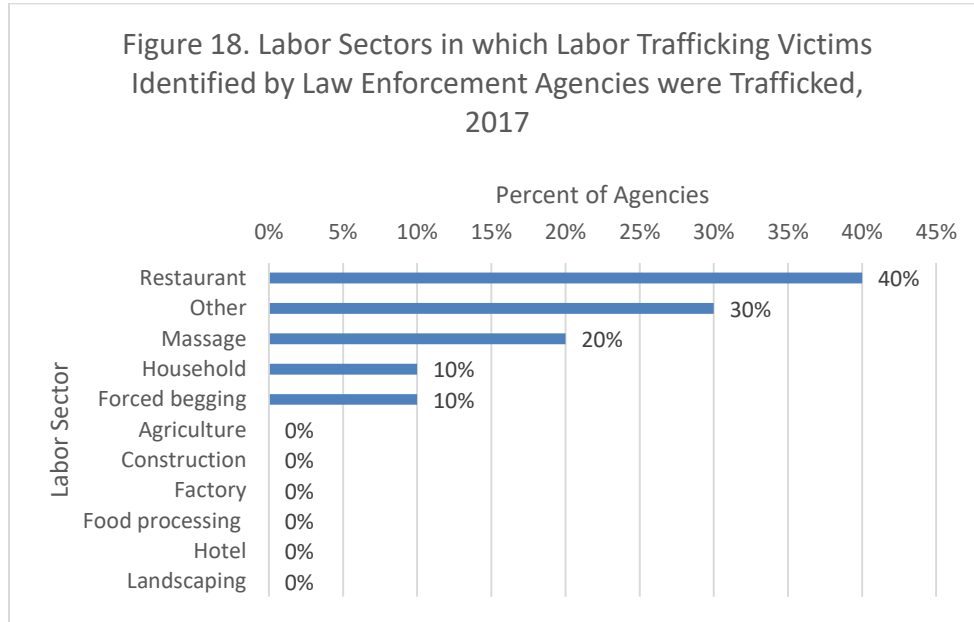
Figure 17. Race and Ethnicity of Labor Trafficking Victims Served by Service Providers, 2017



### Labor Trafficking Sector

Scholars find that labor trafficking occurs in a variety of labor sectors. Some are legal and legitimate, such as agriculture, construction, food service, and hospitality. When labor trafficking occurs in legitimate labor industries, it is especially difficult to detect.<sup>229</sup> Other labor sectors in which victims are trafficked are illegal and include engaging in criminal activities like theft, forced begging, and drug trafficking. Labor trafficking in illegal industries is also difficult to detect, because victims are often mistaken for criminals.<sup>230</sup>

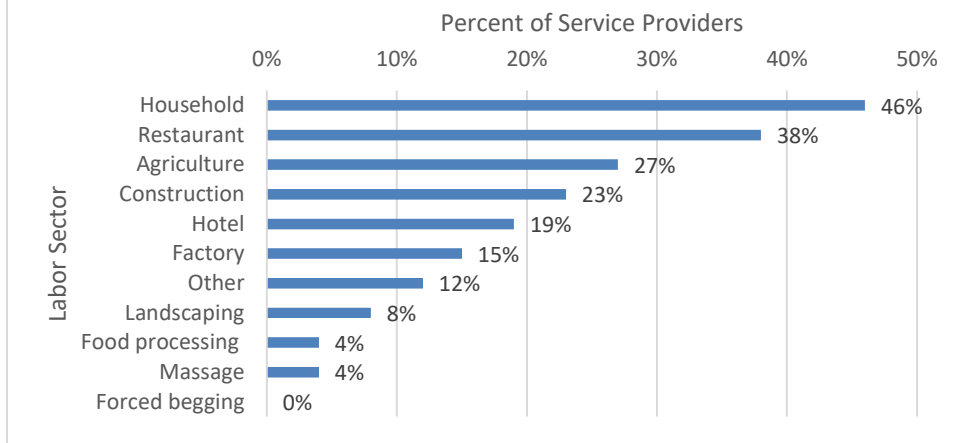
Figure 18 reveals the labor sectors in which labor trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies in Minnesota were trafficked. Of those that conducted labor trafficking investigations, 40 percent of respondents reported trafficking in restaurants. Massage parlors were also popular venues for trafficking, noted by 20 percent. Ten percent reported instances of household work (e.g., housekeeping, nanny) and forced begging.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because agencies could select multiple labor sectors.

Service providers served labor trafficking victims who were trafficked in a wide range of sectors, illustrated by Figure 19 below. Of those who served labor trafficking victims, nearly half (46 percent) served victims trafficked in households (e.g., housekeeping, nanny). A substantial percentage, 38 percent, of respondents noted trafficking in restaurants. The agriculture and construction industries were also popular labor sectors (27 percent and 23 percent respectively). Nineteen percent of respondents provided services to victims trafficked in hotels (e.g., housekeeping, laundry), and 15 percent reported trafficking in factories. Landscaping (8 percent), food processing (4 percent), and massage parlors (4 percent) were less common venues.

Figure 19. Labor Sectors in which Labor Trafficking Victims Served by Service Providers were Trafficked, 2017



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because service providers could select multiple labor sectors.

### Sex Trafficking Victims

According to the BCA’s UCR, law enforcement agencies reported 173 sex trafficking incidents in 2017. This is a decrease from 235 in 2016. Law enforcement agencies in Minnesota reported 119 incidents in 2015.

Table 8 presents demographic information on sex trafficking victims and offenders from 2015 to 2017 from the UCR. In 2017, demographic information on over half the victims was unknown. Gender was unknown among 56 percent of victims, and race was unknown among 61 percent of victims. Law enforcement agencies did not know the age of 57 percent of victims.

Demographic information on sex trafficking victims is largely unknown because of the ways in which many law enforcement agencies conduct investigations. Some sex trafficking cases involve law enforcement officers posing as juveniles under the age of 18 online. When an offender agrees to a commercial sex act, a meeting is set up, and upon arrival, the offender is arrested. Even though these types of cases do not involve a victim per se, the FBI still requires law enforcement agencies to report any victim information as “unknown.” As such, the MNSAC administers the human trafficking survey in an effort to collect more accurate data on sex trafficking victims.

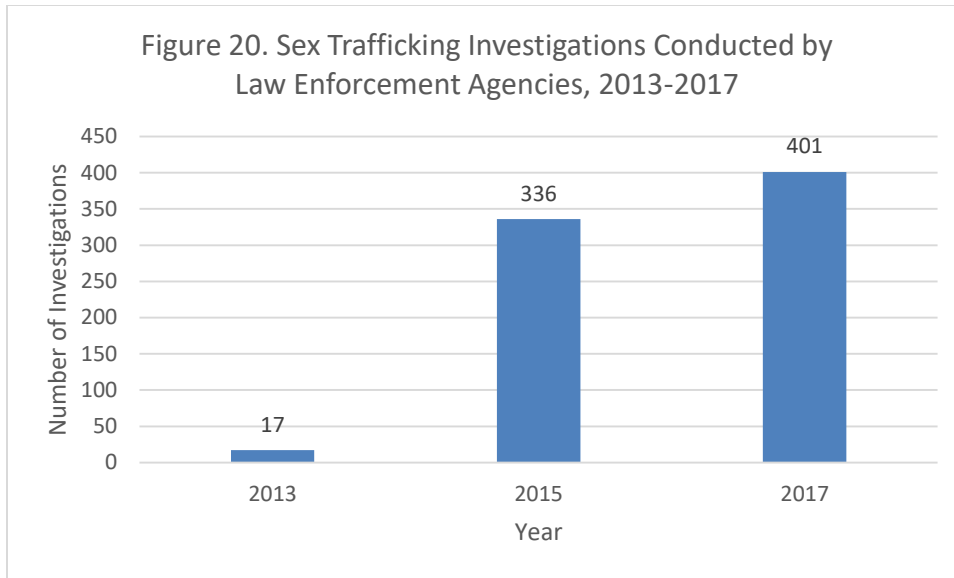
With regard to sex trafficking offenders in 2017, almost all (88 percent) were males, and nearly half (45 percent) were white. Fifty-one percent of offenders were between the ages of 18 and 35.

**Table 8. UCRs of Human Trafficking Victims and Offenders – Commercial Sex Acts, 2015-2017**

Victims	2015	2016	2017	Offenders	2015	2016	2017
<b>Gender</b>				<b>Gender</b>			
Female	63	77	67	Female	5	13	11
Male	6	4	5	Male	75	217	144
Unknown	26	149	93	Unknown	5	3	9
<b>Race</b>				<b>Race</b>			
White	35	23	34	White	37	121	73
Black/African-American	17	24	19	Black/African-American	33	55	35
Asian/Asian-American	2	8	11	Asian/Asian-American	1	22	22
American Indian/Alaska Native	5	1	0	American Indian/Alaska Native	2	1	2
Pacific Islander	0	1	0	Pacific Islander	0	2	1
Unknown	36	173	101	Unknown	12	32	31
<b>Age<sup>231</sup></b>				<b>Age</b>			
Under 18	30	44	28	Under 18	1	3	4
18 to 35	32	29	35	18 to 35	32	114	84
35 to 50	4	5	7	35 to 50	26	70	52
Over 50	0	1	1	Over 50	14	38	12
Unknown	29	151	94	Unknown	12	8	12
<b>Total Victims</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>Total Offenders</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>233</b>	<b>164</b>

Results from the human trafficking survey reveal that in 2017, law enforcement agencies identified 401 sex trafficking victims.<sup>232</sup> The number of sex trafficking victims has steadily increased since 2013 according to prior human trafficking surveys. Figure 20 shows the number of sex trafficking investigations conducted by law enforcement agencies from 2013 to 2017.

In 2013, law enforcement agencies conducted 17 sex trafficking investigations. The number jumped to 336 investigations in 2015, and increased to 401 investigations in 2017.



Similarly, the number of sex trafficking victims served by service providers grew from 2013 to 2017, illustrated by Figure 21. In 2013, service providers served 352 victims. Two years later, the number of victims served had risen more than three-fold to 1,319. In 2017, service providers helped 2,124 victims.

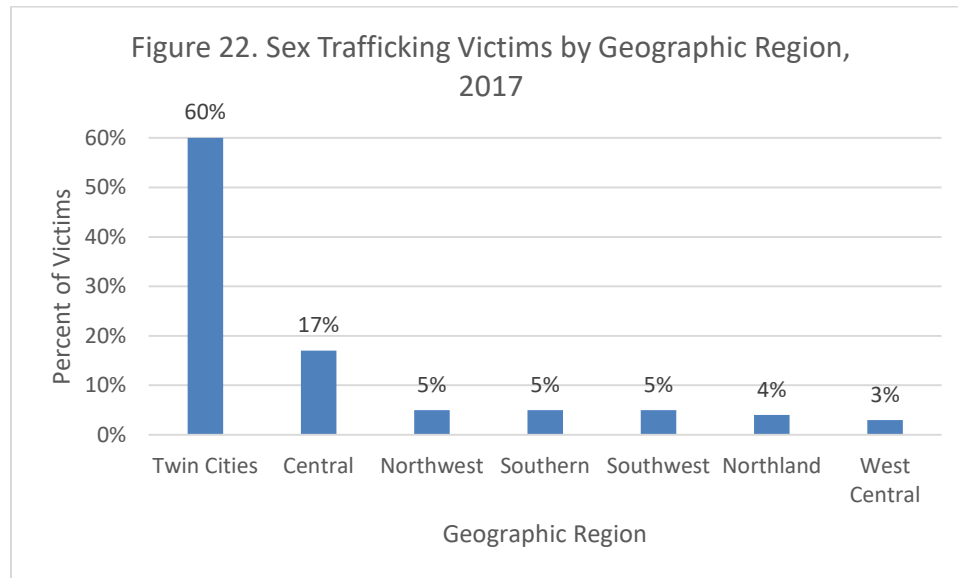
Like labor trafficking victims, the rise in sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies and service providers does not necessarily reflect a rise in sex trafficking. Rather, it probably reflects increased awareness, education and training. Moreover, as discussed, there has been an increase in attention to human trafficking and rise in investigation units among law enforcement agencies.



### Geographic Region

Law enforcement agencies and service providers identified sex trafficking victims in every region in Minnesota. Figure 22 presents the percentage of victims identified in each geographic region. The majority (60 percent) of victims was identified in the Twin Cities. Seventeen percent of

victims were reported in Central Minnesota. Sex trafficking was less prevalent in the remaining regions. Victims in the Northwest, Southern, and Southwest regions each made up 5 percent of all victims. Four percent of victims were identified in the Northland, and 3 percent were reported in West Central Minnesota.

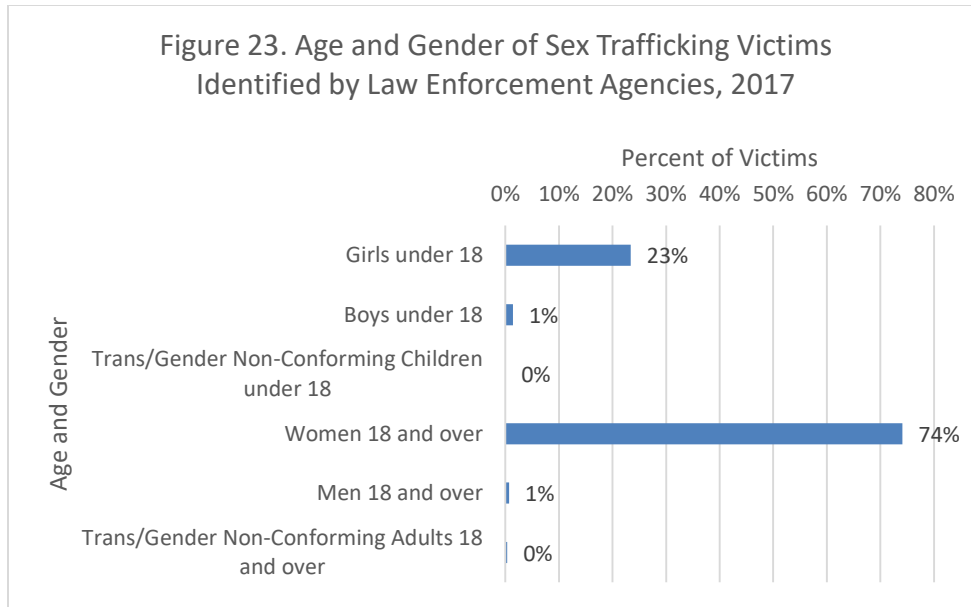


#### Demographics of Sex Trafficking Victims

As Figure 23 below shows, the majority (74 percent) of sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were women. A smaller, but still substantial, percentage (23 percent) were girls under the age of 18. Men and boys each made up 1 percent of sex trafficking victims. Law enforcement agencies identified very few victims who were transgender or gender non-conforming (less than 1 percent).

It is important to note that low percentages of men, boys, and transgender or gender non-conforming children and adults identified by law enforcement agencies do not necessarily mean they are not being sex trafficked. Instead, low percentages could reflect a lack of training and awareness as well as gender biases. As discussed, research suggests sex trafficking victims who are men and boys are often overlooked and rarely believed. Though they face a lower risk of being sex trafficked than do women and girls, they are not immune. As for transgender and gender non-conforming individuals, law enforcement officers may not be trained on how to identify gender identity and/or track this type of data.

Figure 23. Age and Gender of Sex Trafficking Victims Identified by Law Enforcement Agencies, 2017



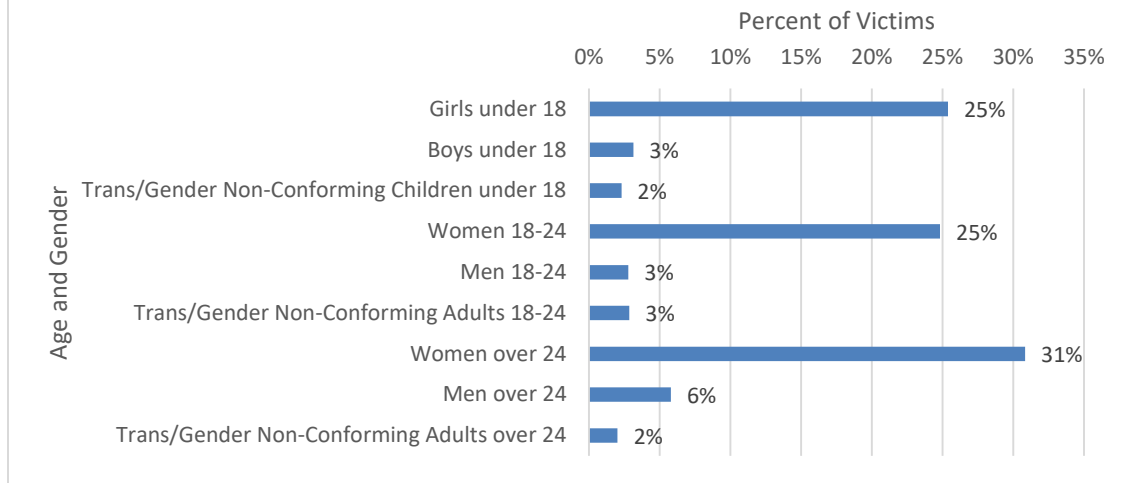
In a similar vein, most sex trafficking victims served by service providers were women and girls. Figure 24 provides a comprehensive breakdown of sex trafficking victims by age and gender. Because Minnesota raised the age of eligibility for victim services from 18 to 24 in Safe Harbor for Sexually Exploited Youth in 2016, the figure distinguishes adults between the ages of 18 and 24 and adults over the age of 24.

Nearly one-third (31 percent) of sex trafficking victims were women over 24 years of age. One-quarter (25 percent) were women between 18 and 24. Taken together, a little over half (56 percent) of the victims were adult women.

Girls under the age of 18 made up 25 percent of sex trafficking victims served by service providers, and boys were 3 percent. Men over 24 were 6 percent of victims served, and men between 18 and 24 comprised 3 percent of sex trafficking victims. Taken together, 9 percent of those victimized were men.

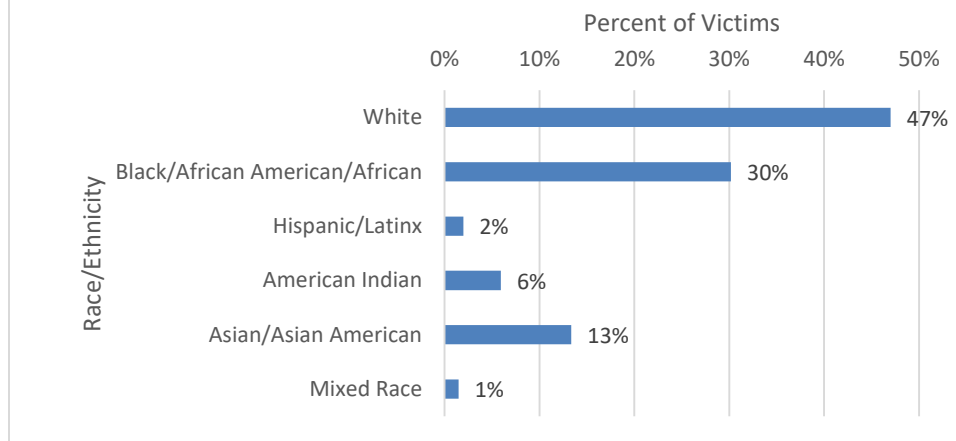
Transgender and gender non-conforming children and adults made up 7 percent of all sex trafficking victims. Two percent were children under 18, and 3 percent were adults between the ages of 18 and 24. Transgender and gender non-conforming adults over the age of 24 constituted 2 percent of sex trafficking victims.

Figure 24. Age and Gender of Sex Trafficking Victims Served by Service Providers, 2017



Turning to race and ethnicity, Figure 25 reveals almost half (47 percent) the sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were white. Nearly one-third (30 percent) were black, African-American or African. Thirteen percent were Asian or Asian-American, and 6 percent were American Indian. Those who were Hispanic/Latinx and of mixed race made up smaller percentages of sex trafficking victims (2 percent and 1 percent, respectively).

Figure 25. Race and Ethnicity of Sex Trafficking Victims Identified by Law Enforcement Agencies, 2017



Compared to law enforcement agencies, service providers encountered a more racially and ethnically diverse swath of sex trafficking victims. Figure 26 shows that one-third (33 percent) of sex trafficking victims served by service providers were black, African-American or African. Twenty-eight percent were white, and 23 percent were American Indian. Those of mixed race made up 8 percent of victims, and Hispanic/Latinx were 5 percent of victims. Asians and Asian-Americans comprised 4 percent of sex trafficking victims served by service providers.



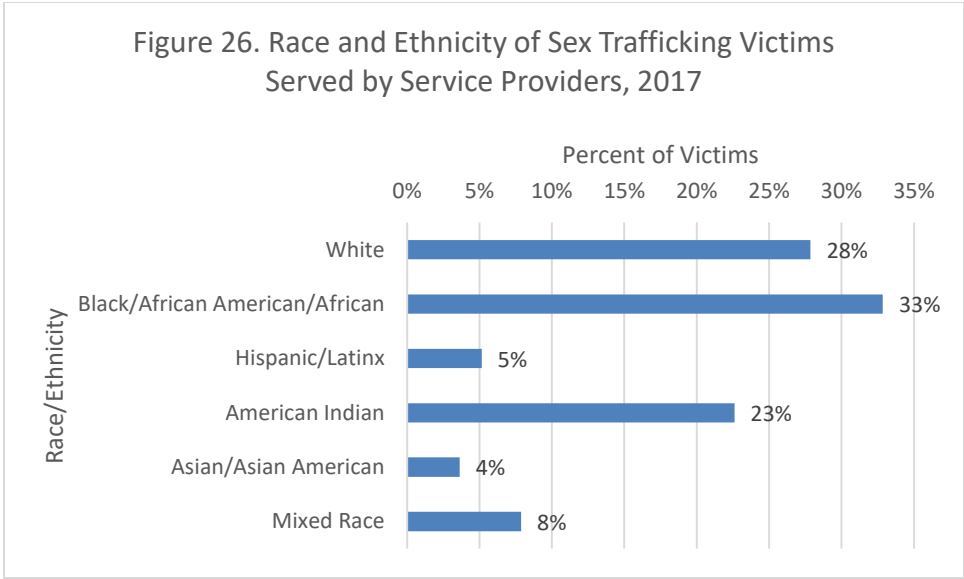


Figure 27 examines the proportion of sex trafficking investigations involving victims who were lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, gender non-conforming or queer (LGBTQ). Of the law enforcement agencies that investigated sex trafficking in 2017, approximately half (51 percent) were not sure of victims’ sexual orientation or gender identity. Forty-four percent reported that no investigation dealt with an LGBTQ victim. Of the remaining respondents, 1 percent said one-quarter of their investigations involved an LGBTQ victim. One percent noted half their investigations included an LGBTQ victim, and 1 percent said all their investigations involved an LGBTQ victim.

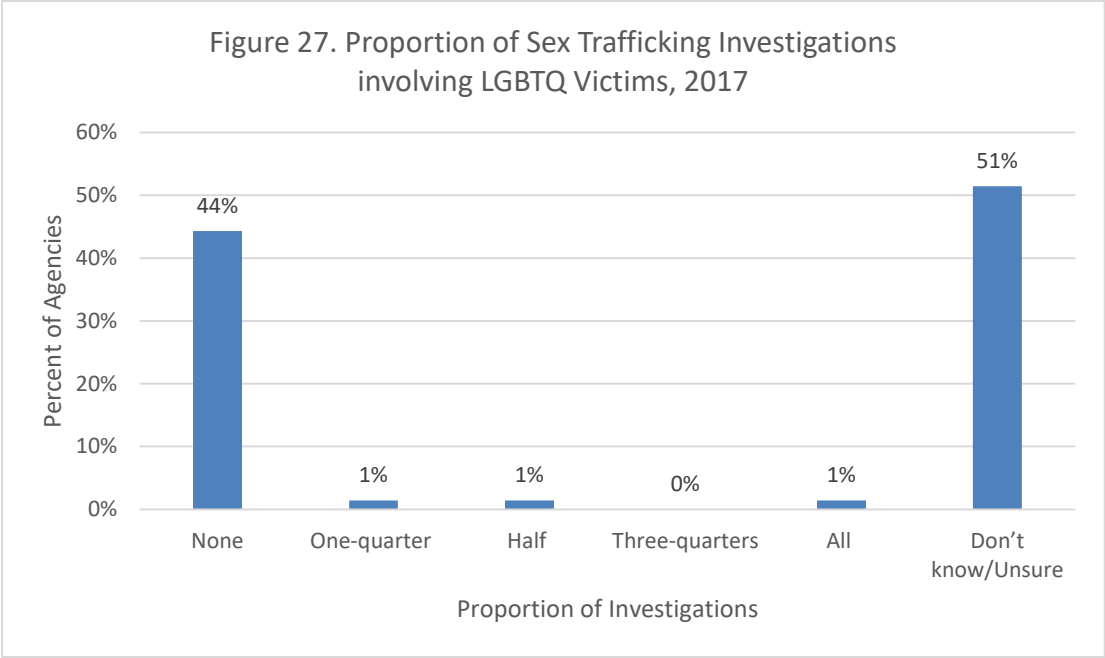
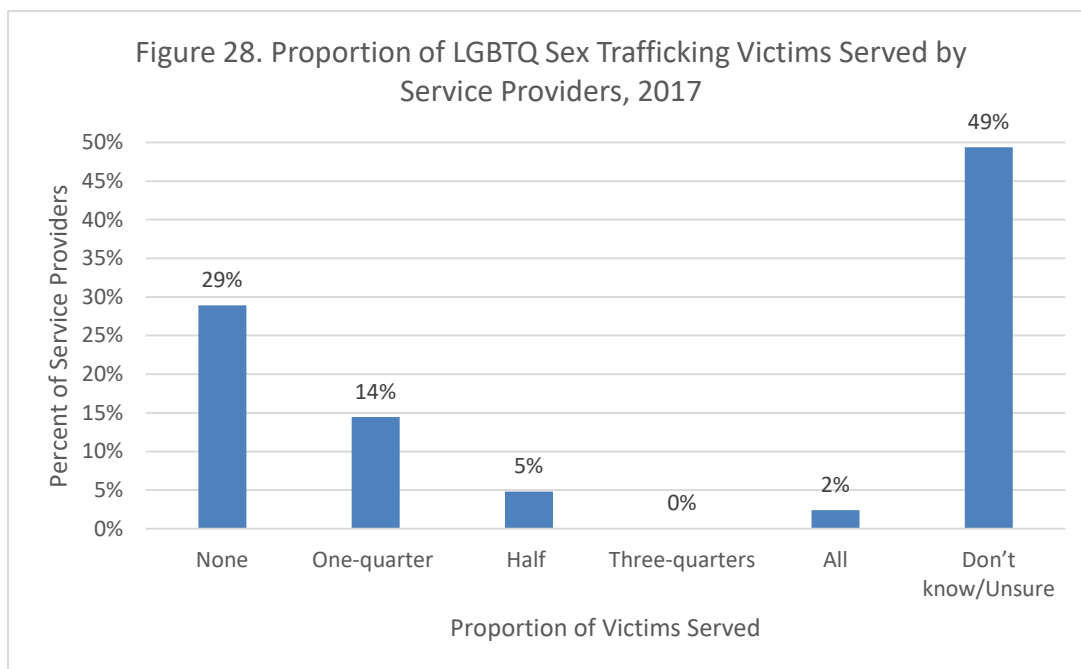


Figure 28 presents the proportion of sex trafficking victims served by service providers who were LGBTQ. Almost half (49 percent) the respondents did not know victims’ sexual orientation or gender identity. Twenty-nine percent did not serve any LGBTQ victims in 2017. Fourteen percent

estimated that one-quarter of sex trafficking victims served were LGBTQ. Five percent reported that half the victims served were LGBTQ, and 2 percent said all sex trafficking victims served were LGBTQ.

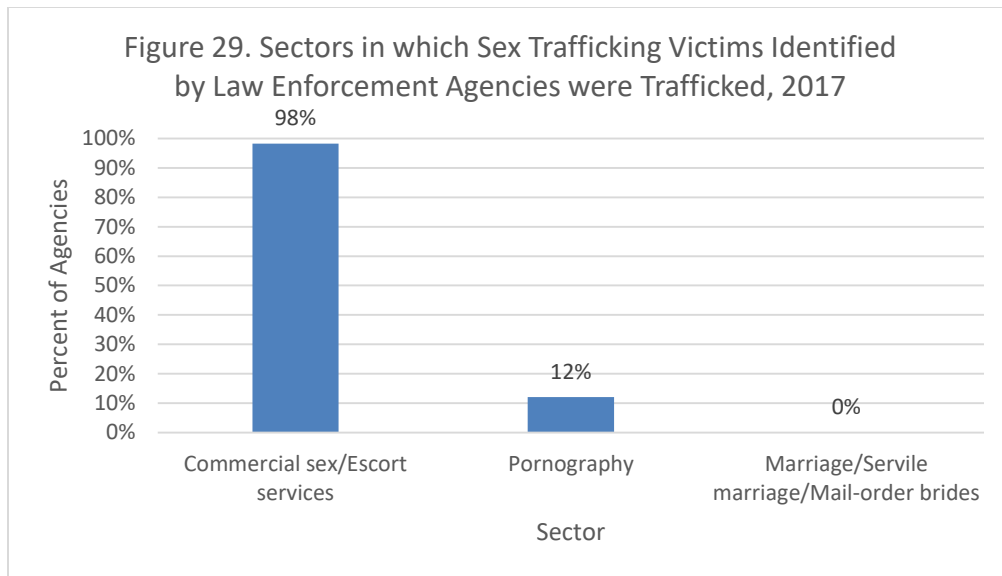
Given that LGBTQ people face an increased risk of being sex trafficked, as discussed in prior sections, the percentage of LGBTQ victims is likely higher. The lack of identification of LGBTQ victims does not necessarily mean they are not being sex trafficked in Minnesota. Rather, it likely reflects a lack of training on how to identify sexual orientation and gender identity. Moreover, law enforcement agencies and service providers may not collect these types of data.



### Sex Trafficking Sector and Venue

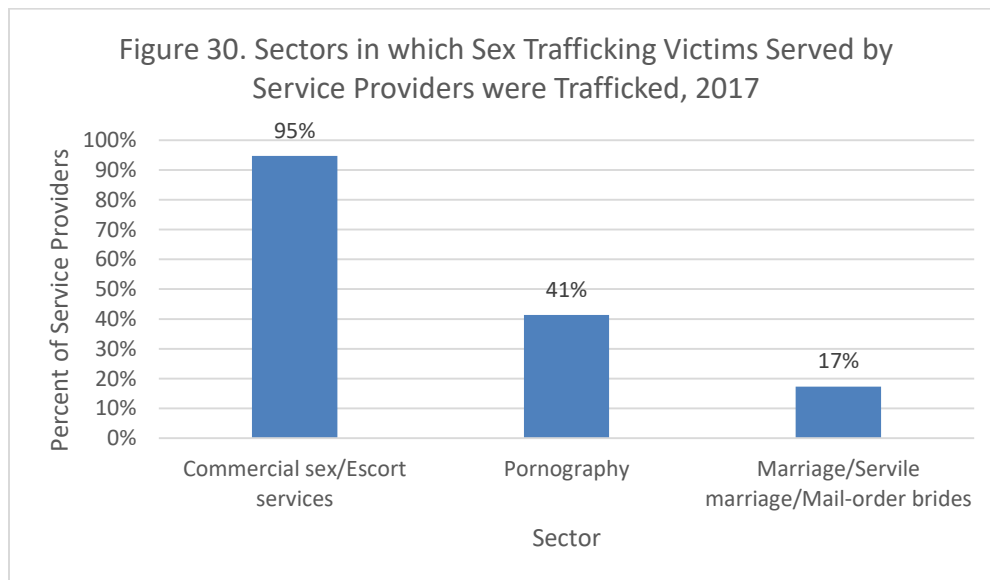
Sex trafficking can take different forms and occur in both illegal and legal markets. It can include commercial sex or escort services, being forced to make pornography, or forced marriage.

Figure 29 presents the sectors in which sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were trafficked. Of those who investigated sex trafficking, nearly all (98 percent) reported that investigations involved commercial sex or escort services. Making pornography was less common. Twelve percent said it was a sector in which victims were sex trafficked.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because agencies could select multiple sectors.

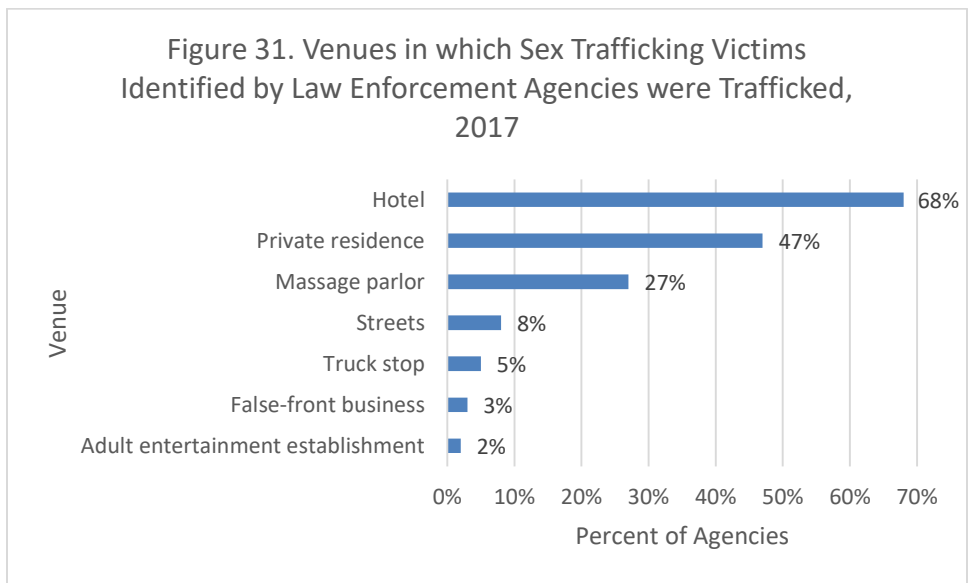
Figure 30 reveals that of the service providers that served sex trafficking victims, 95 percent reported serving victims trafficked in commercial sex or escort services. Making pornography was fairly common. Forty-one percent assisted victims who were forced to do so. Seventeen percent of respondents encountered victims who were forced to marry, in a servile marriage, or a mail-order bride.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because service providers could select multiple sectors.

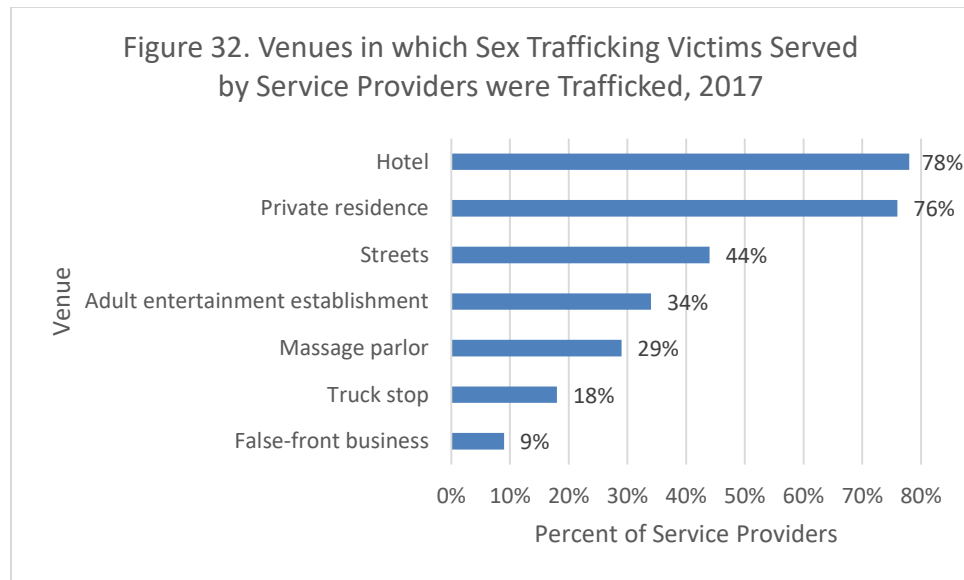
Sex trafficking occurs in a variety of venues. Some venues make it easier to keep victims hidden and trafficking harder to detect. However, scholars find that even when victims are trafficked in public view, such as the streets, sex trafficking is still difficult to identify and victims are often misidentified as criminals.<sup>233</sup>

Figure 31 shows the venues in which sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were trafficked. Of the agencies that conducted a sex trafficking investigation, a little over two-thirds (68 percent) found it occurred in hotels. Almost half (47 percent) reported that sex trafficking took place in private residences, and a little over one-quarter (27 percent) said it happened in massage parlors. Few respondents (8 percent) investigated sex trafficking on the streets, and 5 percent conducted investigations at truck stops. Law enforcement agencies reported that false-front businesses and adult entertainment establishments (e.g., strip clubs, exotic dance clubs, gentlemen’s clubs) were less common venues (3 percent and 2 percent respectively).



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because agencies could select multiple venues.

Turning to service providers, Figure 32 displays the venues in which sex trafficking victims were trafficked in 2017. Of those who served sex trafficking victims, 78 percent served victims trafficked in hotels. Trafficking in private residences was very common, as noted by 76 percent of respondents. Almost half (44 percent) provided services to victims trafficked in the streets. Approximately one-third served victims trafficked in adult entertainment establishments and massage parlors (34 percent and 29 percent respectively). Eighteen percent identified truck stops as a trafficking venue, and 9 percent mentioned false-front businesses.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because service providers could select multiple venues.

## DISCOVERING AND IDENTIFYING HUMAN TRAFFICKING VICTIMS

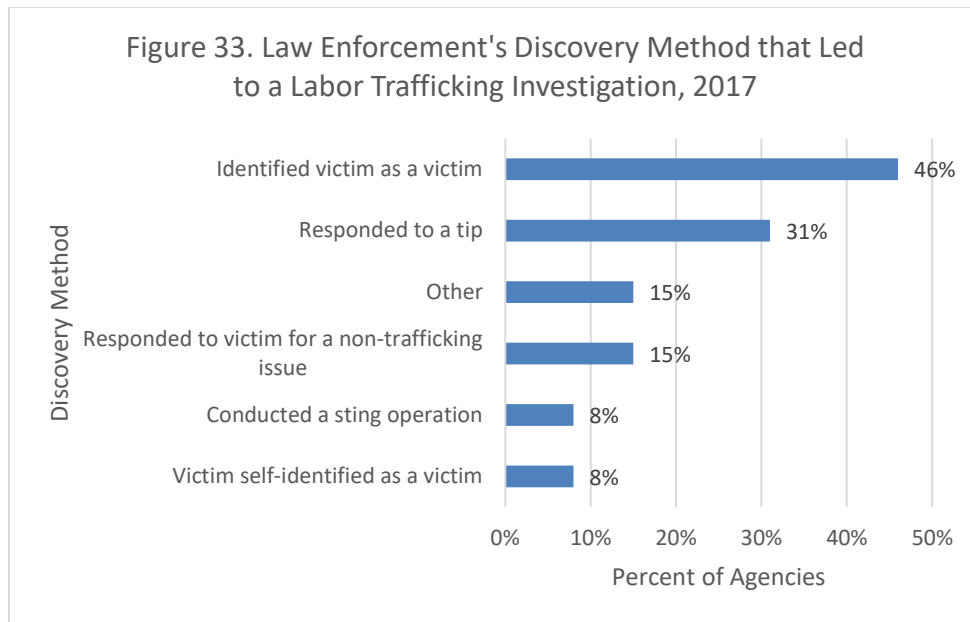
The section below discusses the ways in which law enforcement agencies and service providers identified human trafficking victims. It highlights the discovery methods that led law enforcement agencies to conduct a human trafficking investigation. It also notes the ways in which trafficking victims came into contact with service providers and the methods they used to identify victims.

### Labor Trafficking Victims

According to existing research, most human trafficking investigations are reactive, not proactive.<sup>234</sup> Investigations usually result from law enforcement's reaction to a tip from a concerned citizen or referral from a community organization or service provider.<sup>235</sup> They can also stem from the investigation of some other crime.<sup>236</sup> By contrast, proactive investigations occur when law enforcement initiates a trafficking investigation, such as a sting operation.

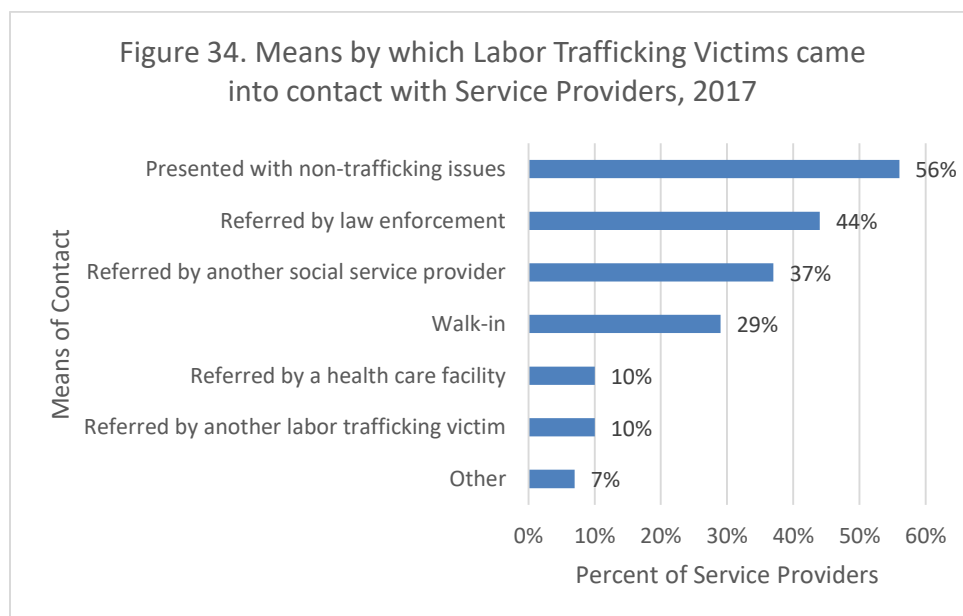
Consistent with prior research, most labor trafficking investigations in Minnesota were reactive, as illustrated by Figure 33. Of the law enforcement agencies that investigated labor trafficking, nearly half (46 percent) said the investigation resulted from identifying a labor trafficking victim. Law enforcement's ability to identify victims speaks to the importance and effectiveness of human trafficking training.

Almost one-third (31 percent) started an investigation after receiving a tip from a human trafficking hotline (e.g., National Human Trafficking Hotline, Day One), service provider (e.g., sexual assault or rape crisis center, shelter) or system professional (e.g., child protection, probation), or anonymous person. Fifteen percent of respondents uncovered a labor trafficking case after responding to the victim for a non-trafficking issue. Eight percent of respondents initiated a sting operation to investigate labor trafficking, and 8 percent were approached by a victim that self-identified. As discussed, most victims do not self-identify as victims or report the crime, so this finding is consistent with prior research on the topic. Since victims cannot be relied upon to bring labor trafficking to law enforcement's attention, officers must be trained and able to recognize when it occurs.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because agencies could select multiple discovery methods.

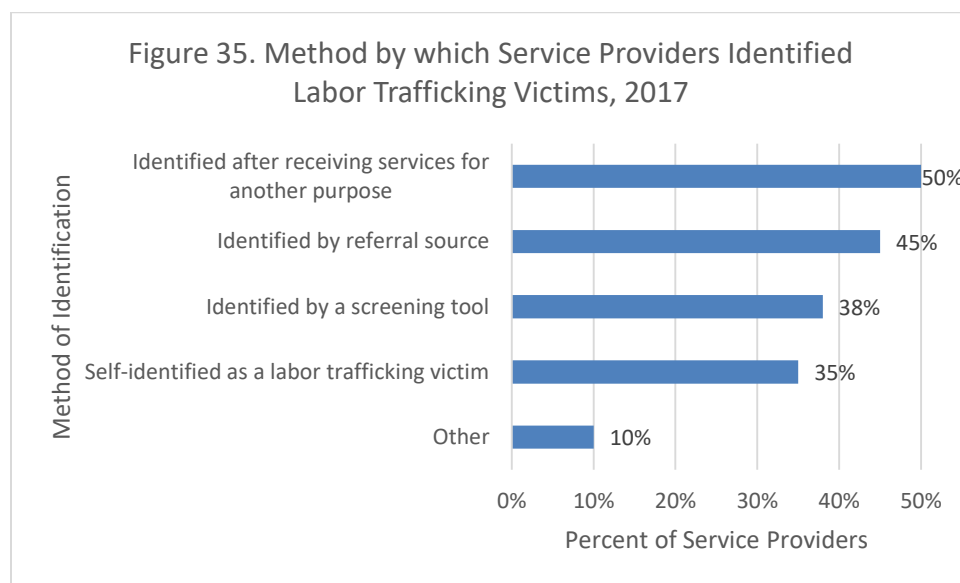
Figure 34 displays the various ways in which labor trafficking victims came into contact with service providers. Of the organizations that served labor trafficking victims, a little over half (56 percent) said the victim was a client who presented with non-trafficking issues. Referrals were also popular ways in which labor trafficking victims accessed victim services. Forty-four percent of respondents received referrals to service providers from law enforcement, 37 percent received referrals from another social service provider (e.g., sexual assault or rape crisis center, shelter), and 10 percent of respondents received referrals from a health care facility (e.g., emergency room, hospital, doctor) or another labor trafficking victim. Nearly one-third (29 percent) of respondents came into contact with labor trafficking victims because the victim was a walk-in.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because service providers could select multiple means of contact.

Service providers use different methods to identify labor trafficking victims, shown in Figure 35. Of those that served labor trafficking victims, half (50 percent) identified labor trafficking victims after providing services for some other purpose. Approximately half (45 percent) the respondents reported that victims were identified by their referral sources. Thirty-eight percent identified labor trafficking victims with the use of a screening tool (e.g., intake questionnaire).

Labor trafficking victims were more likely to self-identify with service providers than law enforcement agencies. Thirty-five percent of service provider respondents said victims self-identified compared to 8 percent of law enforcement agencies. Given existing research on the topic, this disparity in self-identification could result from a fear and distrust of law enforcement and the criminal justice system.<sup>237</sup> Scholars find that self-identification is rare due to safety concerns and a fear of retaliation from traffickers,<sup>238</sup> so victims may avoid contacting authorities and potentially setting into motion the criminal justice system.



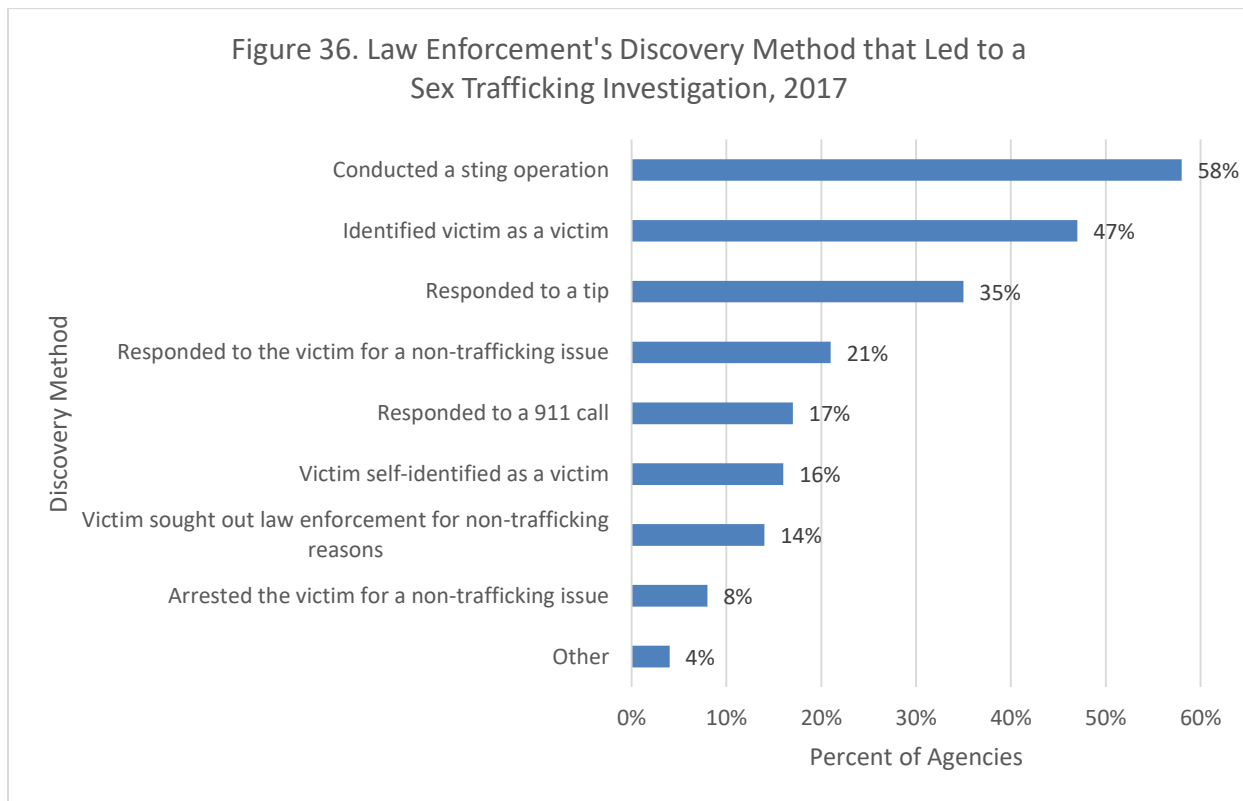
Note: Percentages do not total 100 because service providers could select multiple methods.

### Sex Trafficking Victims

With regard to identifying sex trafficking victims, law enforcement agencies used a mix of reactive and proactive methods, presented in Figure 36. Among agencies that investigated sex trafficking, 58 percent conducted sting operations. Though the use of sting operations was quite common in Minnesota, many sex trafficking investigations were reactive. Almost half (47 percent) the respondents began an investigation after identifying a sex trafficking victim. Again, this speaks to the importance and effectiveness of human trafficking training.

Thirty-five percent of respondents responded to a tip from a human trafficking hotline (e.g., National Human Trafficking Hotline, Day One), service provider (e.g., sexual assault or rape crisis center, shelter) or system professional (e.g., child protection, probation), or health care facility (e.g., hospital, doctor). There were no sex trafficking investigations that resulted from a tip from a victim's family member, a finding that is consistent with external research on the topic. Tips from victims' family members are rare; this could be because many youth who are sex trafficked typically lack family support and therefore usually do not have family members looking for them.<sup>239</sup> This is why being a runaway, throwaway, or homeless is a risk factor for sex trafficking.<sup>240</sup>

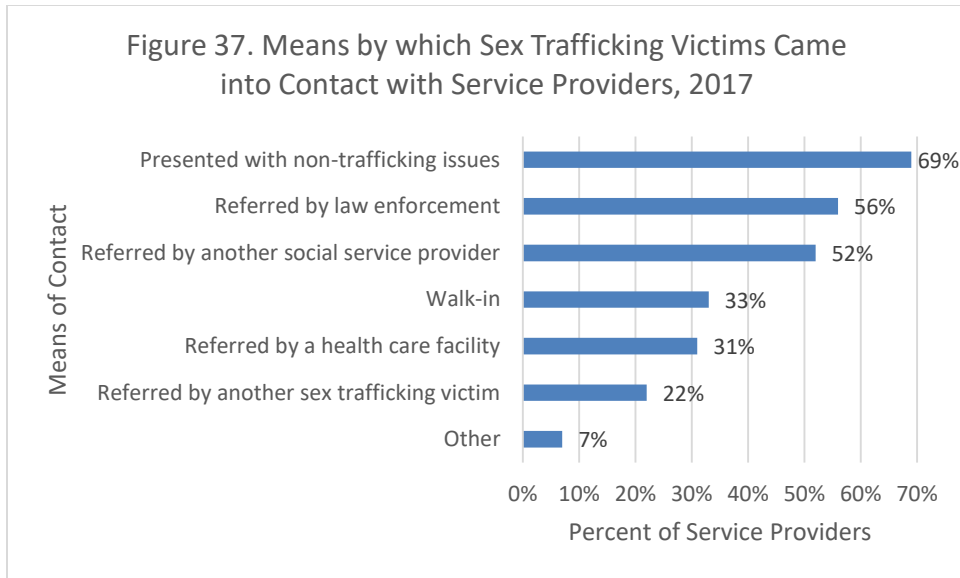
Twenty-one percent responded to the victim for a non-trafficking issue, and 17 percent began an investigation after responding to a 911 call. Self-identification by victims was rare. Sixteen percent of respondents began investigating sex trafficking after a victim came forward. This is not surprising given victims' fear of law enforcement and criminalization.<sup>241</sup> Victims sometimes sought out law enforcement for non-trafficking reasons, according to 14 percent of respondents, and 8 percent started an investigation after arresting a victim for a non-trafficking issue.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because agencies could select multiple discovery methods.

Sex trafficking victims came into contact with service providers in various ways, shown in Figure 37. Of the service providers that served sex trafficking victims, 69 percent reported the victim was a client who presented with non-trafficking issues. Approximately half the respondents received referrals from law enforcement (56 percent) or another social service provider (52 percent). One-third (33 percent) encountered victims who were walk-ins, and 31 percent received a referral by a health care facility (e.g., emergency room, hospital, doctor). Twenty-two percent said victims were referred by another sex trafficking victim.

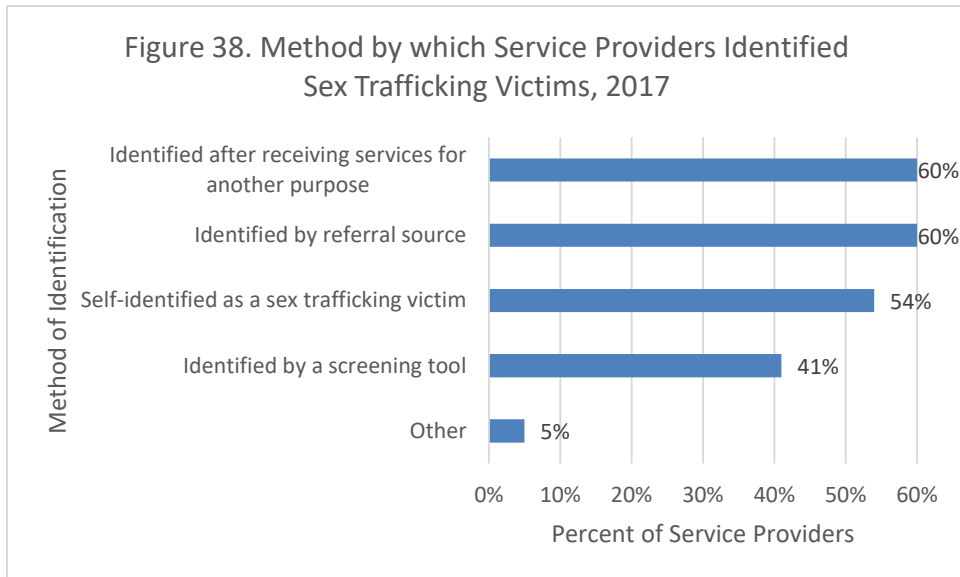




Note: Percentages do not total 100 because service providers could select multiple means of contact.

Figure 38 presents the different methods service providers used to identify sex trafficking victims. Of those who served sex trafficking victims, 60 percent identified victims after providing services for some other purpose. Sixty percent said victims were identified by their referral sources, and 41 percent of respondents used a screening tool (e.g., intake questionnaire) to detect sex trafficking victims.

A little over half (54 percent) reported that victims self-identified. As the results demonstrate, like labor trafficking victims, sex trafficking victims were more reluctant to self-identify with law enforcement officials than service providers. Recall that only 16 percent of law enforcement respondents reported self-identification among sex trafficking victims. This could be due to victims' fear of arrest, criminalization, and their traffickers.<sup>242</sup>



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because service providers could select multiple methods.

## DYNAMICS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN MINNESOTA

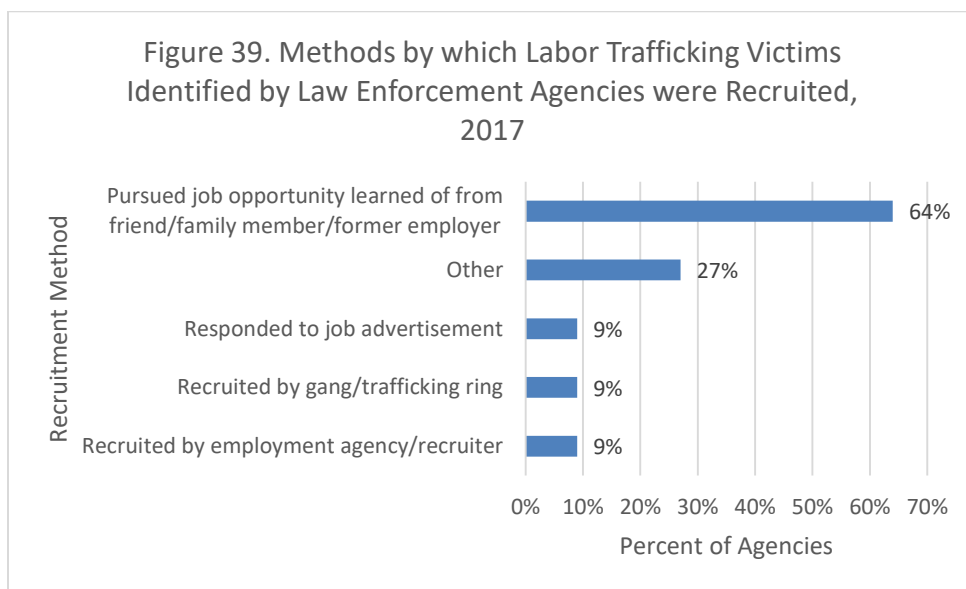
The next section turns to methods traffickers use to recruit victims into labor trafficking and sex trafficking. Then it discusses the ways in which traffickers transport victims, even though movement is not a requirement of human trafficking. It wraps up by examining from where domestic and international human trafficking victims are trafficked.

### Labor Trafficking

#### Recruiting Labor Trafficking Victims

As discussed in prior sections, scholars note that labor traffickers rely on fraud and deceit to recruit victims. Using a “bait-and-switch” technique, traffickers trick victims into accepting what they think is a legitimate job opportunity that turns into a trafficking situation.<sup>243</sup>

Law enforcement agencies in Minnesota witnessed such fraud and deceit. Victims were recruited into labor trafficking in a variety of seemingly legitimate ways, noted in Figure 39. Nearly two-thirds (64 percent) of those that conducted an investigation reported that victims pursued a job opportunity learned of from a friend, family member or former employer. Nine percent of respondents said victims were recruited by an employment agency or recruiter, a gang or trafficking ring, or by an online job advertisement.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because law enforcement agencies could select multiple recruitment methods.

#### Transporting Labor Trafficking Victims

Previous sections note that moving victims is not required in any type of human trafficking. It is possible to be a trafficking victim without ever moving to another city, region, country or anywhere. International, federal and state definitions of human trafficking do not require movement.

There is little empirical research on the ways, if any, labor trafficking victims are transported. In a study on the trafficking of immigrants, researchers found that the mode of transportation depended upon the labor sector in which victims were trafficked.<sup>244</sup> Although two-thirds of the victims were authorized immigrants, authorization status varied across labor sector and as a result, so did the mode of transportation.<sup>245</sup> Almost all victims trafficked in hospitality (100 percent), household (80

percent), and construction (80 percent) were authorized immigrants, so almost all (80-93 percent) travelled to the U.S. via airplane.<sup>246</sup> Approximately half the victims trafficked in restaurants and two-thirds the victims trafficked in agriculture were unauthorized.<sup>247</sup> As such, about one-third of the victims in those sectors flew, about half walked, and 86 percent of those trafficked in agriculture and 69 percent of those trafficked in restaurants travelled by car or van.<sup>248</sup>

Researchers found that almost half (44 percent) the labor trafficking victims used multiple modes of transportation.<sup>249</sup> Unauthorized immigrants were more likely than authorized immigrants to use more than one.<sup>250</sup> Those crossing the U.S.-Mexico border usually walked and used cars or vans, and those from other countries usually flew.<sup>251</sup> Regardless of the mode of transportation or origination country, all victims limited their number of stops, and their goal was to arrive to the final destination as quickly and directly as possible.<sup>252</sup>

### Labor Trafficking Routes and Patterns

Human trafficking victims can be trafficked domestically or internationally. Domestic labor trafficking involves trafficking within the U.S., and again, movement is not required. International labor trafficking involves trafficking into or out of the U.S. Definitions of domestic trafficking and international trafficking refer to country in which a victim is trafficked, not the victim's citizenship or immigration status. As such, U.S. citizens, permanent residents, and foreign nationals can be victims of both domestic trafficking and international trafficking.

As Figure 40 depicts, the majority (65 percent) of labor trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were trafficked domestically. Thirty-five percent of victims were trafficked internationally, meaning they were trafficked into the U.S. from another country.



As Figure 41 reveals, a little over half (56 percent) of domestic labor trafficking victims came from the respondent's jurisdiction.<sup>253</sup> The remaining victims (44 percent) were transported from a non-neighboring state.

Figure 41. Geographic Region from where Domestic Labor Trafficking Victims Identified by Law Enforcement Agencies Were Trafficked, 2017

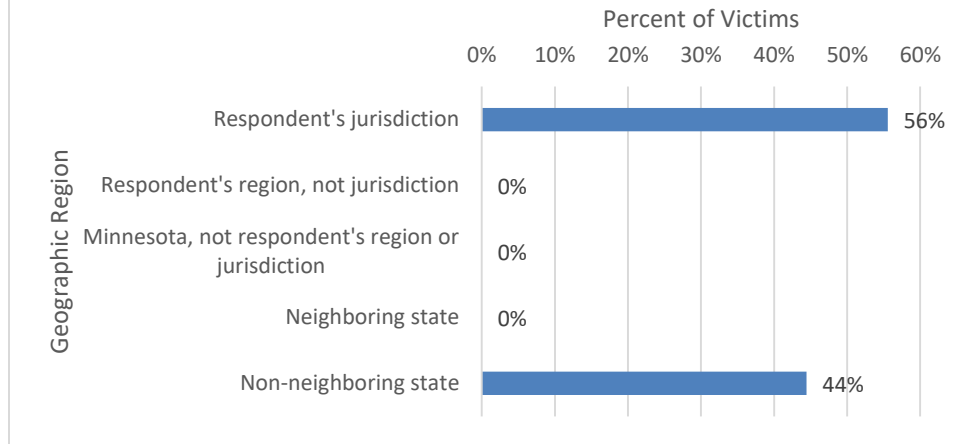
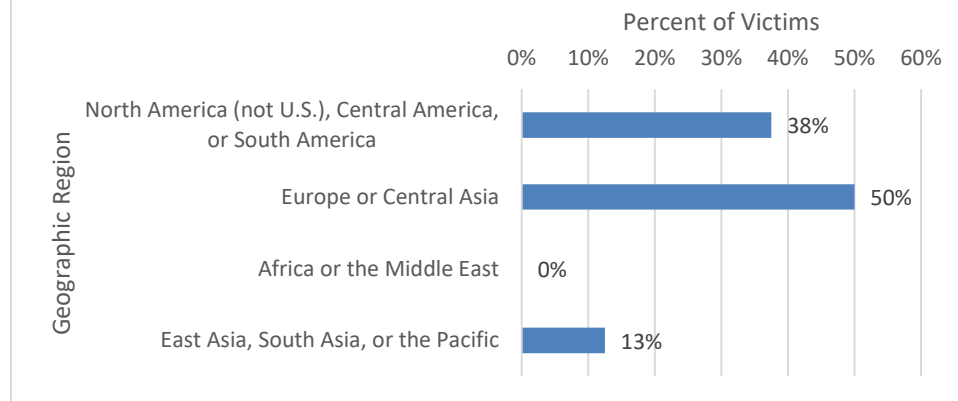


Figure 42 displays from where international labor trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were trafficked. Half were transported from Europe or Central Asia. Law enforcement agencies noted that 38 percent were from North America (not the U.S.), Central America, or South America. Thirteen percent were transported from East Asia, South Asia, or the Pacific, and none came from Africa or the Middle East.

Figure 42. Geographic Region from where International Labor Trafficking Victims Identified by Law Enforcement Agencies Were Trafficked, 2017



Like law enforcement agencies, service providers reported that 68 percent of labor trafficking victims served were trafficked domestically, shown in Figure 43. Thirty-two percent were international labor trafficking victims.

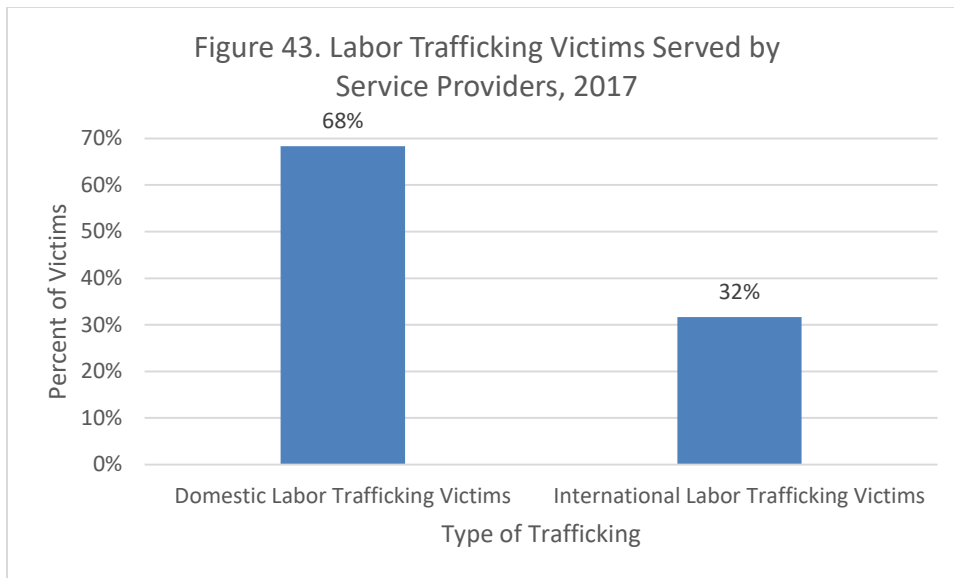


Figure 44 presents from where domestic labor trafficking victims served by service providers were trafficked.<sup>254</sup> Approximately half (52 percent) were from the respondent’s community. Twenty percent came from an area of Minnesota outside the respondent’s region or community, and 20 percent were transported from a non-neighboring state. Eight percent of domestic labor trafficking victims were from the respondent’s region but not their community.

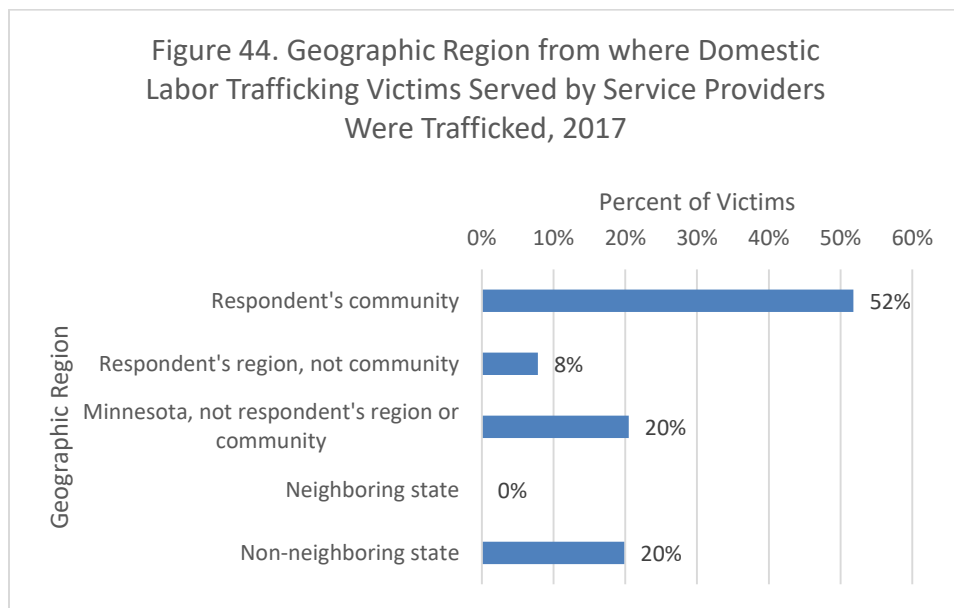
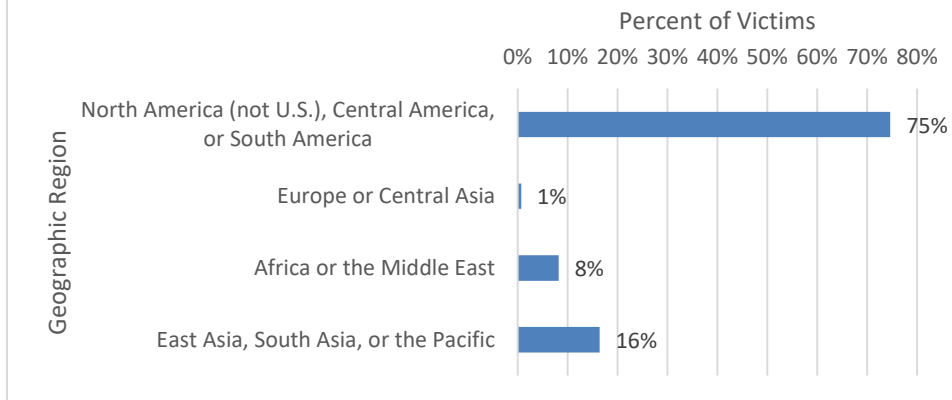


Figure 45 reveals from where international labor trafficking victims served by service providers were trafficked. Seventy-five percent were from North America (not the U.S.), Central America, or South America. Sixteen percent were transported from East Asia, South Asia, or the Pacific, and 8 percent came from Africa or the Middle East. A very small percentage (1 percent) were from Europe or Central Asia.

Figure 45. Geographic Region from where International Labor Trafficking Victims Served by Service Providers Were Trafficked, 2017



## Sex Trafficking

### Recruiting Sex Trafficking Victims

As in labor trafficking, there is much fraud and deceit in sex trafficking, and traffickers use a variety of methods to recruit victims. As Figure 46 demonstrates, the boyfriend/intimate partner pimp is the most common recruitment tool. Of law enforcement agencies that investigated sex trafficking, 63 percent reported the use of this method. Here, the sex trafficker is the victim's boyfriend or intimate partner *and* pimp. The boyfriend/intimate partner pimp is usually an older man who typically targets a younger woman or young girl and sometimes young gay men and boys.<sup>255</sup> Through the course of dating and developing a relationship, the boyfriend/intimate partner pimp establishes trust, physically and psychologically bonding with the victim.<sup>256</sup> The boyfriend/intimate partner pimp showers the victim with gifts, tends to her basic and emotional needs, and provides love and affection.<sup>257</sup> Filling a void, he provides what her family cannot or does not, and this is another reason why a lack of family support is a risk factor for sex trafficking.<sup>258</sup> After the "romantic" relationship is solidified, the boyfriend/intimate partner reveals himself as a pimp and sexually exploits the victim, telling her that if she really loved him, she would enter the sex industry and that she owes it to him to do so.<sup>259</sup> Note that sex trafficking by a boyfriend/intimate partner pimp is a form of intimate partner violence, and abuse is common.<sup>260</sup>

According to law enforcement agencies, non-intimate partner pimps and pimp-coerced woman traffickers were common. Thirty percent of agencies reported the use of these methods.

With regard to the non-intimate partner pimp, the trafficker is a pimp who is neither romantically involved with the victim nor the victim's family member.<sup>261</sup> The use of non-intimate partner pimps to recruit sex trafficking victims is more common in cases involving cisgender women and girls than transgender women and girls and cisgender men and boys.<sup>262</sup> Note that not all pimps are traffickers; under federal law, trafficking requires force, fraud, or coercion, and under state law, trafficking can occur by any means.

The pimp-coerced woman trafficker is a woman who is subordinate to a male pimp.<sup>263</sup> A pimp-coerced woman trafficker controls and instructs the victims, coordinates trafficking activities, and oversees trafficking operations.<sup>264</sup> Women traffickers are also used to recruit other women because

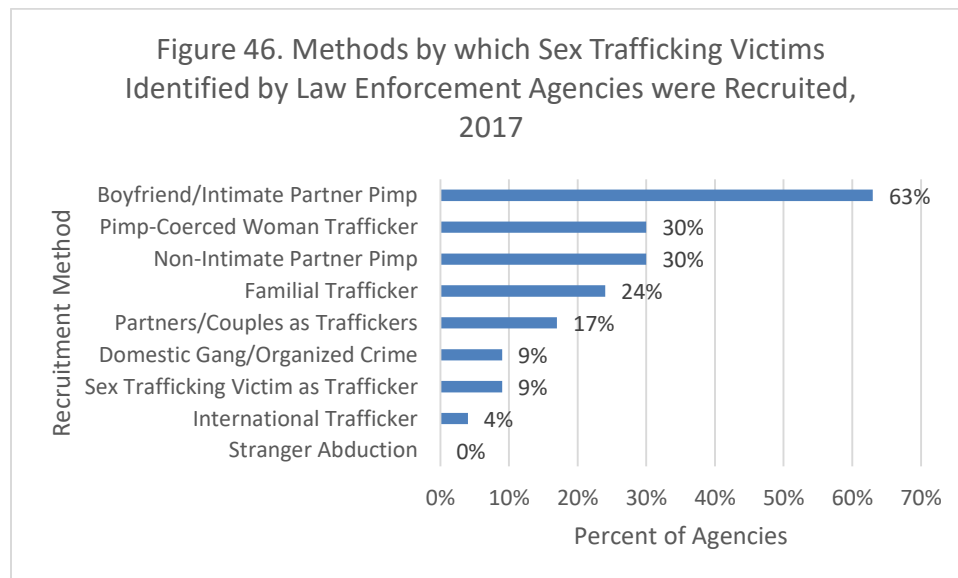
being the same gender as the victims can enhance trust.<sup>265</sup> Sex traffickers are usually portrayed as men, but research suggests the number of women traffickers is underestimated.<sup>266</sup>

Nearly one-quarter (24 percent) of respondents reported encountering familial traffickers. The trafficking of children by their parents is not uncommon.<sup>267</sup> Those with a parent in the commercial sex industry are at increased risk of entering it because selling sex is normalized and is the “family business.”<sup>268</sup> Another explanation is that parents traffic their children to fuel a drug addiction or pay the bills.<sup>269</sup>

Of law enforcement agencies that investigated sex trafficking, 17 percent noted partners/couples as sex traffickers. Here, sex trafficking is a “mom-and-pop” operation.<sup>270</sup> Less common was recruitment by a domestic gang or organized crime ring (9 percent).

Also less common was recruitment by a sex trafficking victim as trafficker (9 percent). Here, former sex trafficking victims become sex traffickers and recruit victims.<sup>271</sup> Those who recruit abroad are known as “happy traffickers” because they pretend to have had a great (legitimate) job experience abroad in order to recruit victims.<sup>272</sup>

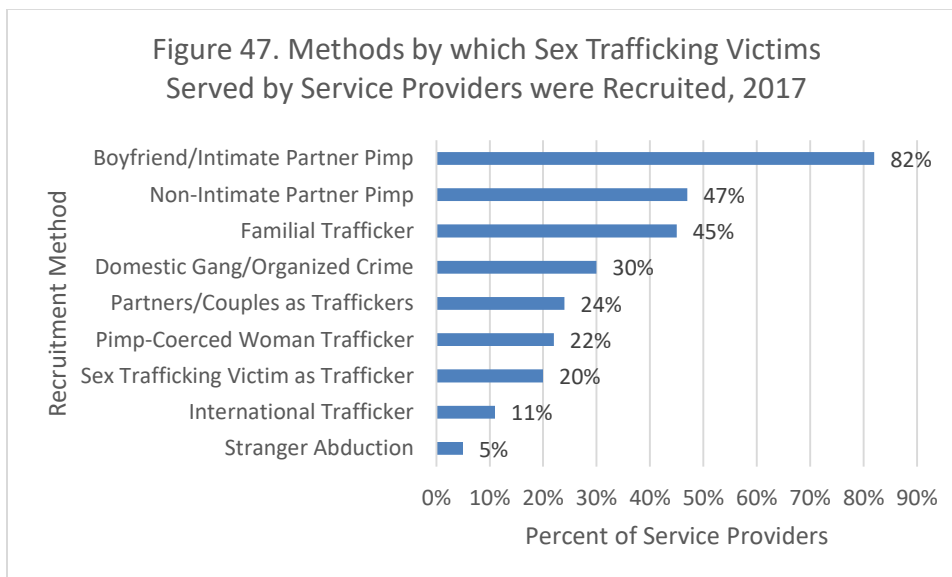
Four percent of respondents reported recruitment by international traffickers. Here, sex traffickers involved with trafficking rings work between countries to recruit victims.<sup>273</sup> International traffickers are usually large trafficking operations and are more likely than other types of traffickers to be part of organized crime rings.<sup>274</sup> No law enforcement agency reported investigations involving stranger abductions.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because law enforcement agencies could select multiple recruitment methods.

Figure 47 depicts the ways in which sex trafficking victims served by service providers were recruited. Eighty-two percent of respondents said their clients were trafficked by a boyfriend/intimate partner pimp. Almost half reported trafficking by a non-intimate partner pimp (47 percent) or familial trafficker (45 percent). Nearly one-third (30 percent) of respondents encountered recruitment by a domestic gang or organized crime ring. Approximately one-quarter reported the use of partners/couples as traffickers (24 percent), pimp-coerced woman traffickers

(22 percent), or sex trafficking victims as traffickers (20 percent). Recruitment by an international trafficker (11 percent) or stranger abduction (5 percent) was extremely rare.



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because service providers could select multiple recruitment methods.

### Transporting Sex Trafficking Victims

Again, to reiterate, moving victims is not a requirement of human trafficking. However, sex traffickers often transport victims because it helps traffickers avoid detection, offers a new consumer base, and keeps victims isolated from their family and friends.<sup>275</sup>

Existing research finds moving sex trafficking victims from one city to another in traffickers' personal vehicles along an interstate, known as "running the circuit," is common.<sup>276</sup> Since men and boys are less likely to be trafficked by a non-intimate partner pimp, interstate circuits usually involve women and girls.<sup>277</sup> Regional circuits run throughout the U.S.; there is the Pacific Northwest circuit, Midwestern circuit, Northeast circuit, Southern California circuit and so on.<sup>278</sup> Though traffickers are known to operate in a particular region, their routes are inconsistent, unplanned and unknown.<sup>279</sup> Regional circuits might encompass a handful of cities within a state, a couple of states or another country.<sup>280</sup> There is no schedule or list of cities or states to visit.<sup>281</sup> The ways in which interstate circuits operate help traffickers avoid detection – and they work, making it difficult for authorities to identify sex trafficking cases.<sup>282</sup>

Truck stops have been cited by scholars as common venues for sex trafficking. Trucking is a male-dominated industry, and the purchase of commercial sex at truck stops has been a long-standing practice.<sup>283</sup> Truck drivers used to use CB radios to facilitate sex trafficking, and trucks are sometimes the means by which victims are transported.<sup>284</sup>

In the mid-2000s, the trucking industry joined the fight against sex trafficking. Anti-trafficking organizations such as Truckers against Trafficking and Travel Centers of America were formed to educate truck drivers and truck stop workers on how to identify and help victims and report sex trafficking.<sup>285</sup> Recall that of the law enforcement agencies that investigated sex trafficking in Minnesota, only 5% conducted investigations at truck stops. Of the service providers that served sex trafficking victims, eighteen percent identified truck stops as a trafficking venue. The low



prevalence of sex trafficking in truck stops in Minnesota might be due to the trucking industry's efforts to fight trafficking.

There have been similar efforts to fight sex trafficking in other transportation industries. In 2012, Amtrak partnered with the Department of Homeland Security and Department of Transportation to train its employees and police force on how to identify trafficking. Amtrak is part of a larger campaign, called the Blue Campaign, which seeks to draw attention to and prevent trafficking that occurs on not only trains, but buses and trucks.

Recognizing that bus stops are potential sites for recruitment, in 2013, the Twin Cities Metro Transit established a program to train bus drivers on how to identify sex trafficking.<sup>286</sup> Its anti-trafficking campaign also included multilingual posters containing information on victim assistance and trafficking resources.<sup>287</sup>

The airline industry has also made strides to fight sex trafficking. Although most sex trafficking victims are U.S. citizens, some are not, and non-citizens are often transported into the country via airplane.<sup>288</sup> In 2008, Sandra Fiorini founded the Innocents at Risk Flight Attendant Initiative to train airline employees on identifying sex trafficking and calling the National Human Trafficking Resource Center hotline.<sup>289</sup> Other efforts include the Blue Lightning Initiative, similar to the Blue Campaign, which provides training to airline staff.<sup>290</sup>

#### Sex Trafficking Routes and Patterns

Figure 48 displays the percentage of sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies who were trafficked domestically and internationally. The overwhelming majority (95 percent) were trafficked domestically, or within the U.S. Only 5 percent were trafficked internationally – from another country into the U.S.

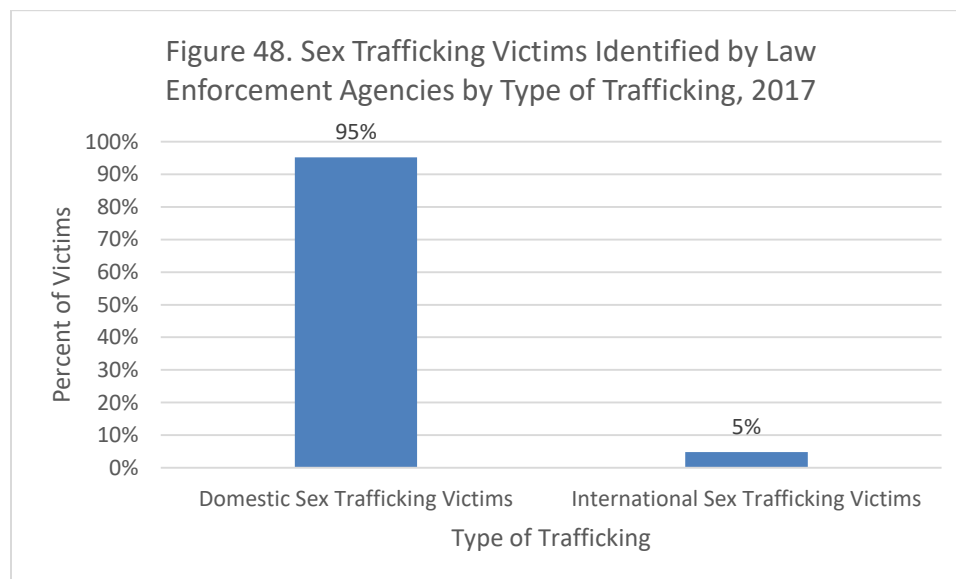
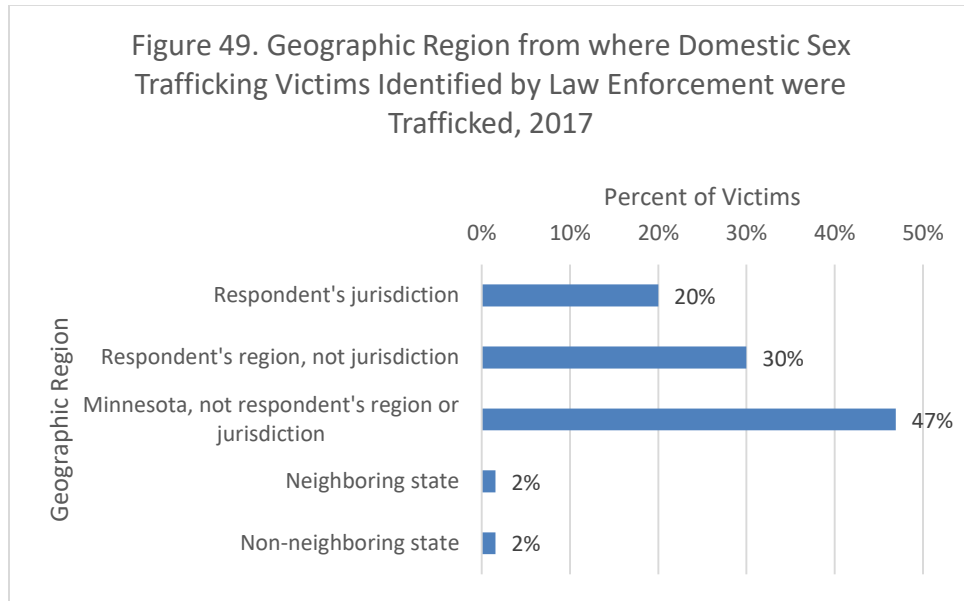
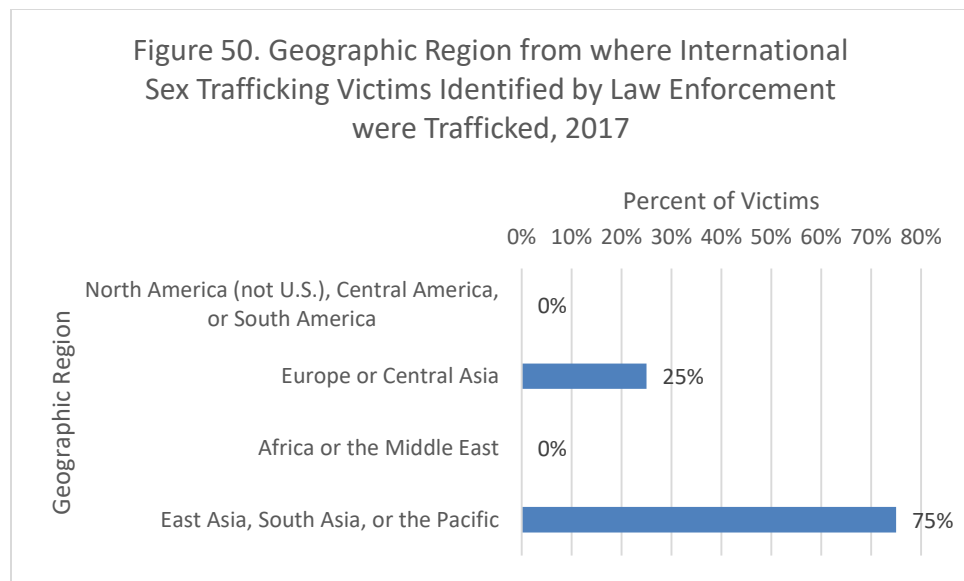


Figure 49 identifies from where domestic sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were trafficked.<sup>291</sup> Almost half (47 percent) were from Minnesota but not the respondent's region or jurisdiction. Thirty percent of domestic sex trafficking victims were from respondents' regions but outside their jurisdictions. Twenty percent came from the respondent's

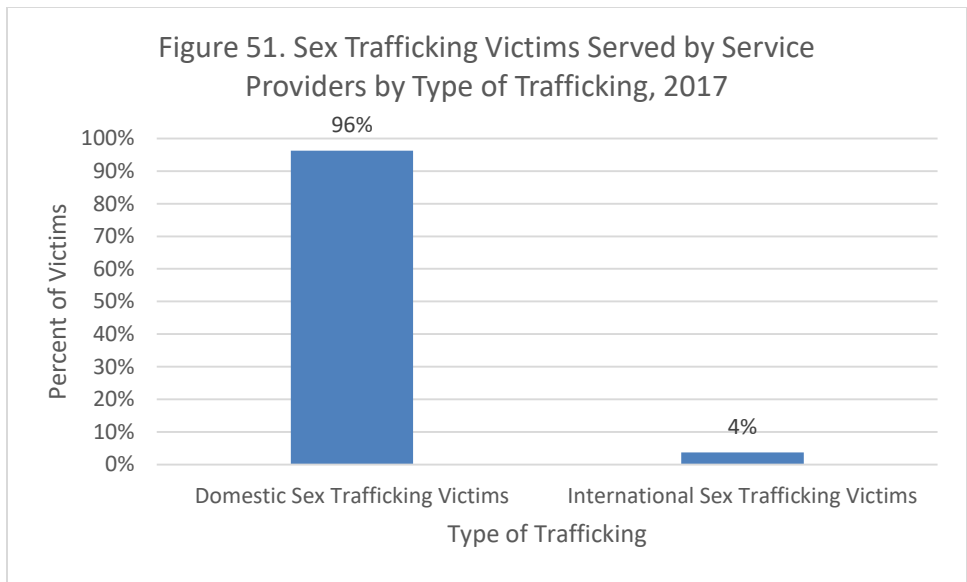
jurisdiction. Very small percentages of domestic sex trafficking victims were from a neighboring state (2 percent) or non-neighboring state (2 percent).



Of the international sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies, as Figure 50 depicts, three-quarters (75 percent) were from East Asia, South Asia, or the Pacific. The remaining one-quarter were from Europe and Central Asia.



Responses from service providers yield fairly similar results. Figure 51 shows the percentage of sex trafficking victims served by service providers who were trafficked domestically and internationally. Almost all (96 percent) were domestic sex trafficking victims, and 4 percent were international sex trafficking victims.



Over half (61 percent) of the domestic sex trafficking victims served by service providers were from the respondent’s community, as shown in Figure 52 below.<sup>292</sup> Eighteen percent came from respondents’ regions but not their communities. Fifteen percent were from Minnesota but an area outside respondents’ regions or communities. Small percentages of sex trafficking victims were transported from a neighboring state (3 percent) or non-neighboring state (3 percent).

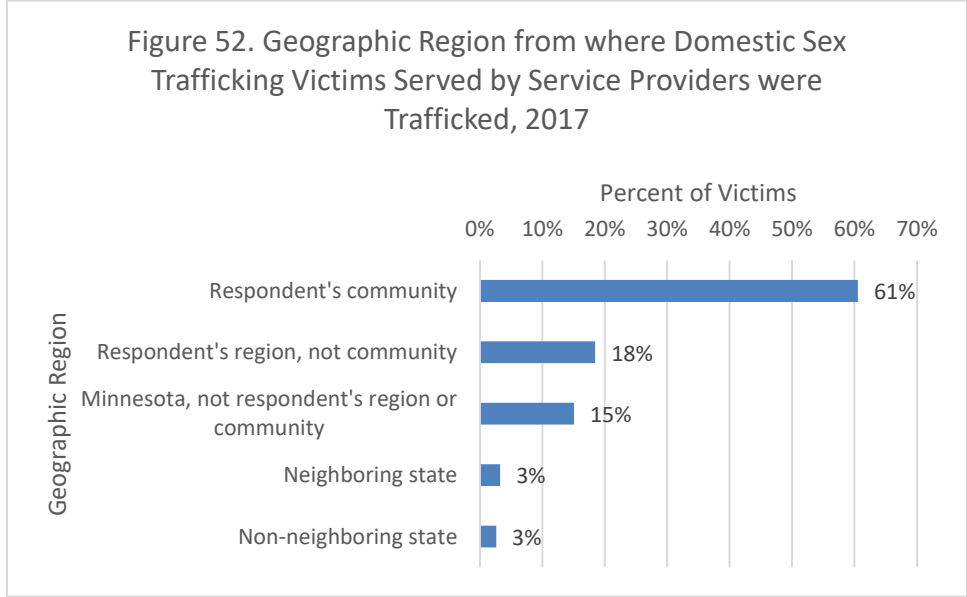
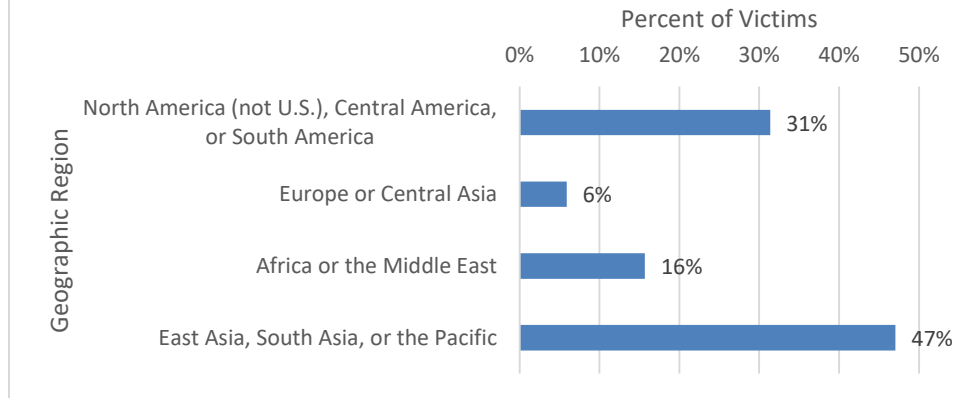


Figure 53 turns to international sex trafficking victims served by service providers. Approximately half (47 percent) were transported from East Asia, South Asia or the Pacific. Nearly one-third (31 percent) were from North America (not the U.S.), Central America or South America. Sixteen percent were transported from Africa or the Middle East, and 6 percent came from Europe or Central Asia.

Figure 53. Geographic Region from where International Sex Trafficking Victims Served by Service Providers were Trafficked, 2017



## CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESPONSES TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING

### Barriers to Identification, Investigation and Prosecution

Holding human traffickers accountable is difficult even if law enforcement officers and prosecutors prioritize investigations and prosecutions. Human trafficking investigations do not necessarily lead to arrests and prosecutions, and most cases in the U.S. go unprosecuted.<sup>293</sup> According to existing research, there are a number of barriers to identifying, investigating and prosecuting human trafficking, discussed in detail below.

#### Lack of Human Trafficking Training, Time and Resources

As discussed in prior sections, a lack of training among law enforcement personnel is an obstacle to identification and investigation. Simply put, if law enforcement officers lack knowledge of human trafficking and do not know how to identify victims and investigate the crime, there will be no investigations, arrests or charges.

Even if law enforcement personnel receive human trafficking training, research shows a lack of time and resources can impede investigations. Investigating human trafficking is labor intensive and emotionally draining, and oftentimes, law enforcement officers do not have the time or resources to properly investigate it.<sup>294</sup> Indeed, as discussed in prior sections, the human trafficking survey finds a majority of law enforcement agencies in Minnesota do not feel equipped to conduct human trafficking investigations.

In a similar vein, prosecutors lack adequate resources to investigate and charge human trafficking cases. Research suggests they lack specialized units or dedicated personnel to work with law enforcement officers to investigate and build cases.<sup>295</sup> As a result, law enforcement officers and prosecutors do not gain experience collecting the type of evidence needed to build a human trafficking case.<sup>296</sup>

The lack of time, resources, and experience among law enforcement officials and prosecutors creates a catch-22. If prosecutors do not prosecute human trafficking cases, law enforcement will

be reluctant to conduct investigations.<sup>297</sup> If law enforcement does not investigate human trafficking, prosecutors cannot charge cases.<sup>298</sup>

### Difficulty Navigating Human Trafficking Laws and Definitions

Another barrier to investigating and prosecuting human trafficking is difficulty navigating human trafficking laws and definitions. Scholars find that confusion between smuggling and trafficking is common among law enforcement officers, so victims who are U.S. citizens go unidentified.<sup>299</sup> There is also the misconception that trafficking requires movement and physical restraint or captivity, so when these aspects are absent, trafficking is overlooked. Human trafficking is also sometimes associated only with sex trafficking, so labor trafficked is ignored.<sup>300</sup>

Research also shows prosecutors struggle to define human trafficking and interpret human trafficking statutes, so they are reluctant to prosecute cases, or they only prosecute the most egregious ones. There is a lack of guidance on how to use anti-trafficking laws, legal standards are unclear, and many important concepts such as force and coercion are undefined.<sup>301</sup> There is little case law to guide prosecutors and much confusion regarding what constitutes human trafficking and the evidence needed to prove that it occurred.<sup>302</sup> As a result, prosecutors tend to avoid prosecuting a human trafficking case unless they are certain they can win.<sup>303</sup>

Given the uncertain legal environment surrounding human trafficking, studies show prosecutors instead elect to prosecute a case under a non-human trafficking charge they believe they can win.<sup>304</sup> They tend to avoid using human trafficking statutes and instead charge traffickers for crimes with which they have more experience, such as rape or fraud.<sup>305</sup> Not only are these crimes prosecutors are more comfortable prosecuting, the legal elements of these crimes are well-established and make them easier to prosecute than human trafficking.<sup>306</sup>

Lastly, research suggests a lack of human trafficking awareness and education among judges and juries make it difficult to prosecute trafficking cases. They may not take trafficking seriously or perceive victims as victims.<sup>307</sup> Prosecutors have to work hard to dispel misconceptions about the crime and educate judges and juries.<sup>308</sup>

### Misidentification and Misreporting

Human trafficking victims are sometimes misidentified, and trafficking is often misreported, making it difficult to hold traffickers accountable. Research finds law enforcement officers do not always regard victims as victims, especially if they engaged in illegal activities such as prostitution, drug use, or an unauthorized border crossing.<sup>309</sup> Police do not usually conduct investigations to determine if the illegal activity is a trafficking situation.<sup>310</sup> Moreover, sex trafficking is often misreported as rape, domestic violence or prostitution.<sup>311</sup>

### Trauma

Scholars point out that trauma is a major barrier to investigations and prosecutions. As a result of trauma, trafficking victims do not make credible witnesses – they change their testimony or retract it, their memories are fragmented, they make inconsistent statements, and their timelines are incorrect.<sup>312</sup> Moreover, due to trauma and the risks of being re-traumatized, victims are sometimes reluctant to testify and cooperate with prosecutors.<sup>313</sup> Without victim testimony and cooperation, it is extremely difficult for prosecutors to successfully prosecute human trafficking.<sup>314</sup>

Law enforcement officers face similar challenges when working with trafficking victims. A lack of training in trauma-informed and victim-centered interview techniques among police (as well as

prosecutors) hinders their ability to effectively interview victims and elicit victim cooperation.<sup>315</sup> Police interviews tend to mimic the human trafficking experience, and if victims feel coerced or unsafe, they may not cooperate.<sup>316</sup>

#### Attitudes about the Victims

Scholars note that negative attitudes about human trafficking victims among law enforcement officers and prosecutors across the U.S. are additional barriers to holding traffickers accountable. With regard to sex trafficking in Minnesota, research shows a shift from punitive to victim-centered approaches, providing resources and services instead of arresting victims, and efforts to criminalize sex buyers and traffickers rather than sellers.<sup>317</sup> However, negative attitudes about sex trafficking victims among some law enforcement officers persist as victims are still looked down upon and face disbelief.<sup>318</sup>

As discussed in prior sections, sometimes victims are not regarded as victims unless they are “ideal.”<sup>319</sup> Ideal victims are credible, and their credibility is questioned if they engaged in criminal activity as a result of their victimization, have a history of substance abuse, or are undocumented.<sup>320</sup> In such instances, even if they cooperate, research demonstrates they are considered criminals, not victims.<sup>321</sup>

Scholars also find that prosecutors consider other factors such as the victim’s and trafficker’s age, race, and gender, as well as the victim’s engagement with risky behavior, when prosecuting trafficking cases.<sup>322</sup>

#### Lack of Victim Support and Services

Crime victim service providers are critical to investigations and prosecutions. Victims prioritize their safety, the safety of their families, and their basic needs. When these things are secured, researchers find victims are more likely to cooperate with authorities and testify in court.<sup>323</sup> Given that fear of their trafficker is a major reason why victims do not cooperate with investigations or testify in court, victim support and witness protection go a long way toward achieving cooperation.<sup>324</sup>

#### Public Attitudes

Public attitudes are another barrier to identification, investigation and prosecution. Without public concern for human trafficking and public support for investigations, research finds law enforcement officials are reluctant to prioritize the issue.<sup>325</sup> If police conduct investigations, they tend to pursue cases that match cultural conceptions of human trafficking or cases involving minor victims and/or sex trafficking, because there is widespread agreement that these types of cases are harmful.<sup>326</sup> Otherwise, without public support, it is difficult for law enforcement to justify allocating resources to investigations.<sup>327</sup>

#### Law Enforcement Responses

##### Labor Trafficking

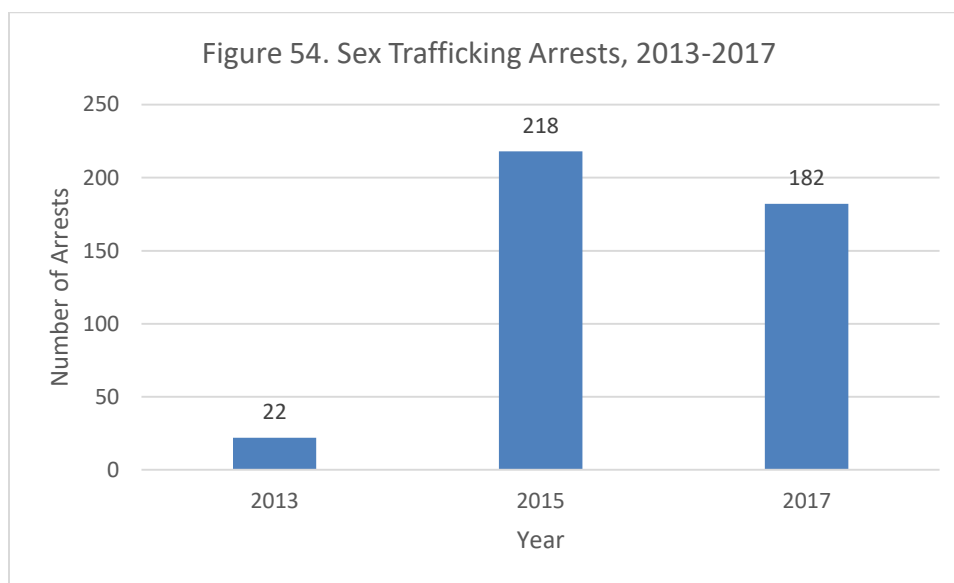
There were no labor trafficking incidents reported in the BCA’s UCR in 2017. The UCR did not report any incidents in 2015 or 2016.

However, results from the human trafficking survey show that in 2017, law enforcement agencies in Minnesota conducted 21 labor trafficking investigations and made two arrests.<sup>328</sup> That number is fairly consistent with survey results from previous years. In 2013, law enforcement agencies arrested two people for labor trafficking, and in 2015, they did not make any arrests.

## Sex Trafficking

In 2017, there were 173 sex trafficking incidents, according to the BCA's UCR. In 2016, there were 235 incidents, and in 2015, there were 119 incidents.

However, according to the human trafficking survey, law enforcement agencies conducted 401 sex trafficking investigations in 2017 and made 182 arrests.<sup>329</sup> As Figure 54 shows, based on prior human trafficking surveys, this is a decline from 2015 when law enforcement agencies made 218 arrests. In 2013, there were 22 arrests.



## State Court Responses

### Human Trafficking Charges and Convictions

Table 9 displays data from the Minnesota State Court Administrator's Office on the number of labor trafficking and sex trafficking charges and convictions in Minnesota from 2008 to 2017.<sup>330</sup>

There are a couple important points to note. First, across all years, nearly all human trafficking charges and convictions involved sex, not labor, trafficking. Prosecutors filed labor trafficking charges twice in 2012 and 2016, and none resulted in a conviction. Four charges were filed in 2017, and one ended in a labor trafficking conviction.

A second point worth noting is the increase in sex trafficking charges and convictions over time. Approximately 25 sex trafficking charges were filed from 2008 to 2010. That number almost doubled to 43 in 2011 and doubled again to 100 in 2012. The number of charges held fairly steady in 2013 but declined to 63 in 2014. It spiked sharply to 138 in 2015 and decreased to 83 in 2016 before rising to 96 in 2017. Though the number of charges increased and decreased from 2012 to 2017, it never returned to its pre-2012 levels.

Sex trafficking convictions tracked similarly, though the number of convictions never came close to matching the number of charges. Overall, the number of sex trafficking convictions increased from 2008 to 2013, dropped in 2014 and rose in 2015. Since 2015, there has been a steady decline in the number of convictions.

**Table 9. Number of Human Trafficking Charges and Convictions in Minnesota, 2008-2017**

Statute Title	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Labor trafficking charges	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	4
Labor trafficking convictions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Solicitation of prostitution; Sex trafficking charges	26	26	24	43	100	95	63	138	83	96
Solicitation of prostitution; Sex trafficking convictions	16	7	15	8	32	49	19	44	41	32

### Human Trafficking-Related Charges and Convictions

Prosecutors in Minnesota were more successful prosecuting human trafficking-related crimes than human trafficking, according to data from the Minnesota State Court Administrator's Office.<sup>331</sup> Table 10 displays the number of charges filed from 2008 to 2017.<sup>332</sup>

There are a few patterns to note. For one, with regard to number of charges, there were significantly more charges filed for possessing or disseminating child pornography and other prostitution crimes than coercion, owning or operating a disorderly house, soliciting or communicating with a child about sexual conduct, or using minors in sexual performance or pornography.

Another point to note is the trajectory of charges filed over time. Charges for possessing or disseminating child pornography sharply decreased from 670 in 2008 to 360 in 2009 before spiking to 896 in 2010. Overall, the number of charges declined from 896 in 2010 to 616 in 2014. Charges increased significantly to 819 in 2015 before dropping off to 476 in 2016 and climbing to 786 in 2017.

We observe a similar pattern with charges for other prostitution crimes. There was a gradual decline in charges from 585 in 2008 to 439 in 2011. In 2012, there was a sharp increase in charges (540) followed by another gradual decline to 415 in 2014. The number of charges rose steeply to 578 in 2015 before dropping to 402 in 2016 and leveling off to 401 in 2017.

With respect to the other human trafficking-related crimes, the number of charges for soliciting a child for the purposes of engaging in sexual conduct, communicating with a child about sexual conduct, or sharing sexually explicit materials with children gradually increased from 68 in 2008 to 258 in 2017. By contrast, disorderly house charges declined from 166 in 2008 to 18 in 2017.

The number of charges filed for coercion and using minors in sexual performance and pornography held steady from 2008 to 2017.



**Table 10. Number of Human Trafficking-Related Charges in Minnesota, 2008-2017**

Statute Title	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Coercion	10	13	13	11	5	12	9	12	8	7
Unlawful conduct	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Other prostitution crimes	585	507	500	439	540	513	415	578	402	401
Disorderly house	166	86	66	46	38	27	24	28	11	18
Solicitation of children; Communication with children	68	53	77	70	86	124	136	154	166	258
Use of minors in sexual performance	16	17	19	19	19	30	17	31	23	12
Possession of pornographic work involving minors	670	360	896	672	728	750	616	819	476	786
Harmful materials; Dissemination and display to minors	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Convictions for human trafficking-related crimes tracked similarly, but there are a couple notable exceptions. Table 11 presents data from the Minnesota State Court Administrator’s Office on the number of convictions for human trafficking-related crimes from 2008 to 2017.<sup>333</sup>

As with charges, there was a similar rise in convictions for possessing or disseminating child pornography from 2008 to 2011. However, from 2011 to 2017, there was a substantial decline in child pornography convictions.

Convictions for other prostitution crimes mirror charges from 2008 to 2012. But, from 2012 to 2017, the number of convictions gradually increased.

From 2008 to 2017, charges for soliciting or communicating with a child about sexual conduct or sharing sexually explicit materials with children rose, and so did convictions.

Although charges for owning and operating a disorderly house declined from 2008 to 2017, there were very few convictions during that time period. Similarly, there were few convictions for coercion and using minors in sexual performance and pornography. Like charges, the number of convictions were low and held steady.

**Table 11. Number of Human Trafficking-Related Convictions in Minnesota, 2008-2017**

Statute Title	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Coercion	1	1	3	4	1	4	7	6	4	1
Unlawful conduct	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other prostitution crimes	255	214	216	229	171	187	175	195	244	225
Disorderly house	9	5	5	4	1	3	8	3	6	4
Solicitation of children; Communication with children	27	26	15	33	49	29	46	63	45	67
Use of minors in sexual performance	4	3	7	7	1	11	7	4	7	5
Possession of pornographic work involving minors	151	116	194	354	293	283	275	213	243	168
Harmful materials; Dissemination and display to minors	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

## CONCLUSION

There is a growing awareness of human trafficking among law enforcement agencies and service providers in Minnesota. Increased education and training as well as resources for identifying victims and investigating human trafficking result in a greater ability to serve victims and hold traffickers accountable.

Results from the 2018 Human Trafficking Report reveal that in 2017:

- Law enforcement agencies identified 21 labor trafficking victims.
- Service providers identified 394 labor trafficking victims.
- Law enforcement conducted 21 labor trafficking investigations and made two arrests.
- Prosecutors filed four labor trafficking charges and attained one conviction.
- Law enforcement agencies identified 401 sex trafficking victims.
- Service providers identified 2,124 sex trafficking victims.
- Law enforcement conducted 401 sex trafficking investigations and made 182 arrests.
- Prosecutors filed 96 sex trafficking charges and attained 32 convictions.

Results on the demographics of human trafficking victims confirm existing research on the topic. A substantial body of research finds age, gender and race raise the risk of being trafficked. Although women, girls, and people of color are at increased risk of being sex trafficked, men and boys as well as people of color are vulnerable to being labor trafficked.

The 2018 Human Trafficking Report reveals that in 2017:

- 51 percent of labor trafficking victims were men and boys.
- 91 percent of labor trafficking victims were people of color.
- 59 percent of sex trafficking victims were women and 25 percent were girls under 18.
- 69 percent of sex trafficking victims were people of color.

Although it is important to understand the risk factors associated with human trafficking, it is also critical to recognize that anyone can become a trafficking victim. For example, while the majority of sex trafficking victims are women and girls, the number of victims who are men and boys is often underestimated. When we focus our attention on certain demographics, we potentially overlook victims and miss the opportunity to help them and hold their traffickers accountable.

Along similar lines, it is important not to associate human trafficking with just sex trafficking. Doing so runs the risk of ignoring labor trafficking. Although 86 percent of trafficking victims in Minnesota in 2017 were victims of sex trafficking, the statistic does not necessarily imply that sex trafficking is more prevalent than labor trafficking or that labor trafficking is rare. Rather, a low number of labor trafficking victims likely reflects the hidden nature of the crime, a lack of training, gender and xenophobic biases, and difficulty identifying victims. Greater awareness of and attention to labor trafficking are crucial to serving labor trafficking victims and prosecuting the crime.

Minnesota has made tremendous strides preventing and combatting human trafficking, particularly sex trafficking. An earlier adopter of anti-trafficking laws, it continues to make progress with its most recent legislative efforts, Safe Harbor for Sexually Exploited Youth and Sex Trafficking Prevention and Response Training. Although education and awareness campaigns are critical to prevention efforts, it is important to address labor trafficking and the push and pull factors, particularly poverty, that contribute to human trafficking.

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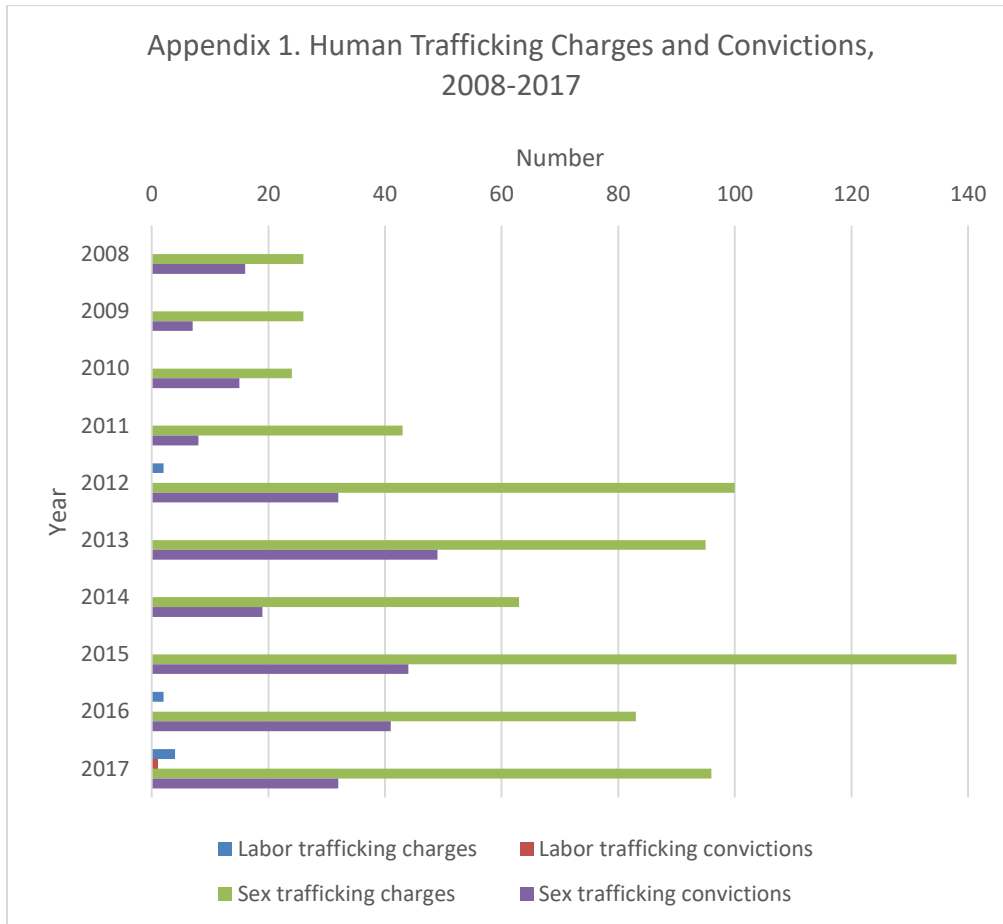
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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1. Human Trafficking Charges and Convictions in Minnesota, 2008-2017

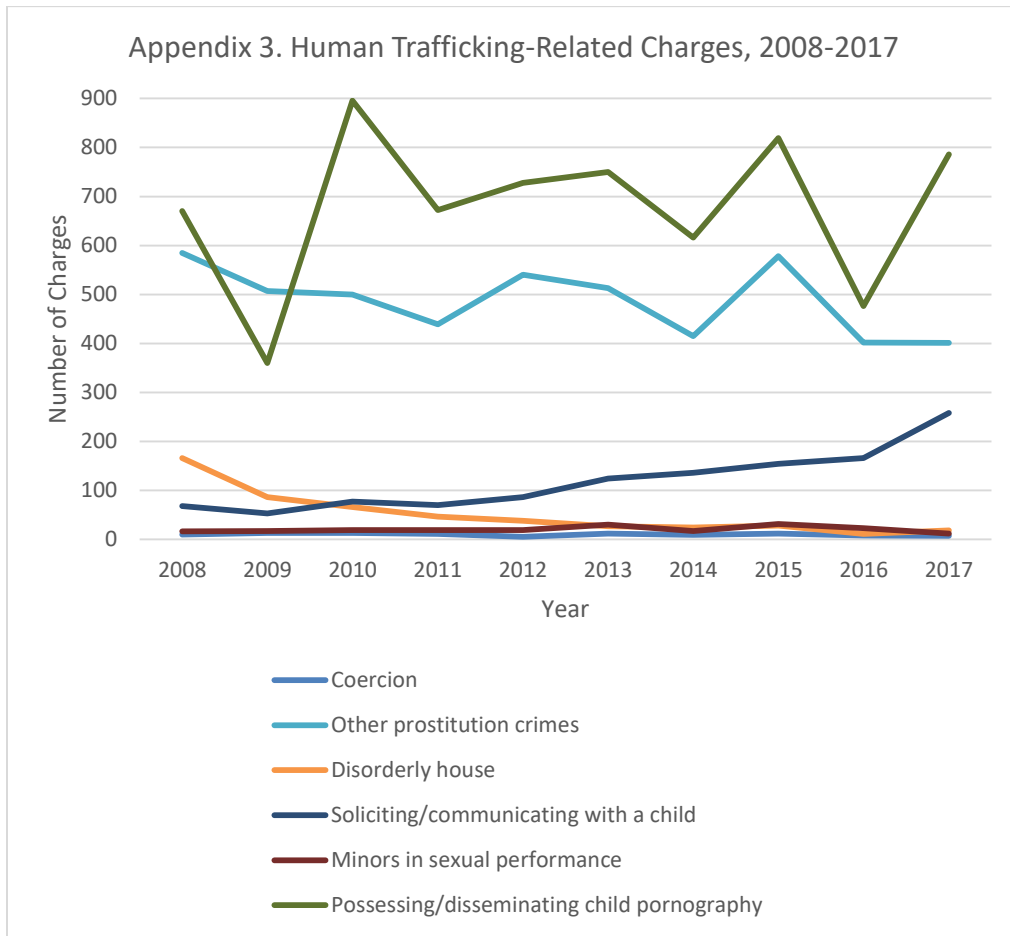


## Appendix 2. Descriptions of Human Trafficking and Human Trafficking-Related Statutes in Minnesota

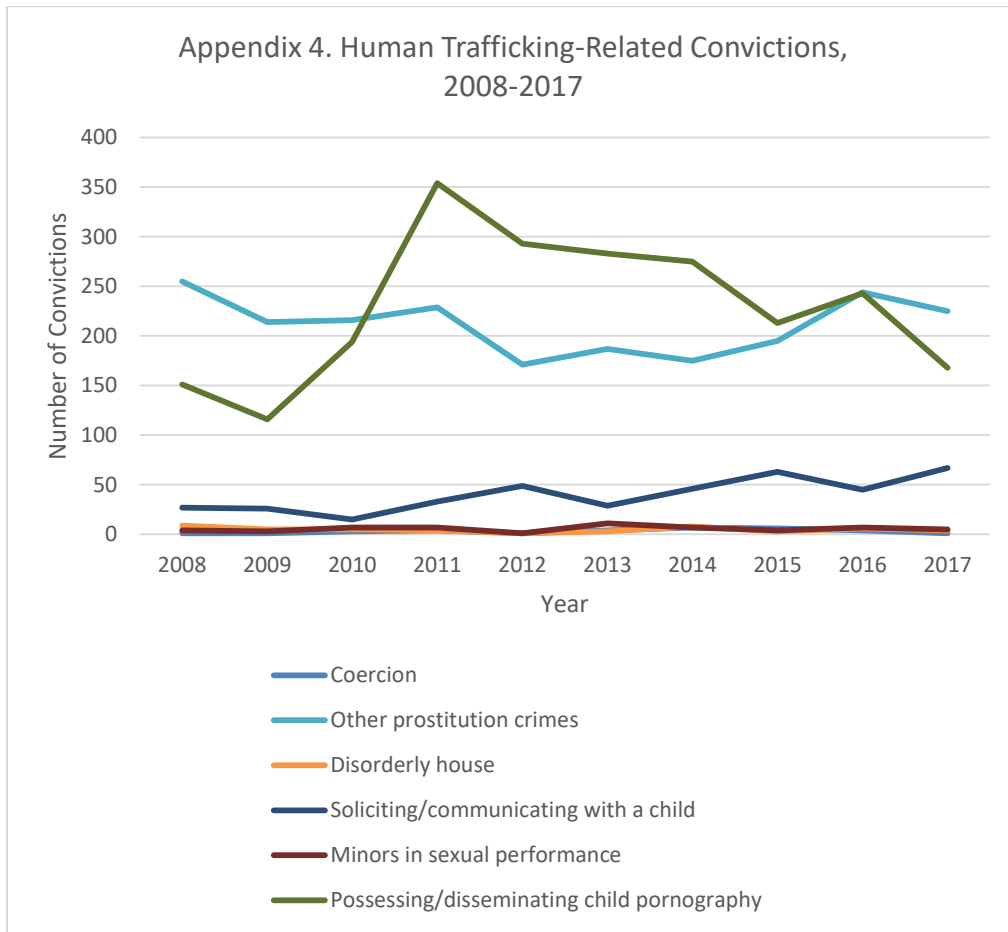
Statute Section	Statute Title	Statute Description
609.27	Coercion	Oral or written threats (e.g., threats of bodily harm, confinement, damage to property) that cause someone to act against their will.
609.282	Labor trafficking	Criminalizes knowingly engaging in labor trafficking.
609.283	Unlawful conduct with respect to documents in furtherance of labor or sex trafficking	Criminalizes knowingly destroying, concealing, removing, confiscating, or possessing someone else's actual or purported passport or other immigration document, or actual or purported government identification.
609.322	Solicitation, inducement, and promotion of prostitution; sex trafficking	Criminalizes soliciting, inducing, promoting prostitution, engaging in sex trafficking.
609.324	Patrons; prostitutes; housing individuals engaged in prostitution (other prostitution crimes)	Prohibits engaging in prostitution with minors, housing minors engaged in prostitution, prostitution in public (penalties for patrons and those who sell sex), and general prostitution crimes (penalties for patrons and those who sell sex).
609.33	Disorderly house	Prohibits owning or operating a disorderly house. Disorderly houses are homes in which any of the following activities habitually take place in violation of the law: liquor sales, gambling, prostitution, sale or possession of controlled substances.
609.352	Solicitation of children to engage in sexual conduct; communication of sexually explicit materials to children	Criminalizes soliciting children for the purposes of engaging in sexual conduct, communicating with children about sexual conduct, sharing sexually explicit materials with children.
617.246	Use of minors in sexual performance prohibited	Prohibits promoting, hiring, using, or allowing a minor to participate in sexual performance or pornographic work.
617.247	Possession of pornographic work involving minors	Prohibits possessing and/or disseminating pornographic work involving minors.
617.293	Harmful materials; dissemination and display to minors	Prohibits disseminating sexually explicit materials to minors and displaying materials deemed harmful to minors in public. Precautions must be taken to prevent minors from seeing the harmful material.



**Appendix 3. Human Trafficking-Related Charges in Minnesota,<sup>334</sup> 2008-2017**



### Appendix 4. Human Trafficking-Related Convictions in Minnesota, 2008-2017



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<sup>1</sup> [United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children 2000.](#)

<sup>2</sup> Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, Public Law 106-386, 106th Cong., 2d sess. (October 28, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Minnesota Statutes §145.4716 (2018).

<sup>4</sup> Minnesota Statutes §145.4716, Subd. 3 (2018).

<sup>5</sup> 2017 Minn. Laws Chap. 6, Art. 10 §145, 1st Special Session. See [here](#) for the assessment and strategic plan.

<sup>6</sup> Minnesota Statutes §157.177 (2018).

<sup>7</sup> Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>13</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Finklea et al 2015; Clawson and Dutch 2016; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>14</sup> Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>15</sup> Owens et al 2014; Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Nichols 2016.

<sup>17</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>18</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>19</sup> Macy and Graham 2012; Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016.

<sup>20</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014; Clawson and Dutch, 2015; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>21</sup> For more information on potential explanations for the discrepancy in data reported in the Uniform Crime Report and the 2018 Human Trafficking Survey, see page 23 of this report.

<sup>22</sup> For more information on potential explanations for the discrepancy in data reported in the Uniform Crime Report and the 2018 Human Trafficking Survey, see page 23 of this report.

<sup>23</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Nichols 2016.

<sup>24</sup> Logan et al 2009; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>25</sup> [United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children 2000.](#)

<sup>26</sup> Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, Public Law 106-386, 106th Cong., 2d sess. (October 28, 2000).

<sup>27</sup> Teigen 2018.

<sup>28</sup> Minnesota Statutes §609.281 (2018). Minnesota's definition of labor trafficking closely mirrors the federal definition.

<sup>29</sup> Minnesota Statutes §609.321 (2018). Minnesota's definition of sex trafficking closely mirrors the federal definition.

<sup>30</sup> Bortel et al 2008.

<sup>31</sup> See the [Minnesota Human Trafficking Task Force.](#)

<sup>32</sup> Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>33</sup> Nichols 2016.

<sup>34</sup> Nichols 2016.

<sup>35</sup> Logan et al 2009; Farrell et al 2010; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Logan et al 2009; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>37</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>38</sup> Logan et al 2009; Nichols 2016.

<sup>39</sup> Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>40</sup> Owens et al 2014; Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016.

<sup>41</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>42</sup> Minnesota Statutes §609.281 (2018) and Minnesota Statutes §609.321 (2018).

<sup>43</sup> Nichols 2016.

<sup>44</sup> Minnesota Statutes §145.4716 (2018).

<sup>45</sup> Minnesota Statutes §145.4716, Subd. 3 (2018).

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- <sup>46</sup> [See \*No Wrong Door: A Comprehensive Approach to Safe Harbor for Minnesota's Sexually Exploited Youth\*. 2013.](#)
- <sup>47</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>48</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>49</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>50</sup> Logan et al 2009; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>51</sup> Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>52</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>53</sup> Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>54</sup> Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>55</sup> Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>56</sup> Hodge 2014; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>57</sup> Hodge 2014; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>58</sup> Hodge 2014; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>59</sup> Hodge 2014; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>60</sup> MacKinnon 2005; Yen 2008.
- <sup>61</sup> Nichols 2016; Weitzer 2018.
- <sup>62</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>63</sup> Price et al 2016; Perry and Schleifer 2017.
- <sup>64</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>65</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>66</sup> Weitzer 2015.
- <sup>67</sup> Weitzer 2015.
- <sup>68</sup> Weitzer 2015.
- <sup>69</sup> Weitzer 2015.
- <sup>70</sup> Weitzer 2011.
- <sup>71</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>72</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>73</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>74</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>75</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Finklea et al 2015; Clawson and Dutch 2016; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>76</sup> Hodge 2014.
- <sup>77</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>78</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>79</sup> Logan et al 2009.
- <sup>80</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>81</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>82</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>83</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>84</sup> Nichols 2016; Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>85</sup> Finklea et al 2016; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>86</sup> Butler 2015; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>87</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>88</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>89</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>90</sup> Butler 2015; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>91</sup> Deer 2010; Butler 2015; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>92</sup> Deer 2010; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>93</sup> Butler 2015.
- <sup>94</sup> Butler 2015.
- <sup>95</sup> Butler 2015.
- <sup>96</sup> Martin et al 2017.
- <sup>97</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>98</sup> Pierce 2009; Farley et al 2011.
- <sup>99</sup> Nichols 2016.

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- 100 Nichols 2016.
- 101 Nichols 2016.
- 102 Finklea et al 2015; Nichols 2016.
- 103 Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014.
- 104 Martin et al 2018.
- 105 Logan et al 2009; Clawson and Dutch 2015.
- 106 Logan et al 2009; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016.
- 107 Lize and Whitaker 2014; Weitzer 2015.
- 108 Oselin 2014; Nichols 2016.
- 109 Nichols 2016.
- 110 Oselin 2014.
- 111 Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014.
- 112 Pierce 2009; Deer 2010; Farley et al 2011.
- 113 Pierce 2009; Deer 2010; Farley et al 2011.
- 114 Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016.
- 115 Pierce 2009; Nichols 2016.
- 116 Pierce 2009; Nichols 2016.
- 117 Oselin 2014.
- 118 Oselin 2014.
- 119 Pierce 2009.
- 120 Pierce 2009; Deer 2010; Farley et al 2011.
- 121 Owens et al 2014; Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016.
- 122 Nichols 2016.
- 123 Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- 124 Logan et al 2009.
- 125 Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014.
- 126 Owens et al 2014.
- 127 Nichols 2016.
- 128 Nichols 2016.
- 129 Owens et al 2014.
- 130 Owens et al 2014.
- 131 Hodge 2014.
- 132 Owens et al 2014.
- 133 Logan et al 2009; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- 134 Hodge 2014.
- 135 Logan et al 2009.
- 136 Nichols 2016.
- 137 Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016.
- 138 Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016.
- 139 Aronowitz 2017.
- 140 Logan et al 2009; Aronowitz 2017.
- 141 Owens et al 2014.
- 142 Aronowitz 2017.
- 143 Aronowitz 2017.
- 144 Owens et al 2014.
- 145 Aronowitz 2017.
- 146 Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014.
- 147 Logan et al 2009; Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016.
- 148 Logan et al 2009; Owens et al 2014.
- 149 Logan et al 2009.
- 150 Logan et al 2009.
- 151 Logan et al 2009; Owens et al 2014.
- 152 Logan et al 2009.
- 153 Logan et al 2009; Owens et al 2014; Hodge 2014.
- 154 Logan et al 2009; Owens et al 2019.
- 155 Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014.

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- <sup>156</sup> Hodge 2014.
- <sup>157</sup> Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>158</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>159</sup> Hodge 2014.
- <sup>160</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>161</sup> Clawson and Dutch 2015; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>162</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Renzetti et al 2015.
- <sup>163</sup> Logan et al 2009.
- <sup>164</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>165</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>166</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>167</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>168</sup> [Trafficking in Persons Report 2018.](#)
- <sup>169</sup> [Trafficking in Persons Report 2018.](#)
- <sup>170</sup> Nichols 2016; [Trafficking in Persons Report 2018.](#)
- <sup>171</sup> Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>172</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>173</sup> Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016; Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>174</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>175</sup> Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017; Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>176</sup> Hodge 2014.
- <sup>177</sup> Hodge 2014.
- <sup>178</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>179</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>180</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>181</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>182</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>183</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>184</sup> Minnesota Statutes §157.177 (2018).
- <sup>185</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>186</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>187</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>188</sup> Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>189</sup> Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>190</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>191</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>192</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>193</sup> Minnesota Statutes §299A.785 (2018).
- <sup>194</sup> Macy and Graham 2012; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>195</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Nichols and Heil 2014; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Renzetti et al 2015.
- <sup>196</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>197</sup> This is an increase from 2014 and 2016 when 20 percent and 24 percent of service providers reported providing services to sex trafficking victims, respectively. The 2014 and 2016 surveys did not inquire about labor trafficking-specific services.
- <sup>198</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>199</sup> Renzetti et al 2015; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>200</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Renzetti et al 2015.
- <sup>201</sup> United States Department of Justice, 2004 *Anti-Trafficking News Bulletin* in Farrell et al 2008.
- <sup>202</sup> Renzetti et al 2015.
- <sup>203</sup> Macy and Graham 2012; Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>204</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Nichols and Heil 2014; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Renzetti et al 2015.
- <sup>205</sup> Logan et al 2009; Farrell et al 2010; Farrell and Pfeffer 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017; Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>206</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014; Clawson and Dutch, 2015; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>207</sup> Logan et al 2009; Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>208</sup> Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>209</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016.

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- <sup>210</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>211</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>212</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>213</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>214</sup> Logan et al 2009.
- <sup>215</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Renzetti et al 2015.
- <sup>216</sup> Owens et al 2014; Clawson and Dutch 2015.
- <sup>217</sup> Clawson and Dutch 2015.
- <sup>218</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Renzetti et al 2015.
- <sup>219</sup> Logan et al 2009.
- <sup>220</sup> Logan et al 2009.
- <sup>221</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>222</sup> Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>223</sup> Logan et al 2009; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>224</sup> Logan et al 2009; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>225</sup> For more information on potential explanations for the discrepancy in data reported in the Uniform Crime Report and the 2018 Human Trafficking Survey, see page 23 of this report.
- <sup>226</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014.
- <sup>227</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014.
- <sup>228</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014.
- <sup>229</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>230</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>231</sup> In 2015, the age categories were as follows: under 18, 18-34, 35-49, and unknown.
- <sup>232</sup> For more information on potential explanations for the discrepancy in data reported in the Uniform Crime Report and the 2018 Human Trafficking Survey, see page 23 of this report.
- <sup>233</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>234</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>235</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>236</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>237</sup> Nichols 2016; Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>238</sup> Logan et al 2009; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>239</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>240</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>241</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>242</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>243</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>244</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>245</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>246</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>247</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>248</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>249</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>250</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>251</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>252</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>253</sup> The survey did not ask respondents if victims were trafficked from a tribal nation.
- <sup>254</sup> The survey did not ask respondents if victims were trafficked from a tribal nation.
- <sup>255</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>256</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>257</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>258</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>259</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>260</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>261</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>262</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>263</sup> Siegel 2017.

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- 264 Siegel 2017.  
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270 Aronowitz 2017.  
271 Aronowitz 2017.  
272 Aronowitz 2017.  
273 Nichols 2016.  
274 Nichols 2016.  
275 Nichols 2016.  
276 Nichols and Heil 2014; Nichols 2016.  
277 Nichols 2016.  
278 Nichols 2016.  
279 Nichols 2016.  
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290 Nichols 2016.  
291 The survey did not ask respondents if victims were trafficked from a tribal nation.  
292 The survey did not ask respondents if victims were trafficked from a tribal nation.  
293 Farrell et al 2010; Nichols 2016.  
294 Owens et al 2014; Clawson and Dutch 2015.  
295 Farrell et al 2014.  
296 Farrell and Pfeffer 2014.  
297 Farrell et al 2014; Owens et al 2014.  
298 Farrell et al 2014; Owens et al 2014.  
299 Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016.  
300 Owens et al 2014.  
301 Owens et al 2014; Farrell et al 2014.  
302 Farrell and Pfeffer 2014.  
303 Farrell et al 2014.  
304 Farrell et al 2014; Nichols 2016.  
305 Farrell et al 2014.  
306 Farrell et al 2014.  
307 Farrell et al 2014.  
308 Farrell et al 2014.  
309 Logan et al 2009.  
310 Logan et al 2014; Nichols 2016.  
311 Nichols 2016.  
312 Farrell et al 2010; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.  
313 Nichols 2016; Rankin 2017.  
314 Rankin 2017.  
315 Farrell et al 2014.  
316 Farrell et al 2010; Aronowitz 2017.  
317 Martin et al 2018.  
318 Martin et al 2018.  
319 Aronowitz 2017.



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<sup>320</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Farrell et al 2014.

<sup>321</sup> Farrell et al 2014.

<sup>322</sup> Farrell et al 2014.

<sup>323</sup> Owens et al 2014; Nichols and Heil 2014; Nichols 2016; Rankin 2017.

<sup>324</sup> Martin et al 2018.

<sup>325</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014.

<sup>326</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014.

<sup>327</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014.

<sup>328</sup> For more information on potential explanations for the discrepancy in data reported in the Uniform Crime Report and the 2018 Human Trafficking Survey, see page 23 of this report.

<sup>329</sup> For more information on potential explanations for the discrepancy in data reported in the Uniform Crime Report and the 2018 Human Trafficking Survey, see page 23 of this report.

<sup>330</sup> See Appendix 1 for a graph of the number of human trafficking charges and convictions in Minnesota from 2008 to 2017.

<sup>331</sup> See Appendix 2 for a list and brief explanation of human trafficking and human trafficking-related statutes.

<sup>332</sup> See Appendix 3 for a graph of the number of human trafficking-related charges in Minnesota from 2008 to 2017.

<sup>333</sup> See Appendix 4 for a graph of the number of human trafficking-related conviction in Minnesota from 2008 to 2017.

<sup>334</sup> Other human trafficking-related statutes include Unlawful conduct (Minnesota Statutes §609.283) and Harmful materials (Minnesota Statutes §617.293). There was one unlawful conduct charge in 2016 and no convictions from 2008 to 2017. There were no harmful materials charges or convictions from 2008 to 2017. For the sake of clarity, data on both statutes have been omitted from Appendix 3 and Appendix 4.