

# **HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN MINNESOTA**

A Report to the Minnesota Legislature

2019

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Minnesota Office of Justice Programs  
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Summary Report

## INTRODUCTION

### 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. 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>1</sup> The OJP convened and managed the legislatively mandated task force until its sunset in 2011, after which the Minnesota Department of Health assumed responsibility for convening and coordinating the task force.<sup>2</sup>

In 2008, the legislature amended the statute and called for a biennial study and report on 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, 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 take 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). 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 Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension (BCA) and included in the annual Minnesota Justice Information Services Uniform Crime Report (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.

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, the number of human trafficking victims in Minnesota is likely higher than the number reported. Trafficking is a hidden crime, and there are several barriers to identifying victims. It is also important to note that information collected from law enforcement agencies and service providers is based on their memory. Few respondents systematically collect human trafficking data, so the information in this report consists of estimates and their recollections when they took the survey.

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.

### 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>3</sup>

It involves an:

1. **Act** (“recruitment, transportation, transfer...”) and a
2. **Means** (“...by means of...”) for the purpose of
3. **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>4</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>5</sup> 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>6</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>7</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.

Since enacting its first anti-trafficking statute, Minnesota has intensified its efforts to prevent, prosecute and penalize the crime. It expanded the scope of trafficking, increased punishments, and extended protections and services to sexually exploited youth.

In 2011, Minnesota enacted 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>8</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>9</sup>

Minnesota's approach to helping sexually exploited youth is called No Wrong Door.<sup>10</sup> 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.

In 2018, Minnesota enacted the Sex Trafficking Prevention and Response Training law.<sup>11</sup> Recognizing that hotels are common venues for sex trafficking, the law requires every hotel and motel employee in the state to complete training on how to recognize, identify and respond to the crime. 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.

## COMMON MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT HUMAN TRAFFICKING

### 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>12</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>13</sup> When migration is unauthorized and voluntary, it is smuggling. When it is involuntary, it is trafficking.<sup>14</sup>

### 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>15</sup> Instead, victims are controlled psychologically and often have freedom of movement.<sup>16</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>17</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>18</sup>

## FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING

According to existing research, a variety of social factors contribute to human trafficking. Though trafficking does not require movement, it usually happens in the context of migration, authorized or unauthorized.<sup>19</sup> Migration is movement within a country (domestic migration) or movement from one country to another (international migration).<sup>20</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>21</sup>

### Push Factors

#### Poverty

Scholars find that poverty is a primary risk factor for human trafficking, both domestic and international.<sup>22</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>23</sup>

#### Weak Political Systems

Political instability resulting in unstable or oppressive political regimes, widespread gender inequality and gender-based violence, political conflict, civil disorder and widespread violence,

and grave human rights violations fuel migration from one country to another and therefore fuel international human trafficking.<sup>24</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>25</sup>

With regard to international trafficking, scholars categorize countries as origination or destination countries, with people migrating from the former to the latter.<sup>26</sup> Push factors such as poverty and weak political systems in origination countries prompt migration to destination countries.<sup>27</sup> Pull factors such as economic opportunity, perceived wealth and prosperity, and other imagined benefits lure migrants to destination countries.<sup>28</sup>

### Demand

Demand for sex and cheap labor, especially in agriculture, restaurants and domestic work – and therefore migrant workers – contributes to human trafficking.<sup>29</sup> 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>30</sup> but there is no empirical evidence that pornography consumption is related to sex trafficking.<sup>31</sup> Rates of pornography consumption are higher than rates of purchasing sex.<sup>32</sup> In fact, pornography consumption has increased since the early 1970s,<sup>33</sup> but rates of purchasing sex have held fairly steady and even declined slightly.<sup>34</sup> If pornography use produced a demand for sex, then the number of people purchasing sex would be higher.<sup>35</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>36</sup> In short, traffickers prey on the most vulnerable because they are "easier to recruit, control, and exploit."<sup>37</sup>

### Socioeconomic Status

Prior research shows low socioeconomic status is a risk factor of human trafficking.<sup>38</sup> Poor people and those without educational and employment opportunities migrate within a country or to another country to pursue economic opportunities. Those without education are especially attractive to traffickers because they are unlikely to know their legal rights and how to get help.<sup>39</sup>

### Homeless/Runaway/Throwaway/Orphan

In Minnesota, poverty and homelessness are primary risk factors for sex trafficking and exploitation.<sup>40</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>41</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>42</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>43</sup>

### Age and Gender

With regard to sex trafficking, research finds most victims are women and girls.<sup>44</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>45</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>46</sup> Men and boys are prone to being trafficked in construction, mining and manufacturing.<sup>47</sup>

### Race

Anti-trafficking campaigns often depict sex trafficking victims as white middle-class women and girls.<sup>48</sup> However, studies reveal that sex trafficking victims are disproportionately women of color, especially black, Hispanic/Latinx and American Indian women.<sup>49</sup>

Race is correlated with socioeconomic status, which is one reason why it is a risk factor.<sup>50</sup>

Another reason involves racialized gender stereotypes of women of color. Historically, women of color were constructed as promiscuous, erotic and hypersexual.<sup>51</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>52</sup> These racialized gender stereotypes fuel sexual fetishes and the eroticization of women of color, contributing to the demand for them.<sup>53</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>54</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>55</sup>

### Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity

Research shows lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, gender non-conforming, or queer people, particularly youth, are susceptible to being sex trafficked because of their increased risk of homelessness.<sup>56</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>57</sup> As a result, they are more likely than non-LGBTQ youth to be runaways or throwaways and become disproportionately homeless as a result.

### Immigrant Status

Scholars propose a variety of reasons why immigrants, particularly undocumented immigrants, are vulnerable to being trafficked, and chief among them is poverty.<sup>58</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>59</sup> Immigrants are also less likely than citizens to know their legal rights and understand trafficking laws.<sup>60</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>61</sup>

### Disability/Mental and Physical Illness/Addiction

Previous research suggests people with disabilities, physical or mental illnesses, or addiction are vulnerable to being sex trafficked due to a lack of adequate health care.<sup>62</sup> Without treatment and medications, they may be unable to attain and maintain gainful, steady and legal employment and attain financial security.<sup>63</sup>

Studies conducted in Minnesota find addiction puts American Indian women at risk of being sex trafficked. As a consequence of colonization, American Indians face high rates of substance use and abuse.<sup>64</sup> Illicit substances are used to cope with the hopelessness, pain and despair resulting from historical trauma and cultural loss.<sup>65</sup>

### Victimization

According to prior research, a history of victimization, particularly physical abuse and sexual abuse, is a risk factor of trafficking.<sup>66</sup> One reason is that abuse is correlated with running away from home and therefore homelessness, which makes one vulnerable to being trafficked.<sup>67</sup> Another reason is violence and abuse are normalized, preventing one's ability to recognize when trafficking occurs.<sup>68</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>69</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>70</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>71</sup> In fact, victims often have freedom of movement.<sup>72</sup> Traffickers recruit victims using fraud and deceit and entrap them using psychological control and coercion.<sup>73</sup>

### Recruitment: Fraud and Deception

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>74</sup> Victims often cooperate with traffickers during recruitment because they do not know they are entering a trafficking situation.<sup>75</sup> Traffickers lie about the nature of the job or the working conditions to recruit victims.<sup>76</sup> After accepting what they believe is a legitimate job or opportunity, they are deceived and end up being trafficked.<sup>77</sup> This "bait-and-switch" technique is common among both labor traffickers and sex traffickers.<sup>78</sup>

### Entrapment: Psychological Control and Coercion

Scholars find traffickers use psychological control and coercion to entrap victims 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>79</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>80</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>81</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>82</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>83</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>84</sup>

According to researchers, 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>85</sup>

## **IMPACT OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING ON VICTIMS**

### **Trauma**

Research shows victims often experience trauma as a result of being trafficked. Trauma affects how one thinks and how memories are made and stored.<sup>86</sup> It impacts how stress and emotions are handled and how threats are perceived.<sup>87</sup> As a result of trauma, trafficking victims may struggle to cultivate healthy relationships.<sup>88</sup> Reuniting with family members can be difficult due to a loss of time and the victim’s development of a distrust for others.<sup>89</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.<sup>90</sup> Injuries and health issues often go untreated and worsen.<sup>91</sup> Post-traumatic stress, anxiety, depression, self-harm and suicide ideation, dissociation, and substance abuse are common.<sup>92</sup>

### **Social Stigma**

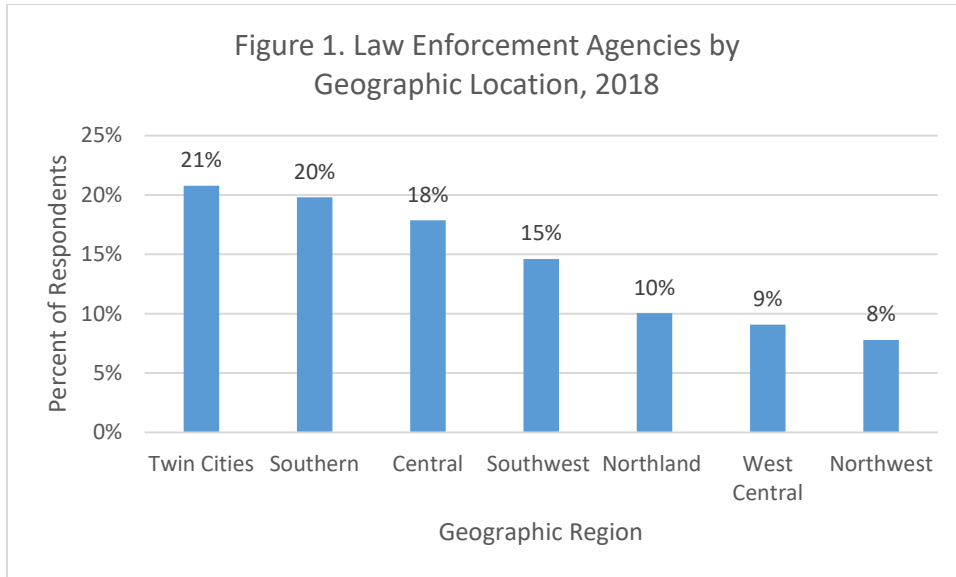
A 2018 study on sex trafficking and exploitation in Minnesota found that those who provide sexual services are often stigmatized.<sup>93</sup> Social stigma and its attending negative stereotypes prevent those who are trafficked and exploited from getting the help and care they need, particularly in small towns and in rural Minnesota.<sup>94</sup> They are either treated poorly or denied housing, employment, medical care, or mental health services.<sup>95</sup> They are also shunned by family and friends.<sup>96</sup>

## **2018 HUMAN TRAFFICKING SURVEY RESPONDENTS**

### **Law Enforcement Agencies**

- 83 percent of law enforcement agencies in Minnesota took the human trafficking survey.
- 48 percent were from law enforcement agencies with fewer than 10 sworn personnel.

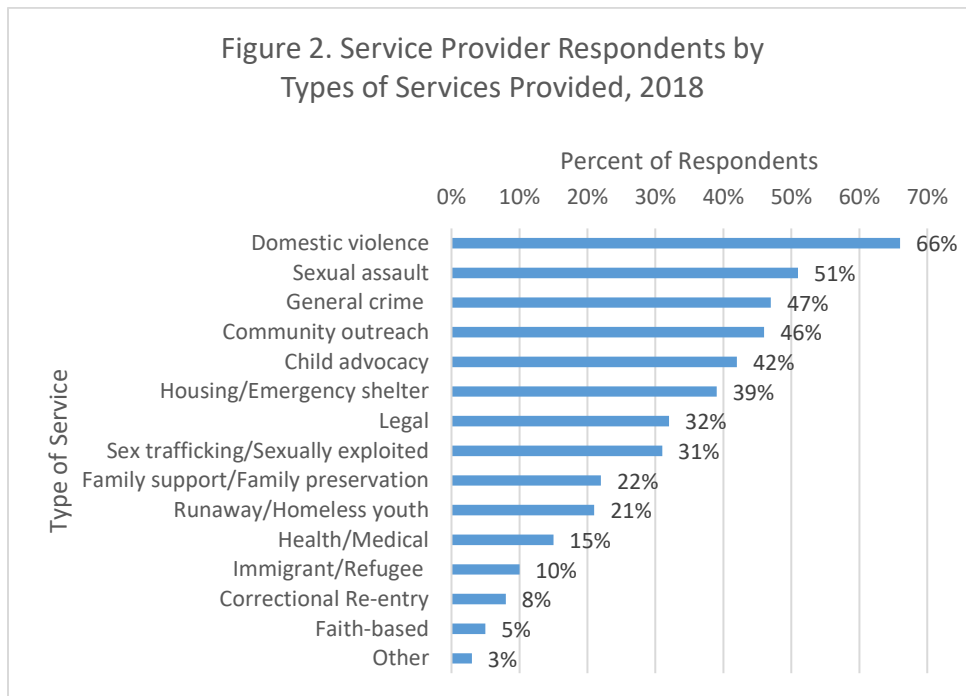
As Figure 1 shows, law enforcement agencies throughout Minnesota completed the survey.



### Service Providers

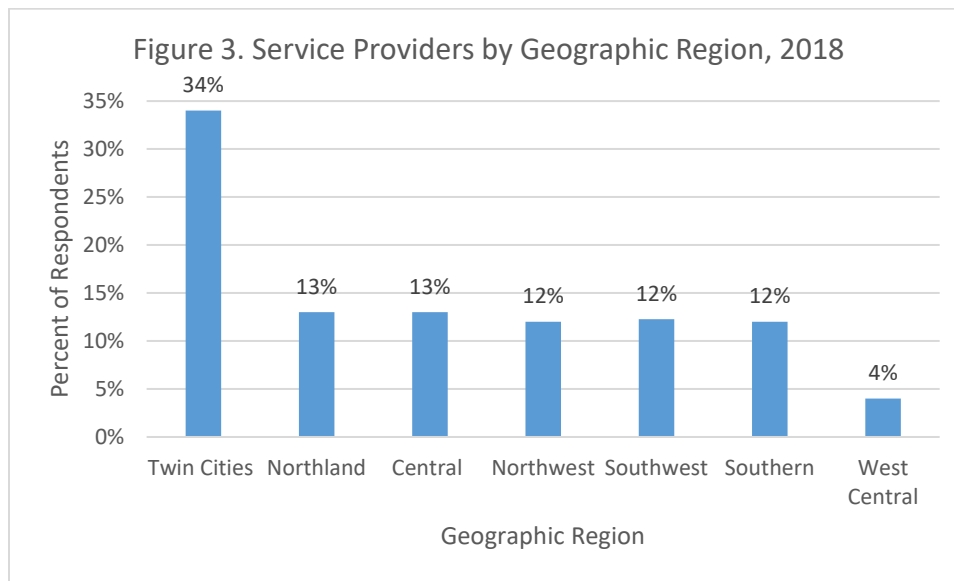
- 77 percent of service providers in Minnesota took the human trafficking survey.

Service providers noted all the types of services they provide, and Figure 2 displays the results.



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

Each region in Minnesota was represented by the service providers, presented in Figure 3.



## HUMAN TRAFFICKING TRAINING AND PERCEPTIONS IN MINNESOTA

Learning to identify and respond to human trafficking is vital to prevention and prosecution efforts. Training is critical because most victims do not self-identify and report the crime.<sup>97</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.

The human trafficking survey finds:

- 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.

Survey results show that despite completing human trafficking training:

- 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.

It is important to understand that identifying human trafficking victims is difficult. 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.

Scholars identify several barriers to identifying human trafficking victims:

- Victims try to stay hidden because they fear their traffickers, law enforcement, arrest and criminalization, detention and deportation, retaliation, and harm to family and friends.<sup>98</sup>

- Trafficking victims are sometimes misidentified. Some are mistaken for victims of intimate partner violence, rape, or sexual assault. Or worse, victims are misidentified as prostitutes or undocumented immigrants and treated as criminals.<sup>99</sup>
- Other times, victims are not considered victims. Victims who are not moved or physically restrained, men and boys who are sex trafficked, and U.S. citizens are usually overlooked.<sup>100</sup> Sometimes victims are not considered victims if they are not “ideal” or “pure.”<sup>101</sup>

Human trafficking identification and investigation are correlated with training as well as law enforcement officials’ perceptions of the crime. Results from the human trafficking survey show that law enforcement agencies in Minnesota take human trafficking seriously.

- 62 percent of law enforcement agencies believe investigating labor trafficking is important.
- 86 percent of law enforcement agencies think it is important to investigate sex trafficking.

However:

- 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.

Human trafficking studies suggest service providers confront 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>102</sup> Because they are isolated and completely dependent upon their trafficker, victims are in immediate need of housing, food, transportation, medical care and safety for themselves, family and friends.<sup>103</sup> Other needs include trauma-informed care, substance abuse treatment and immigration assistance.<sup>104</sup>

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.

## HUMAN TRAFFICKING PREVALENCE IN MINNESOTA

### Labor Trafficking Victims

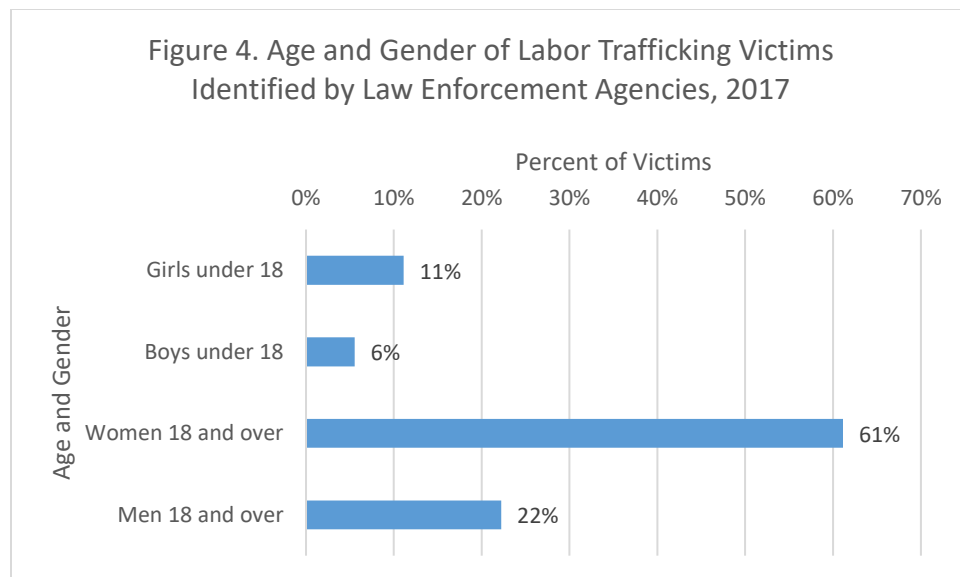
According to the BCA’s UCR, law enforcement agencies reported no labor trafficking incidents in 2017.

Results from the human trafficking survey reveal that in 2017:

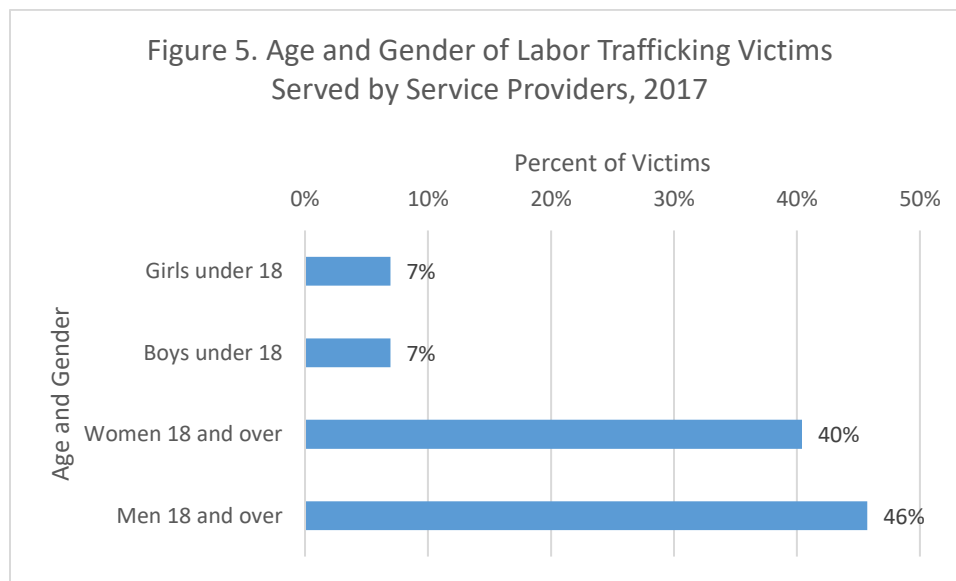
- Law enforcement agencies identified 21 labor trafficking victims.<sup>105</sup>
- Service providers identified 394 labor trafficking victims.
- 69 percent of labor trafficking victims were identified in the Twin Cities.
- 44 percent of labor trafficking victims were adult men, and 42 percent were adult 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 (Figure 4).

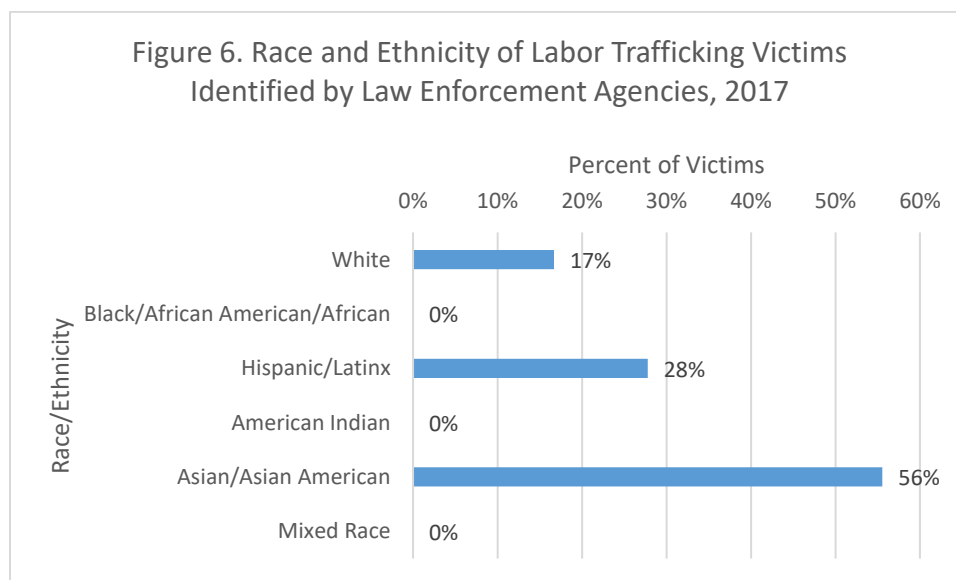


- 46 percent of labor trafficking victims served by service providers were adult women, and 40 percent were adult men (Figure 5).



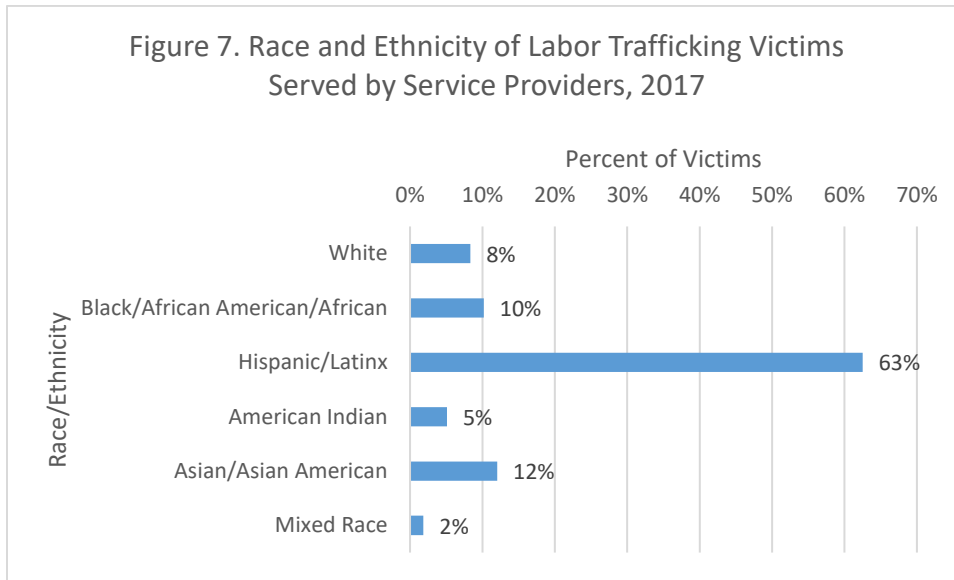
In terms of race and ethnicity, the survey reveals:

- 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 (Figure 6).



- 63 percent of labor trafficking victims served by service providers were Hispanic/Latinx (Figure 7).

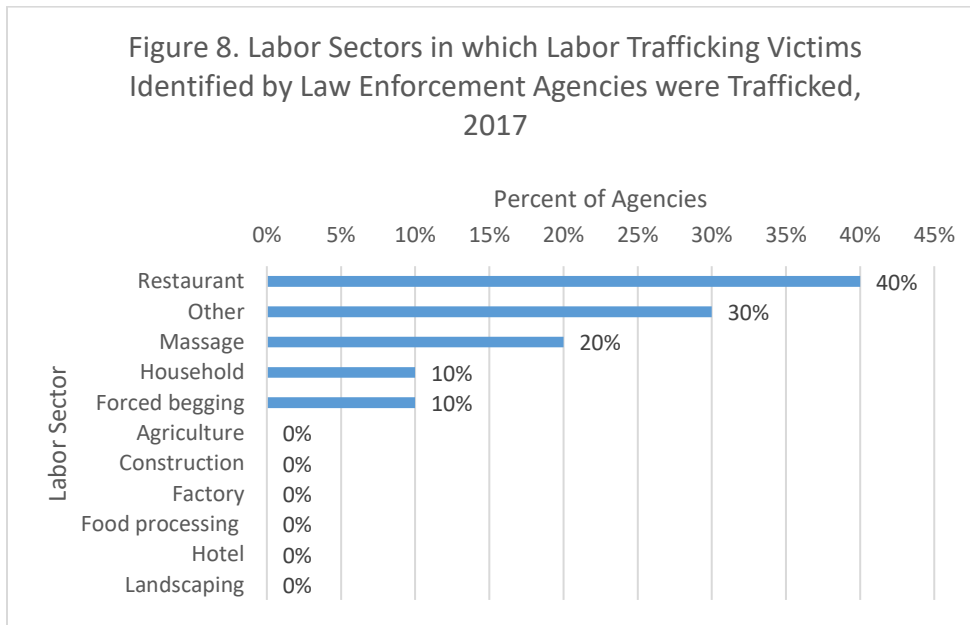
Figure 7. Race and Ethnicity of Labor Trafficking Victims Served by Service Providers, 2017



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 (Figure 8).

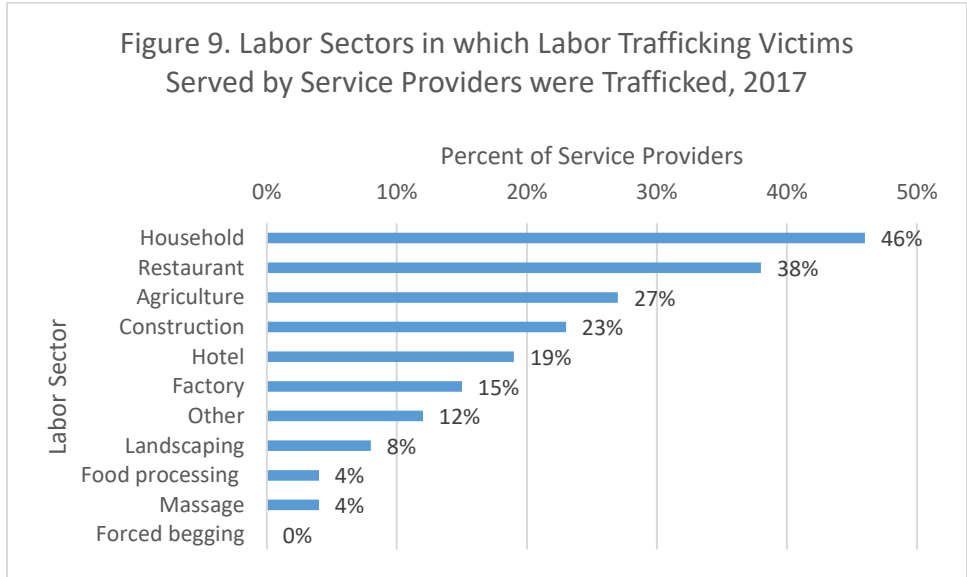
Figure 8. Labor Sectors in which Labor Trafficking Victims Identified by Law Enforcement Agencies were Trafficked, 2017



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

Of the service providers who served labor trafficking victims, the survey indicates:

- 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 (Figure 9).



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.

Table 1 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 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 1. 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>106</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>

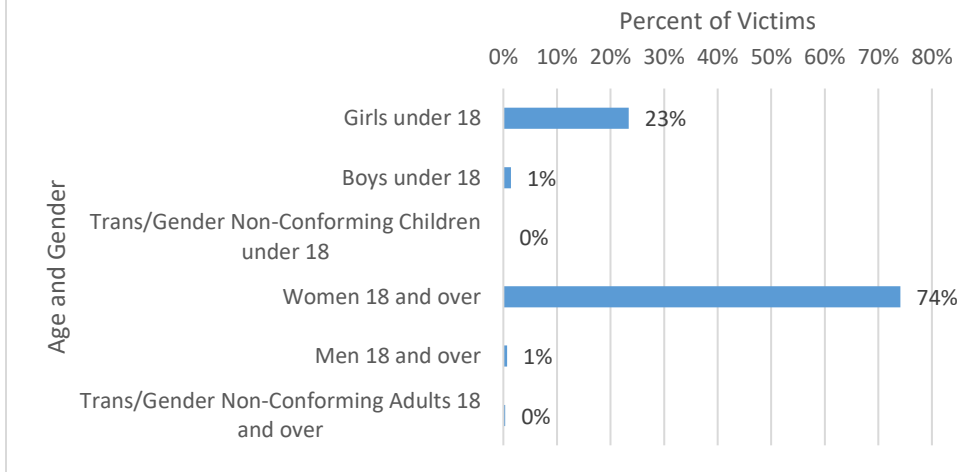
Results from the human trafficking survey reveal that in 2017:

- Law enforcement agencies identified 401 sex trafficking victims.<sup>107</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:

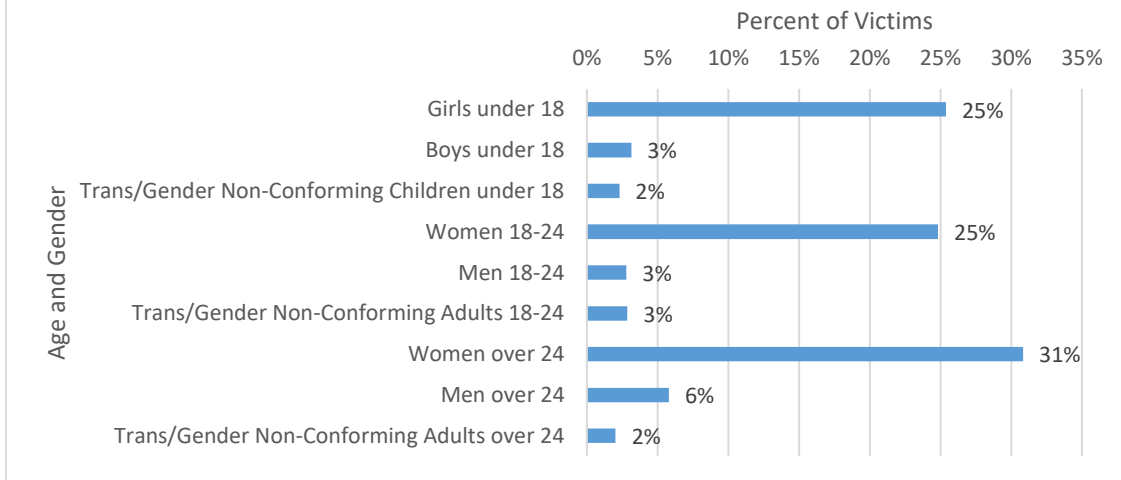
- 74 percent of sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were adult women (Figure 10).

Figure 10. Age and Gender of Sex Trafficking Victims Identified by Law Enforcement Agencies, 2017



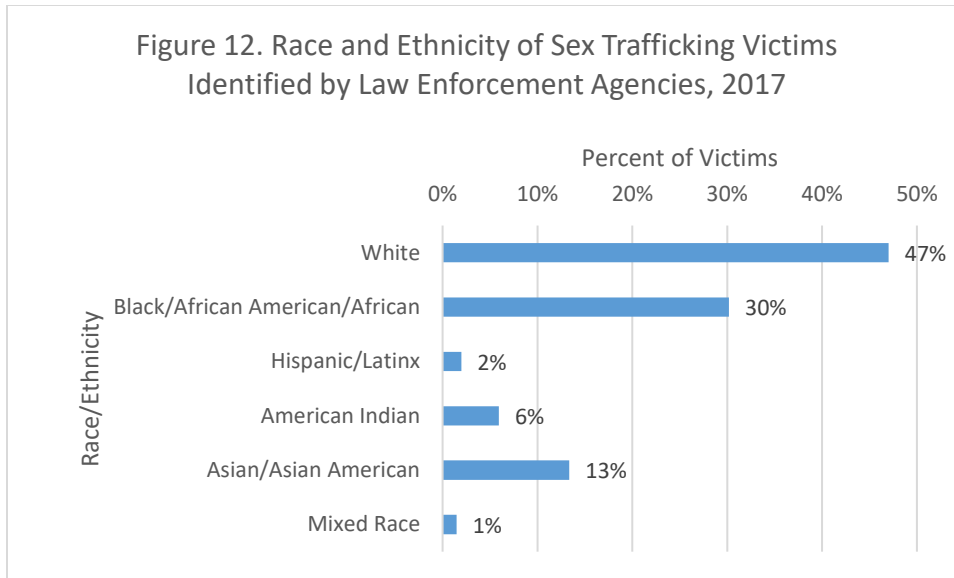
- 31 percent of sex trafficking victims served by service providers were women over 24 years old, 25 percent were women between 18 and 24, and 25 percent were girls under 18 (Figure 11).

Figure 11. Age and Gender of Sex Trafficking Victims Served by Service Providers, 2017

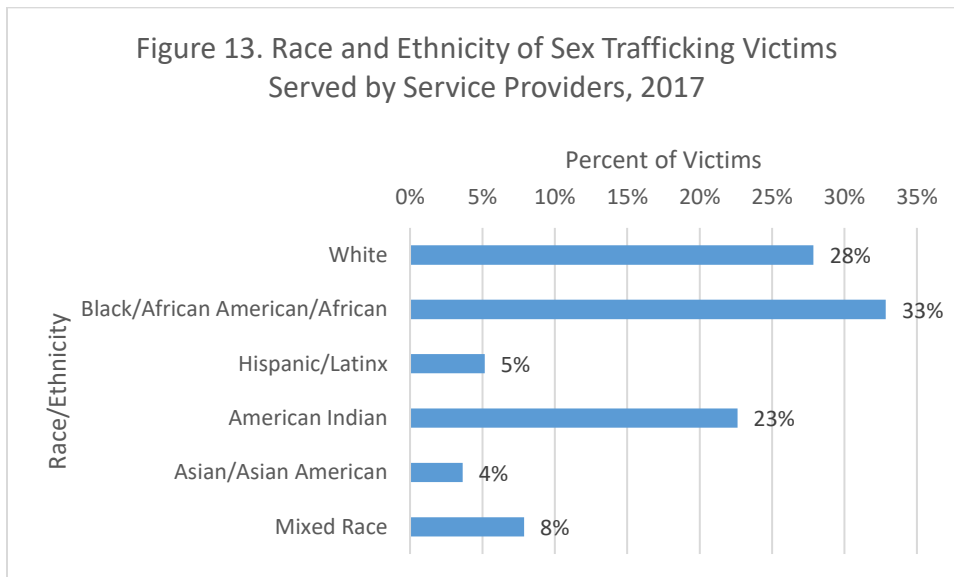


With respect to race and ethnicity, survey results find:

- 47 percent of sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies were white, and 30 percent were black, African-American or African (Figure 12).



- 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 (Figure 13).



Of the sectors in which sex trafficking took place:

- 96 percent of human trafficking 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.

## DISCOVERING AND IDENTIFYING HUMAN TRAFFICKING VICTIMS

### Labor Trafficking Victims

Consistent with prior research, most labor trafficking victims did not self-identify as victims. Results from the human trafficking survey reveal:

- 8 percent of law enforcement agencies that conducted a labor trafficking investigation said the investigation was due to a victim self-identifying.
- 35 percent of service providers that served labor trafficking victims said victims self-identified.

Law enforcement agencies and service providers used different ways to identify labor trafficking victims. The survey finds:

- Of the law enforcement agencies that investigated labor trafficking, 46 percent said the investigation resulted from identifying a labor trafficking victim. Thirty-one percent launched an investigation after receiving a tip from a human trafficking hotline, service provider, system professional or anonymous person.
- Among service providers that served labor trafficking victims, 50 percent identified labor trafficking victims after providing services for some other purpose. Forty-five percent reported that victims were identified by their referral sources (e.g., law enforcement, another service provider, health care facility), and 38 percent identified labor trafficking victims with the use of a screening tool (e.g., intake questionnaire).

### Sex Trafficking Victims

Many sex trafficking victims did not self-identify as victims. The human trafficking survey finds:

- 16 percent of law enforcement agencies that conducted a sex trafficking investigation said the investigation resulted from a victim self-identifying.
- 54 percent of service providers that served sex trafficking victims reported that victims self-identified.

Law enforcement agencies and service providers used different ways to identify sex trafficking victims. Survey results show:

- Among agencies that investigated sex trafficking, 58 percent conducted sting operations, and 47 percent began an investigation after identifying a sex trafficking victim. Thirty-five percent responded to a tip from a human trafficking hotline, service provider, system professional or anonymous person.
- Of the service providers that served sex trafficking victims, 60 percent identified sex trafficking victims after providing services for some other purpose. Sixty percent said victims were identified by their referral sources (e.g., law enforcement, another service provider, health care facility).

## DYNAMICS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN MINNESOTA

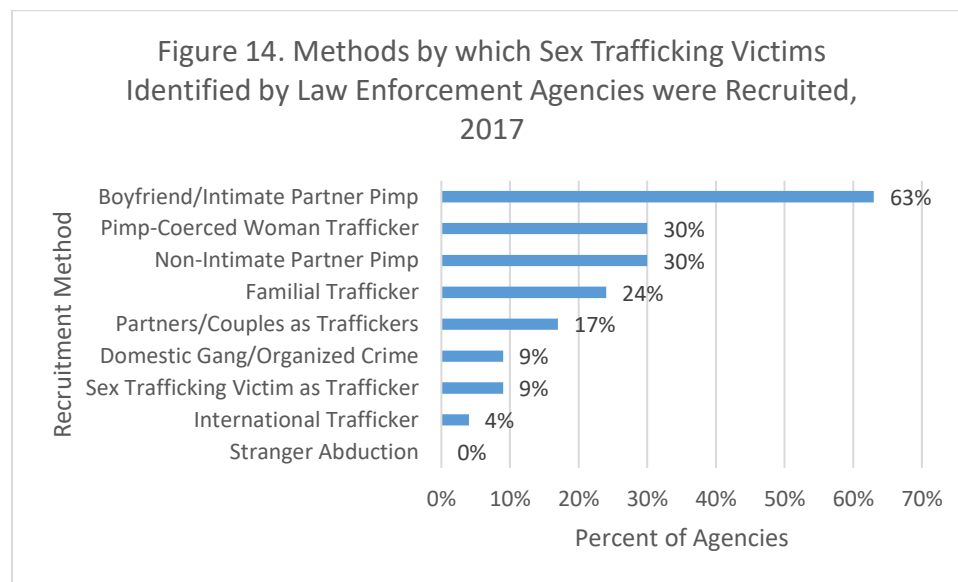
### Recruiting Victims

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.

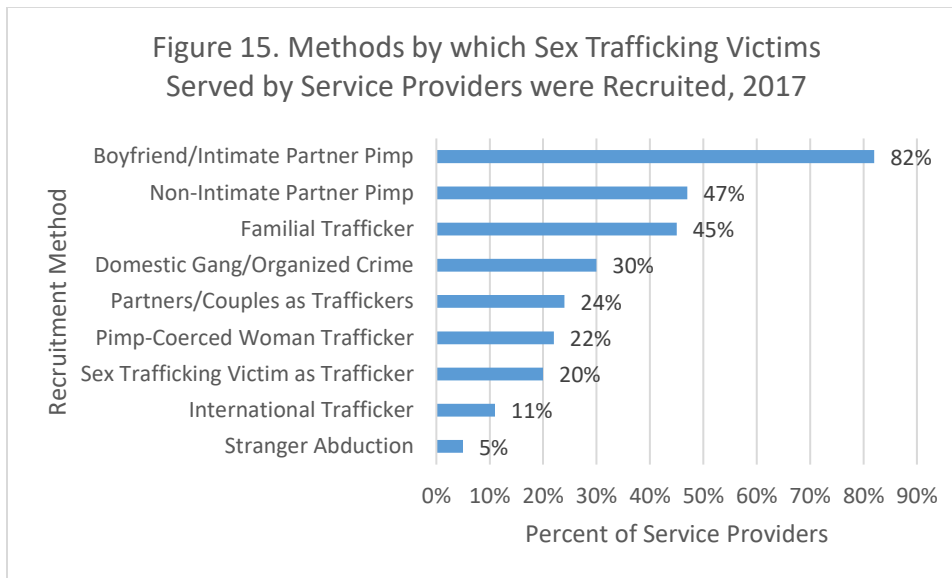
Sex traffickers used various recruitment methods. The human trafficking survey finds:

- Of law enforcement agencies that investigated sex trafficking, 63 percent reported the use of the boyfriend/intimate partner pimp (Figure 14). Non-intimate partner pimps and pimp-coerced woman traffickers were common, noted by 30 percent of agencies (Figure 14).



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

- 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 (Figure 15).



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

### Transporting Victims

Recall that moving victims is not a condition of 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 victim's authorization status.<sup>108</sup> Victims who were authorized immigrants usually travelled to the U.S. via airplane.<sup>109</sup> Victims who were unauthorized immigrants tended to travel by foot, car and/or van.<sup>110</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>111</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>112</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>113</sup> Though traffickers are known to operate in a particular region, their routes are inconsistent, unplanned and unknown.<sup>114</sup> Regional circuits might encompass a handful of cities within a state, a couple of states or another country.<sup>115</sup> There is no schedule or list of cities or states to visit.<sup>116</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>117</sup>

### Labor Trafficking Routes and Patterns

Human trafficking victims can be trafficked domestically or internationally. Domestic labor trafficking involves trafficking within the U.S. International labor trafficking involves trafficking into or out of the U.S. Definitions of domestic trafficking and international trafficking refer to the 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.

Results from the human trafficking survey find:

- 68 percent of labor trafficking victims were trafficked within the U.S.

Of the labor trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies, survey results show:

- 56 percent of domestic labor trafficking victims were from the respondent's jurisdiction, and 44 percent were from a non-neighboring state.<sup>118</sup>
- 50 percent of international labor trafficking victims were from Europe or Central Asia, and 38 percent were from North America (not the U.S.), Central America or South America.

Among the labor trafficking victims served by service providers, the human trafficking survey reveals:

- 52 percent of domestic labor trafficking victims were from the respondent's community, 20 percent were from Minnesota (not the respondent's region or community), and 20 percent were from a non-neighboring state.<sup>119</sup>
- 75 percent of international labor trafficking victims were from North America (not the U.S.), Central America or South America.

### Sex Trafficking Routes and Patterns

The human trafficking survey finds:

- 96 percent of sex trafficking victims were trafficked within the U.S.

Of the sex trafficking victims identified by law enforcement agencies, respondents report:

- 47 of domestic sex trafficking victims were from Minnesota (not the respondent's region or community), and 30 percent were from the respondent's region (not jurisdiction).<sup>120</sup>
- 75 percent of international sex trafficking victims were from East Asia, South Asia or the Pacific.

Among sex trafficking victims served by service providers, respondents report:

- 61 percent of domestic sex trafficking victims were from the respondent's community.<sup>121</sup>
- 47 percent of international sex trafficking victims were from East Asia, South Asia or the Pacific, and 31 percent were from North America (not the U.S.), Central America or South America.

## CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESPONSES TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human trafficking investigations do not necessarily lead to arrests and prosecutions, and most cases in the U.S. go unprosecuted.<sup>122</sup> According to existing research, there are a number of barriers to identifying, investigating and prosecuting human trafficking.

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

Even if law enforcement personnel receive human trafficking training, research shows that a lack of time and resources can impede investigations. Investigating human trafficking is labor intensive and emotionally draining, and often, law enforcement officers do not have the time or resources to properly investigate it.<sup>123</sup> Indeed, as mentioned, the human trafficking survey finds a majority of

law enforcement agencies in Minnesota do not feel equipped to conduct human trafficking investigations.

Prosecutors also 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>124</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>125</sup>

### Difficulty Navigating Human Trafficking Laws and Definitions

Another barrier to investigating and prosecuting human trafficking is difficulty navigating human trafficking laws and definitions. Research 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. Empirical evidence also demonstrates prosecutors tend to prosecute a case under a non-human-trafficking charge they believe they can win.<sup>126</sup> Lastly, research suggests a lack of human trafficking awareness and education among judges and juries makes it difficult to prosecute trafficking cases. They may not take trafficking seriously or perceive victims as victims.<sup>127</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>128</sup> Moreover, due to trauma and the risks of being re-traumatized, victims are sometimes reluctant to testify and cooperate with prosecutors.<sup>129</sup> Without victim testimony and cooperation, it is extremely difficult for prosecutors to successfully prosecute human trafficking.<sup>130</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 making efforts to criminalize sex buyers and traffickers rather than sellers.<sup>131</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>132</sup>

As discussed in prior sections, sometimes victims are not regarded as victims unless they are “ideal.”<sup>133</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>134</sup> In such instances, even if victims cooperate, research demonstrates they are considered criminals, not victims.<sup>135</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>136</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>137</sup> Given



that fear of their trafficker is a major reason why victims do not cooperate with investigations or testify, victim support and witness protection go a long way toward achieving cooperation.<sup>138</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>139</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>140</sup> Otherwise, without public support, it is difficult for law enforcement to justify allocating resources to investigations.<sup>141</sup>

### Law Enforcement Responses

According to the BCA’s UCR, there were no labor trafficking incidents and 173 sex trafficking incidents in 2017.<sup>142</sup> However, the human trafficking survey finds law enforcement agencies conducted 21 labor trafficking investigations and made two arrests. They also conducted 401 sex trafficking investigations and made 182 arrests.

### State Court Responses

#### Human Trafficking Charges and Convictions

Data from the Minnesota State Court Administrator’s Office show that in 2017, prosecutors filed four labor trafficking charges, and one resulted in a conviction. They filed 96 sex trafficking charges, and 32 resulted in a conviction. Table 2 displays the number of labor trafficking and sex trafficking charges and convictions in Minnesota from 2008 to 2017.

**Table 2. 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>143</sup> Table 3 displays the number of charges filed from 2008 to 2017, and Table 4 presents the number of convictions for human trafficking-related crimes from 2008 to 2017.

**Table 3. 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

**Table 4. 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, results 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.

Analysis of 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, boys, and 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, although 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 sex trafficking alone. 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. A greater awareness and attention to labor trafficking is 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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## APPENDIX

### Appendix 1. 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.

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<sup>1</sup> Bortel et al 2008.

<sup>2</sup> See [Minnesota Human Trafficking Task Force](#).

<sup>3</sup> [United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children](#). 2000.

<sup>4</sup> Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, Public Law 106-386, 106th Cong., 2d sess. (October 28, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Teigen 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Minnesota Statutes §609.281 (2018). Minnesota’s definition of labor trafficking closely mirrors the federal definition.

<sup>7</sup> Minnesota Statutes §609.321 (2018). Minnesota’s definition of sex trafficking closely mirrors the federal definition.

<sup>8</sup> Minnesota Statutes §145.4716 (2018).

<sup>9</sup> Minnesota Statutes §145.4716, Subd. 3 (2018).

<sup>10</sup> See [No Wrong Door: A Comprehensive Approach to Safe Harbor for Minnesota’s Sexually Exploited Youth](#). 2013.

<sup>11</sup> Minnesota Statutes §157.177 (2018).

<sup>12</sup> Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>13</sup> Nichols, 2016.

<sup>14</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Aronowitz 2017.

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

<sup>16</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>17</sup> Minnesota Statutes §609.281 (2018) and Minnesota Statutes §609.321 (2018).

<sup>18</sup> Nichols 2016.

<sup>19</sup> Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>20</sup> Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>21</sup> Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>22</sup> Logan et al 2009; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>23</sup> Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016.

<sup>24</sup> Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>25</sup> Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>26</sup> Hodge 2014; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>27</sup> Hodge 2014; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>28</sup> Hodge 2014; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>29</sup> Hodge 2014; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>30</sup> MacKinnon 2005; Yen 2008.

<sup>31</sup> Nichols 2016; Weitzer 2018.

<sup>32</sup> Nichols 2016.

<sup>33</sup> Price et al 2016; Perry and Schleifer 2017.

<sup>34</sup> Nichols 2016.

<sup>35</sup> Nichols 2016.

<sup>36</sup> Owens et al 2014.

<sup>37</sup> Hodge 2014.

<sup>38</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>39</sup> Logan et al 2009.

<sup>40</sup> Martin et al 2018.

<sup>41</sup> Martin et al 2018.

<sup>42</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>43</sup> Nichols 2016; Martin et al 2018.

<sup>44</sup> Finklea et al 2016; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>45</sup> Butler 2015; Nichols 2016.

<sup>46</sup> Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>47</sup> Aronowitz 2017.

<sup>48</sup> Butler 2015; Nichols 2016.

<sup>49</sup> Deer 2010; Butler 2015; Nichols 2016.

<sup>50</sup> Deer 2010; Nichols 2016.



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- <sup>51</sup> Butler 2015.
- <sup>52</sup> Butler 2015.
- <sup>53</sup> Butler 2015.
- <sup>54</sup> Martin et al 2017.
- <sup>55</sup> Pierce 2009; Farley et al 2011.
- <sup>56</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>57</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>58</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014.
- <sup>59</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>60</sup> Logan et al 2009; Clawson and Dutch 2015.
- <sup>61</sup> Logan et al 2009; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>62</sup> Oselin 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>63</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>64</sup> Pierce 2009; Deer 2010; Farley et al 2011.
- <sup>65</sup> Pierce 2009; Deer 2010; Farley et al 2011.
- <sup>66</sup> Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>67</sup> Pierce 2009; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>68</sup> Pierce 2009; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>69</sup> Oselin 2014.
- <sup>70</sup> Pierce 2009; Deer 2010; Farley et al 2011.
- <sup>71</sup> Owens et al 2014; Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>72</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>73</sup> Logan et al 2009; Farrell et al 2010; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Renzetti et al 2015; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>74</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>75</sup> Hodge 2014.
- <sup>76</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>77</sup> Logan et al 2009.
- <sup>78</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>79</sup> Logan et al 2009; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>80</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>81</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>82</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>83</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>84</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>85</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>86</sup> [Trafficking in Persons Report 2018.](#)
- <sup>87</sup> Nichols 2016; [Trafficking in Persons Report 2018.](#)
- <sup>88</sup> Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>89</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>90</sup> Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016; Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>91</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>92</sup> Hodge 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017; Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>93</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>94</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>95</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>96</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>97</sup> Logan et al 2009; Farrell et al 2010; Farrell and Pfeffer 2014; Owens et al 2014; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017; Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>98</sup> Logan et al 2009; Farrell et al 2010; Farrell and Pfeffer 2014; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017; Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>99</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Clawson and Dutch 2015; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>100</sup> Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>101</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>102</sup> Logan et al 2009.
- <sup>103</sup> Logan et al 2009; Hodge 2014; Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>104</sup> Owens et al 2014; Nichols 2016.

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- <sup>105</sup> For more information on potential explanations for the discrepancy in data reported in the UCR and the 2018 Human Trafficking Survey, see page 3 of this report.
- <sup>106</sup> In 2015, the age categories were as follows: under 18, 18-34, 35-49, and unknown.
- <sup>107</sup> For more information on potential explanations for the discrepancy in data reported in the UCR and the 2018 Human Trafficking Survey, see page 3 of this report.
- <sup>108</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>109</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>110</sup> Owens et al 2014.
- <sup>111</sup> Nichols and Heil 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>112</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>113</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>114</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>115</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>116</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>117</sup> Nichols 2016.
- <sup>118</sup> The survey did not ask respondents if victims were trafficked from a tribal nation.
- <sup>119</sup> The survey did not ask respondents if victims were trafficked from a tribal nation.
- <sup>120</sup> The survey did not ask respondents if victims were trafficked from a tribal nation.
- <sup>121</sup> The survey did not ask respondents if victims were trafficked from a tribal nation.
- <sup>122</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>123</sup> Owens et al 2014; Clawson and Dutch 2015.
- <sup>124</sup> Farrell et al 2014.
- <sup>125</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014.
- <sup>126</sup> Farrell et al 2014; Nichols 2016.
- <sup>127</sup> Farrell et al 2014.
- <sup>128</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Nichols 2016; Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>129</sup> Nichols 2016; Rankin 2017.
- <sup>130</sup> Rankin 2017.
- <sup>131</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>132</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>133</sup> Aronowitz 2017.
- <sup>134</sup> Farrell et al 2010; Farrell et al 2014.
- <sup>135</sup> Farrell et al 2014.
- <sup>136</sup> Farrell et al 2014.
- <sup>137</sup> Owens et al 2014; Nichols and Heil 2014; Nichols 2016; Rankin 2017.
- <sup>138</sup> Martin et al 2018.
- <sup>139</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014.
- <sup>140</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014.
- <sup>141</sup> Farrell and Pfeffer 2014.
- <sup>142</sup> For more information on potential explanations for the discrepancy in data reported in the UCR and the 2018 Human Trafficking Survey, see page 3 of this report.
- <sup>143</sup> See Appendix 1 for a list and brief explanation of human trafficking and human trafficking-related statutes.