

Estimating the Magnitude of Sex Trafficking Risk and Victimization of Juveniles and Young Adults

City of Milwaukee

January 1, 2013 through December 31, 2016

**A Report by Milwaukee Homicide Review Commission, Rethink Resources,
Medical College of Wisconsin Institute for Health & Equity, Milwaukee
Sexual Assault Review, and Milwaukee Police Department – Sensitive
Crimes Division**

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Executive Summary

The purpose of this report is to estimate the magnitude of sex trafficking of juveniles and young adults in Milwaukee and establish a baseline to better inform future interventions for individuals who are victims and survivors of sex trafficking.

Key Statistics:

- 340 individuals ages 25 and under were confirmed or believed to be victims of sex trafficking in Milwaukee between January 1, 2013 and December 31, 2016.
- Because complete demographic and historical information was not available for all individuals identified, 231 individuals were analyzed for this report. Of these, the majority were:
 - Female (97% or 225 individuals)
 - Black/African American (65% or 149 individuals)
 - Confirmed victims of sex trafficking (81% or 187 individuals). The demographic and historical information of individuals confirmed and individuals believed to have been sex trafficked were nearly identical, except that individuals who were confirmed to have been trafficked were more likely than individuals believed to have been trafficked to have a reported history of sexual assault victimization and a history of being reported as a missing person to the Milwaukee Police Department (MPD).
 - Identified as having a reported interaction with the MPD other than the incident through which they were classified as having been trafficked or believed to have been trafficked (86% or 199 individuals). Types of incidents included sexual assaults, battery/domestic violence incidents, child abuse, drug crimes, and missing reports. A category “other” was included incidents that did not fit any of the other victim history categories.
 - U.S. citizens or those with legal status (100%).
 - Juveniles (55% or 126 individuals) at the first reported incident of suspected or confirmed sex trafficking; the remaining 105 individuals (45%) were between the ages of 18 and 25 at the first reported incident of suspected or confirmed sex trafficking.
 - 60 individuals were identified as having been trafficked multiple times.
 - Fifty-nine percent (136 individuals) had a history of being reported missing at least once. Of those 136 individuals, 59% (80 individuals) were reported missing from out of home care (e.g., group homes and foster care) at least once.

Recommendations: Recommendations were generated by presenting the preliminary analysis of the data to partners in the Milwaukee Sexual Assault Review (MSAR), Proactive Outreach for the Health of Sexually Exploited Youth (POHSEY), Collaborative Rapid Advocacy for Youth (CRAY), criminal justice practitioners, and several group homes in the City of Milwaukee. Recommendations fall into one of three categories: prevention, protection and intervention, and suppression. Prevention recommendations focus on preventing sex trafficking through education and programming support for at-risk youth and their families. Protection and intervention recommendations focus on protecting at-

risk youth living in group homes, improving communication and collaboration between providers serving juveniles who were sex trafficked, and identifying and addressing the unique needs (including drug addiction, chronic homelessness, and vocational support) of adults who are victims of sex trafficking. Suppression recommendations aim to change the discourse and culture of human trafficking prevention and intervention: focusing enforcement efforts on purchasers of commercial sex, raising sentences for sex traffickers and purchasers, and eliminating redundant laws.

Further Research: Due to the volume of the data collected, multiple supplements to this report will be released at a later date. Supplements will include additional data, data analyses, discussions, and recommendations.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to the Bob and Linda Davis Family Fund for commissioning, supporting, and encouraging the development and completion of this report. There are also many individuals, agencies, and organizations that have provided support, and whose guidance and expertise have been invaluable in completing this report.

The Milwaukee Sexual Assault Review (MSAR) informed research questions, provided input on and interpretations of the data based on partners' professional experiences, and actively generated and contextualized recommendations. Project partners are also in the process of obtaining and incorporating data from MSAR partners Wisconsin Department of Children and Families (DCF), Milwaukee County District Attorney's Office, and Wisconsin Department of Justice - Division of Criminal Investigations (DCI) for future supplements of this report.

Proactive Outreach for the Health of Sexually Exploited Youth (POHSEY) has been an instrumental partner, providing interpretations of the data and recommendations from medical perspectives. Additionally, an ongoing collaboration with Dr. Wendi Ehrman of POHSEY seeks to incorporate POSHEY data for future iterations of this report, furthering the understanding of sex trafficking from multidisciplinary perspectives.

Collaborative Rapid Advocacy for Youth (CRAY) informed recommendations from advocacy perspectives and provided additional interpretations of the data based on their experiences and expertise in social service provisions.

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Introduction

The first analysis to assess sex trafficking of youth in Milwaukee occurred in 2013 when the Milwaukee Homicide Review Commission (MHRC) authored a report that identified 77 sex trafficked youth between 2010 and 2012. Similarly, Proactive Outreach for the Health of Sexually Exploited Youth (POHSEY) conducted a study that identified 143 sex trafficked youth in Milwaukee in 2014. Additionally, the State of Wisconsin submits crime data annually to the FBI, including human trafficking data. In 2015, four sex trafficking incidents were reported in the State of Wisconsin, resulting in two being cleared and zero arrests (FBI, 2015). In 2016, 34 sex trafficking cases were reported in Wisconsin, of which 19 were cleared and 13 adults were arrested (FBI, 2016). These disparate numbers can be explained in part by the methods through which trafficking cases are identified and reported. Clearly, further analysis is needed to estimate the magnitude of sex trafficking occurring in Milwaukee.

As a direct result of the 2013 MHRC sex trafficking report, a new Lad Lake facility outside of Milwaukee County was created with 6 beds to serve juvenile survivors of trafficking. The goal of this report is to expand the knowledge of sex trafficking in Milwaukee. Compared to the 2013 report, this report analyzes victims from a wider age range, over a longer period of time, and uses more comprehensive methods for identifying incidents of trafficking using law enforcement data. Measuring the prevalence of sex trafficking is difficult, and much of the academic literature focuses on the circumstances surrounding trafficking including identifying at-risk youth involvement in the commercial sex trade, risk factors for victimization, the implications of human trafficking laws and responses to human trafficking (Hammond & McGlone, 2014). Therefore, this report is meant to serve as a baseline.

In 2015 the Milwaukee Police Department – Sensitive Crimes Division and Sojourner Family Peace Center were awarded the Enhanced Collaborative Model to Combat Human Trafficking grant through the U.S. Department of Justice - Office of Justice Programs. One of the deliverables required to satisfy the purpose of the grant is the development of a public awareness curriculum directed at various audiences to include health, law enforcement, code enforcement, social workers, transportation workers and schools. This report fulfills this requirement as it increases the capacity of community members and service providers to understand and recognize human trafficking through the analysis of law enforcement data.

Methodology

The methodology section outlines research questions, definitions of trafficking, project scope, classification of victims, and data collection. This section also includes examples of classification; the circumstances of trafficking can vary greatly from incident to incident, and it is important to address the nuanced nature of this research that cannot be conveyed through statistics.

Research Questions: The research questions were developed with input from partners.

After gaining input from criminal justice, medical, and social service partners, the primary research question was: [What is the estimated magnitude of sex trafficking in Milwaukee?](#) In addition, the following supplementary research questions guided this report and its supplements:

1. What is the [demographic profile](#) of individuals who were trafficked?
2. What are the [characteristics of the trafficking](#) itself?
3. What [differences and similarities are there between adults and juveniles who were trafficked?](#)
4. Are there [geographic trafficking hot spots](#) in Milwaukee? If so, where?

Definitions:

Wisconsin human trafficking statutes were used to define trafficking in this report as they are more comprehensive than the definitions contained in the federal Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) (22 USC§ 7102). Further information and a comparison of the TVPA and Wisconsin human trafficking statutes can be found in Appendix A.

Project Scope:

- [Jurisdiction](#): All incidents reviewed occurred in the City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
 - Due to the transient nature of the crime, some incidents occurred both in Milwaukee and other jurisdictions.
- [Incident Inclusion Criteria](#): Trafficking-related contacts with the Milwaukee Police Department reported in the four-year period between 01/01/2013 and 12/31/2016.
 - Trafficking incidents that occurred between 01/01/2013 and 12/31/2016, but weren't reported until after 12/31/2016, were not included in this report.
- [Population Inclusion Criteria](#): Individuals who were confirmed or believed to have been sex trafficked in Milwaukee, who had contact with the Milwaukee Police Department resulting in an incident report during the given time frame, and are 25 years of age or younger.

Classification of Victims: Individuals identified in this report were classified into one of two tiers based on [Wisconsin's Child Sex Trafficking and Exploitation Indicator and Response Guide](#) for determining which agencies should be notified in the event of a human trafficking allegation or disclosure. Although all of these response guides are based on a three-tier system, individuals included in this report met the criteria for the highest two tiers. Following the indicator and response guide, individuals who had

multiple risk factors and an allegation of trafficking *or* 3+ risk factors or indicators but no allegation of trafficking by a caregiver would be placed in tier one or two and reported to law enforcement or a child protection agency. Individuals who would be placed into tier 3, which includes individuals with fewer than three risk factors for sex trafficking victimization are not included in this report. The tier system was modified slightly for adults, as some risk factors do not apply to adults (e.g., history of being missing two or more times in the past six months and the caregiver does not know where they are or who they are with, history of school truancy, and possession of money, electronics, or other materials that are unexplained, unusual, or out of the ordinary).

Individuals Confirmed to have been Trafficked: A confirmed victim of trafficking is defined by any of the following:

- Disclosure of trafficking by the victim to law enforcement or a mandated reporter
- Law enforcement determination of trafficking
- No determination of trafficking by law enforcement or disclosure of trafficking by the victim, but the narrative information fits the statutory definition of trafficking.
 - Example: Any juvenile referred to as a “prostitute” or “being involved in prostitution” or an individual caught in an anti-prostitution sting and discovered to be a juvenile was automatically counted as a confirmed victim of trafficking.

Individuals Believed to have been Trafficked: An individual believed to have been sex trafficked has multiple risk factors or indicators of trafficking *and* trafficking is suspected by a caregiver OR has 3+ risk factors or indicators, but no allegations of trafficking from a caregiver.

Classification Examples: Provided below are several examples of sex trafficking as identified in police narratives. It is important to note these examples are *not* the stories of individual victims nor is it an exhaustive, comprehensive picture of victim experiences. The examples are intended to highlight the vast spectrum of sex trafficking.

Individuals Confirmed to have been Trafficked:

Some individuals identified in this report were juveniles engaging in survival sex —sex in exchange for basic needs including food, shelter, or drugs. Juveniles engaging in survival sex were frequently runaways or AWOL from out of home care and met their traffickers on the street. The traffickers offered the juvenile food, a place to stay, and sometimes drugs including marijuana and cocaine. In exchange for these, the juveniles were forced to have sex with their traffickers. The statutory definition of sex trafficking is met when a juvenile has sexual contact in exchange for something of value.

Many individuals identified in this report were advertised online on dating websites and/or classified advertising websites, especially Backpage.com. Some individuals were identified through law enforcement Backpage stings aimed at recovering juveniles who were sex trafficked. Others were missing persons who were located in advertisements on Backpage by a parent or caregiver who then forwarded the advertisement information to law enforcement. In some of these incidents, the victim was recovered in a different state while others were recovered in the City of Milwaukee. Many adult

victims of trafficking were recovered during prostitution enforcement operations. In these incidents the victim was arrested for prostitution, however, the nature of the case changed when the victim later disclosed they had been trafficked.

Some victims disclosed they had been trafficked after being victimized in a separate violent crime such as domestic violence, kidnapping, or sexual assault. Often, if the victim was a juvenile, they were the victim of trafficking and another crime while reported as missing from home or a group home. If the victim was an adult, they frequently reported the other crime (i.e., sexual assault or domestic violence) to law enforcement and the trafficking was disclosed later in the investigation.

Individuals Believed to have been Trafficked:

Many individuals believed to have been trafficked were adults identified in prostitution stings. In these incidents, individuals were arrested for prostitution and no follow-up was conducted to confirm if trafficking was occurring, though multiple indicators of trafficking were present. Some examples of indicators include reported fear of another individual they refused to identify, prior history of involvement in the sex trade, and drug addiction. These individuals were classified as “believed to have been trafficked” because they reported only possible indicators of trafficking, and did not make a full disclosure which included elements of force, fraud, or coercion.

Other examples of individuals believed to have been trafficked included juveniles who were reported missing and a parent or caregiver suspected sex trafficking but there was neither evidence of a follow-up investigation nor any disclosure of trafficking by the juvenile reported missing. For this report individuals where a caregiver suspects trafficking plus multiple risk factors including history of sexual assault and history of running away were classified as “believed to have been trafficked.”

Some incidents of suspected trafficking included incidents that would have been considered trafficking if the individual were a juvenile. In many incidents, there was clear evidence of the individual engaging in a commercial sex act that was identified through the commission of another crime including domestic violence or sexual assault. When the individual was 18 or older, elements of force, fraud, or coercion had to be identified in order for trafficking to be investigated.

Data Sources and Collection:

The primary data source was Milwaukee Police Department (MPD) police reports. Municipal court data were also obtained.

Incidents involving trafficking were identified through multiple narrative word searches of “trafficking,” “Backpage,” “prostitution,” and potential misspellings in MPD’s record management system.

Backpage.com is a classified advertising website that is used to advertise commercial sex acts, including victims of sex trafficking. The word “traffic” was excluded as a search term because it yielded results relating to vehicular traffic. The use of multiple word searches allowed for the identification of reports

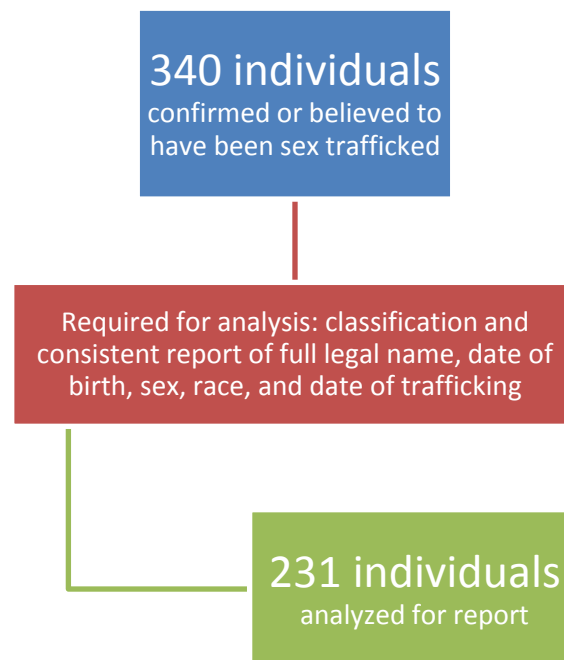
that may have involved sex trafficking but were filed as an incident other than sex trafficking, such as prostitution, domestic violence, or a missing person's report.

Inclusion criteria for victims were individuals 25 years of age and younger who were listed as a victim, missing person, or person of interest (POI) in a police narrative that referred to trafficking, Backpage, or prostitution.

After each individual had been identified, a search was conducted in MPD's records management system to access their history with the Milwaukee Police Department, documenting the frequency with which they had reported law enforcement contacts as a victim, suspect or arrestee, and/or witness before, during, and after the time period in which they were trafficked. This also provided a more detailed look at the victims, including information beyond that which was provided in the initial police report that identified them as victim of trafficking.

Data Analysis and Data Discussion

OVERVIEW

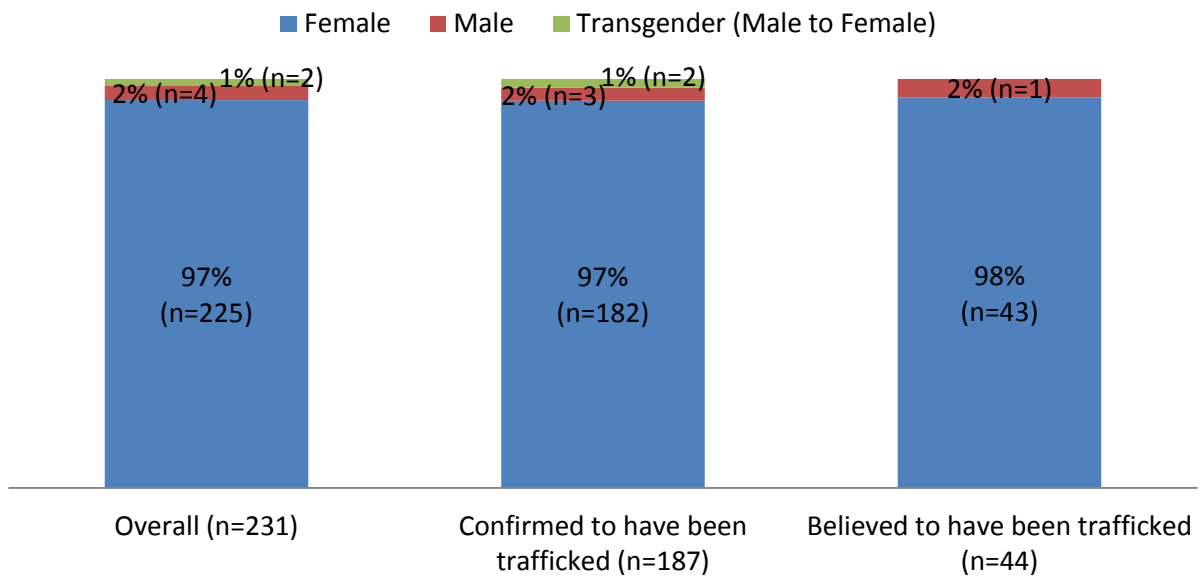


A total of 340 individuals were confirmed or believed to have been sex trafficked between 2013 and 2016 were identified. These 340 individuals were identified through word searches of MPD's record management system (n=275) and review of the associated reports (n=65). Because some individuals were only identified through the report narrative review, complete historical and demographic information was not available on all identified victims.

Demographic Profile

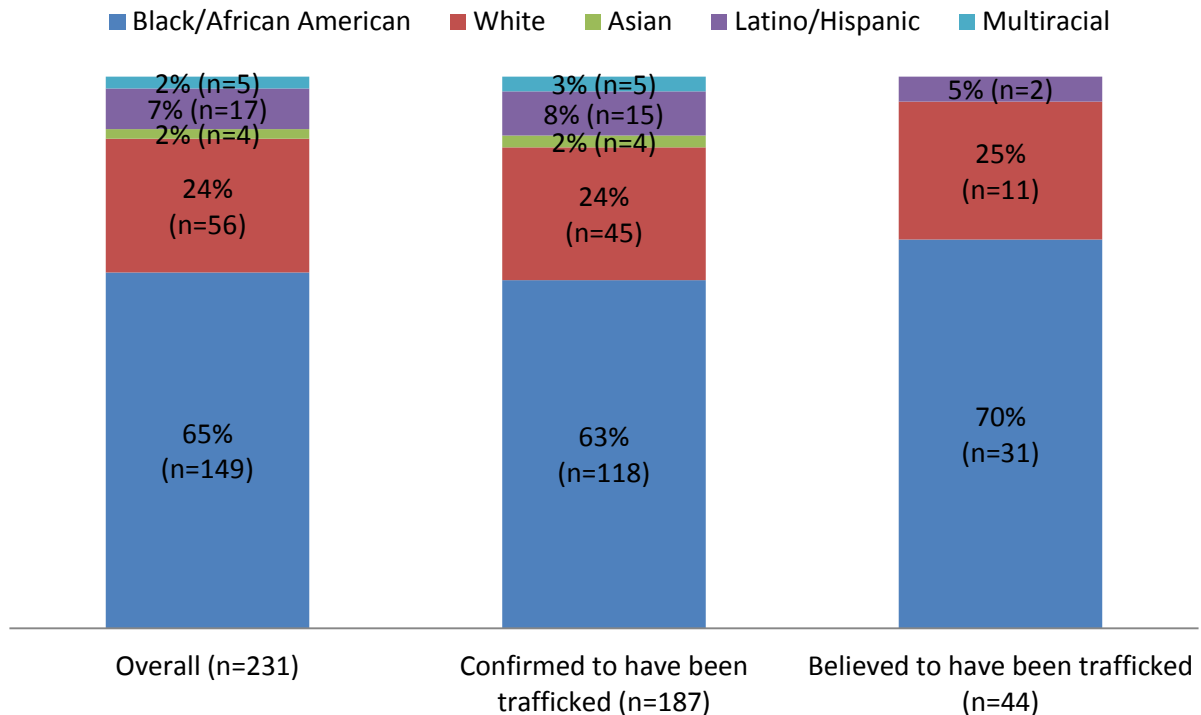
Sex and Gender: The majority (97% or 225) of the individuals identified were female. Because male victims of sexual abuse report less frequently than female victims, it is possible that the true proportion of male sex trafficking victims is higher (Lowe & Rodgers, 2017). The data were also limited in capturing the gender identity of an individual, and the two documented instances of transgender victims were identified when case workers described the missing juveniles as transgender.

Sex and Gender



Race/Ethnicity: The majority, almost two-thirds, of the individuals analyzed for this report were Black/African American, and nearly one fourth were White. The remaining victims were Asian, Latina/Hispanic, or multiracial. Anecdotally, it has been noted by law enforcement and social service providers that the racial breakdown of trafficking victims varies throughout the city and by location type (e.g., hotels, drug houses, street trafficking). Future analysis will seek to determine if this data reflects these observations.

Race/Ethnicity

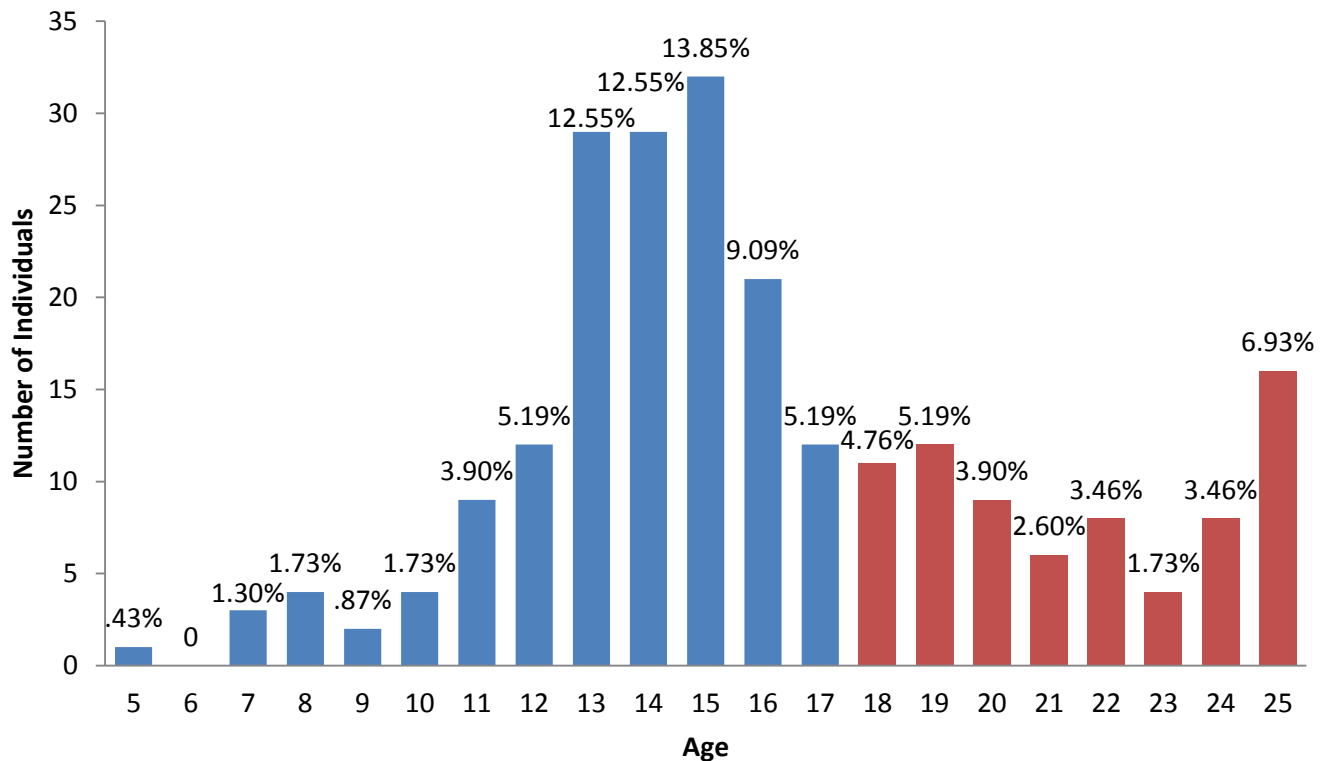


Age at first reported indicator of cumulative trauma or vulnerability that put an individual at risk for sex trafficking victimization: A reported indicator of cumulative trauma or vulnerability that puts an individual at risk for sex trafficking victimization is defined for this report as an event for which a police report was filed and indicates a traumatic event in an individual's life. This trauma is defined as cumulative because it has ongoing, negative consequences later in the person's life. The types of events analyzed include a reported sexual assault, domestic violence as a victim or witness to family violence, child abuse, or the first incident in a series of missing persons reports within a six-month period. These indicators are similar to measures identified as adverse childhood experiences in the Adverse Childhood Experiences survey (ACEs). However, not all of these traumatic incidents occurred during the individual's childhood, and being reported as a missing person is not an ACE indicator. The missing report history is included as an indicator because if an individual is reported missing more than once in a six-month time frame, it is likely they are running away. This requires the assumption that a youth who runs away does so for a reason: either they are running away *from* something, or running *to* something. Some events that would constitute a traumatic event, however, may not be reported to law enforcement or included

in a police report. This includes individuals for whom their first recorded encounter with MPD is the incident in which they were sex trafficked. The purpose of this analysis is to serve as a baseline and to indicate that at least this many individuals identified in this report had a prior recorded trauma history before they were identified as a victim of sex trafficking.

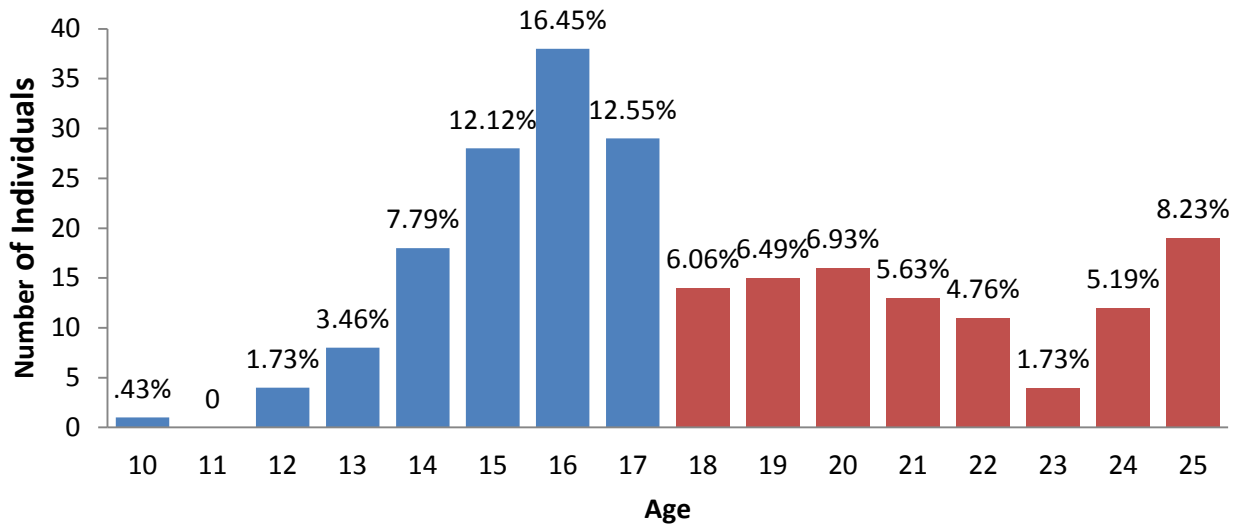
Two indicators of age were used: age at first cumulative trauma and age at first reported sex trafficking incident. Although not all individuals have an additional history of involvement with the MPD, those who did frequently had indicators of a trauma prior to the first reported incident of trafficking. Over half (54%) had an indicator of cumulative trauma at age 15 or younger.

Age at First Reported Indicator of Cumulative Trauma or Vulnerability that Put an Individual at Risk for Sex Trafficking Victimization (n=231)



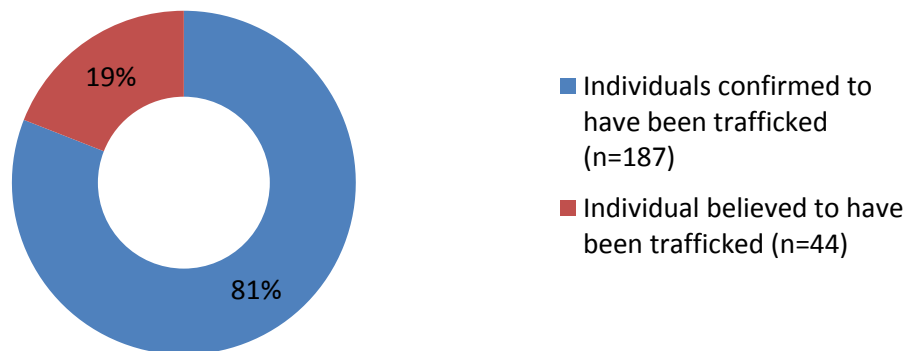
Age at first official documentation of trafficking or suspected trafficking: Nearly half (49%) of the individuals analyzed for this report were between 14 and 17 years of age at their first reported incident of sex trafficking. Six of the 187 individuals who were confirmed to have been sex trafficked had an incident reported to police in which trafficking was suspected prior to the confirming incident.

Age at First Recorded Incident of Confirmed or Suspected Trafficking (n=231)



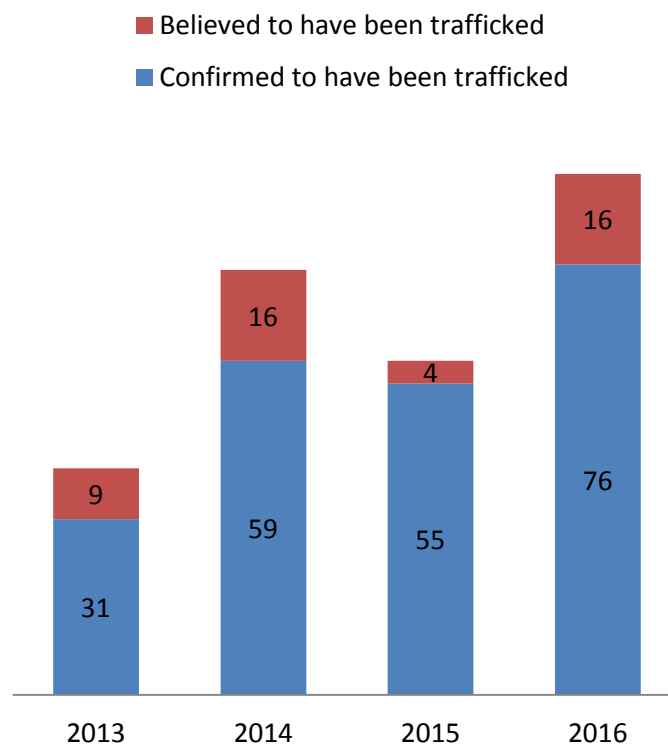
Trafficking Risk: The majority (81% or 187) of individuals analyzed for this report were considered confirmed victims of trafficking based on the protocol provided in the Wisconsin Child Sex Trafficking and Exploitation Indicator and Response Guide (2017). Nineteen percent (44 individuals) were believed to have been trafficked. These data are reflective of an individual’s highest tier incident. Some individuals were confirmed or believed to have been trafficked in more than one year of the timeframe. Others were identified in separate police reports where trafficking was suspected and/or confirmed and the incidents occurred in the same year. On average, individuals had only one known incident with MPD where they were believed or confirmed to have been trafficked, though there were some individuals that had up to eight known incidents of suspected or confirmed trafficking.

Trafficking Risk



Year Identified: Thirty-one individuals were identified victims of sex trafficking in an MPD incident report in more than one year of the timeframe. One individual was identified as a victim of trafficking in 2013, 2014, 2015, and 2016. This chart is not necessarily an indication that more individuals were trafficked in 2014 and 2016 vs. 2013 and 2015. There are other factors that come into play including enforcement of prostitution crimes, law enforcement resources, and improved methods for identifying trafficked juveniles that could account for this variation. Additionally, having a trafficking-related law enforcement contact does not capture the duration of the trafficking itself, as many individuals are trafficked over a period of time instead of a single incident of trafficking.

Number of Individuals* Identified per Year



***231 unique individuals were identified. However, 31 individuals were identified as having been trafficked across multiple years and were counted in each year they were trafficked. Additionally, 29 individuals were trafficked multiple times within one year but were only counted once in the above graph. Therefore, 60 individuals were known to have been trafficked multiple times.**

Type of Incident

Narrative word searches yielded 315 distinct MPD incident reports, which represented 439 separate offenses. Each MPD report can contain several offenses that occur simultaneously (e.g. battery and sexual assault); 164 of the MPD reports documented one offense, 56 documented two offenses; 20 documented three offenses; four documented four offenses; and four documented five offenses. To examine the current law enforcement response to sex trafficking in Milwaukee, an analysis was conducted of these reports.

In 67 (22%) of the 315 incidents, no criminal charges were filed; the sex trafficking was identified through a missing person's report, crisis intervention, or a welfare check by law enforcement. Fifteen of these 67 cases were not investigated because there was no disclosure of sex trafficking by the victim, though 3+ indicators/risk factors were present. In 20 of the 67 incidents the trafficking was disclosed and an investigation was conducted by MPD or by another law enforcement agency. The remaining 32 incidents could be classified as missed opportunities: despite clear indicators of trafficking including a disclosure of trafficking or Backpage ads of juveniles, no record of a follow-up investigation was located in MPD records. This could also mean the case was referred to another law enforcement agency or investigated by the FBI's Milwaukee Joint Human Trafficking Task Force (MJHTTF). Any reports generated by agencies outside of MPD were not analyzed in this report.

The majority of incident reports, 248 (79%), involved criminal charges and were classified by the type of crime listed in the police report. The crimes most associated with trafficking were then filtered into seven categories, listed below.

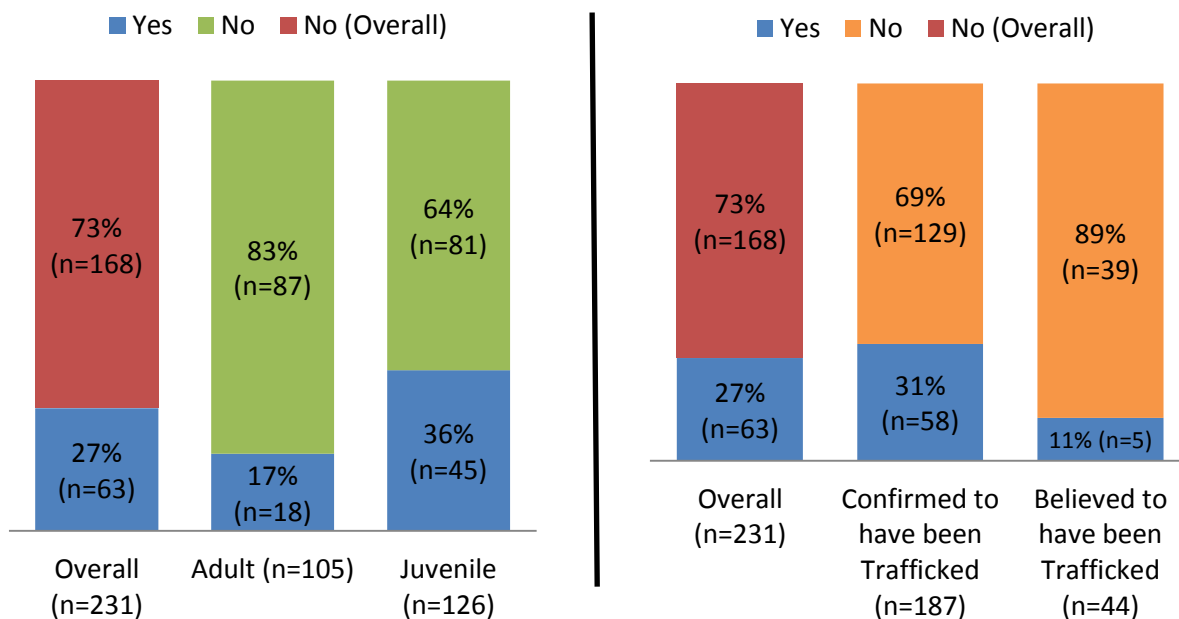
If an investigation uncovered suspected or confirmed sex trafficking, the Milwaukee Police Department's Sensitive Crimes Division (SCD) is expected to be notified. However, only 206 of these incidents had SCD involvement. Others may have been investigated by another law enforcement jurisdiction or the FBI. This may also indicate a possible training gap for patrol officers who encounter these cases and don't realize they are dealing with sex trafficking.

Category	Statutes	Number of Incidents (of 315)
Sex Trafficking	940.302 Human Trafficking 948.051 Trafficking of a Child	82 incidents
Sexual Exploitation	948.05 Sexual Exploitation of a Child 948.07 Child Enticement 948.08 Soliciting a Child for Prostitution 948.10 Exposing Genitals, Pubic Area, or Intimate Parts 948.11 Exposing a Child to Harmful Material or Harmful Depictions or Narrations 948.12 Possession of Child Pornography 944.31 Patronizing Prostitutes 944.32 Soliciting Prostitutes 944.33 Pandering/Pimping 944.34 Keeping a Place of Prostitution	84 incidents
Sexual Assault	940.225 Sexual Assault 948.02 Sexual Assault of a Child 948.025 Engaging in Repeated Acts of Sexual Assault of the Same Child 948.09 Sexual Intercourse of a Child Age 16 or Older	81 incidents
Interpersonal Violence	940.31 Kidnapping 940.19 Battery, Substantial Battery, Aggravated Battery 968.075 MOD- Domestic Abuse 940.235 Strangulation and Suffocation 940.30 False Imprisonment 948.03 Child Abuse	55 incidents
Prostitution	944.30 Prostitution	56 incidents
Other	Various	14 incidents
No crime	Missing Persons Report Crisis Intervention Welfare Check	67 incidents

Victim History

History of Reported Sexual Assault to MPD: According to the U.S. Department of Justice, in 2016 there were 1.2 sexual assaults per 1000 people, of which 22.9% were reported to law enforcement (US DOJ, 2017). Over one fourth (27% or 63) of individuals in this report have a history of reporting a sexual assault to MPD despite sexual assaults being a generally underreported crime. Despite this number being higher than the national average, it is still likely an underreporting of how many victims have a history of sexual assault. It is possible an individual may have a history of sexual assault that was reported to another jurisdiction. Since this report is based on MPD reports, a victim’s history with another law enforcement jurisdiction is unknown. It is notable over one third (36% or 45) of juvenile victims reported a sexual assault to MPD. Individuals believed to have been trafficked were also less likely than individuals who were confirmed to have been trafficked to have a history of reporting a sexual assault to MPD. The following history of sexual assault includes cases where the individual was the victim of the sexual assault, the perpetrator of the sexual assault, or a witness to a sexual assault.

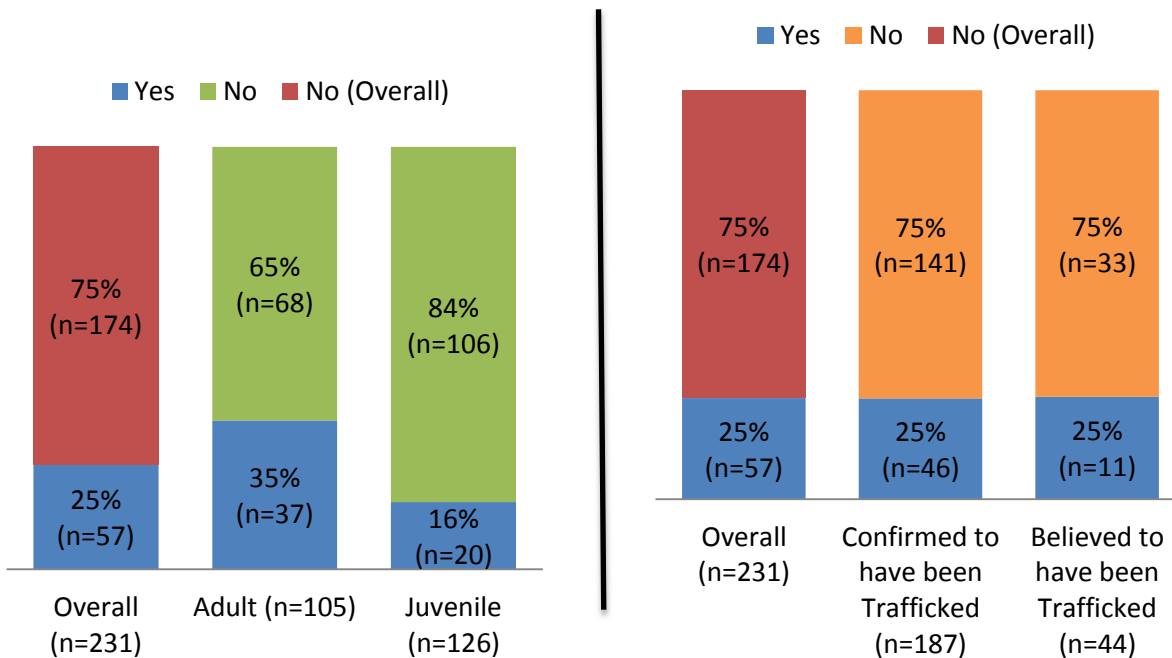
History of Reported Sexual Assault to MPD



Individual’s Role in Case	Total	Victim Only	Suspect Only	Witness Only	Multiple Categories
Number of Individuals (n=231)	63	48	3	5	7
Number of Individuals Confirmed to have been Trafficked (n=187)	58	44	3	4	7
Number of Individuals Suspected to have been Trafficked (n=44)	5	4	0	1	0

History of Reported Battery or Domestic Abuse to MPD: One-fourth (57) of individuals had a history of a battery or domestic violence reported to MPD. Adult victims of trafficking were more likely than juvenile victims to have a reported history of battery. This section includes batteries that were not domestic violence related, batteries that were domestic violence related, incidents with a domestic abuse modification, and strangulation and suffocation incidents. This does not take into consideration any municipal battery complaints which resulted in the issuance of a municipal citation. All incidents analyzed were those in which the trafficking victim was the victim, the offender, or a witness with information to a reported battery or domestic abuse complaint.

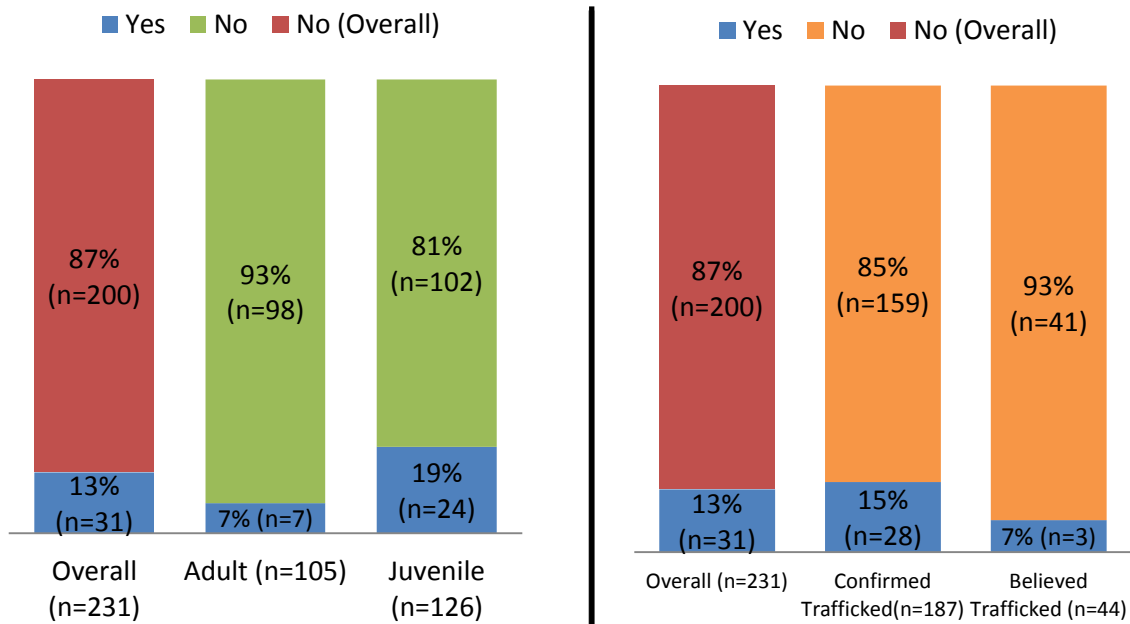
History of Reported Battery or Domestic Abuse to MPD



Individual's Role in Case	Total	Victim Only	Suspect Only	Witness Only	Multiple Categories
Number of Individuals (n=231)	57	36	5	8	8
Number of Individuals Confirmed to have been Trafficked (n=187)	46	32	2	7	5
Number of Individuals Suspected to have been Trafficked (n=44)	11	4	3	1	3

History of Reported Child Abuse to MPD: Thirteen percent (31) of individuals had a history of being a victim, suspect, or witness in a child abuse incident that resulted in an incident report by MPD. Of those who were involved in a reported child abuse case, all but four were victims. Notably, nearly one fifth (19% or 24) of juveniles who were trafficked had a history of reported child abuse, compared to 7% (7) of adult victims. Similarly, individuals who were confirmed to have been trafficked were more likely than individuals believed to have been trafficked to have a history of reported child abuse. It should be noted not all allegations and substantiations of child abuse will rise to the level of law enforcement involvement and may be handled directly by the Division of Milwaukee Child Protective Services (DMCPS). For this reason, it is likely that incidents of reported child abuse are underrepresented in this report.

History of Reported Child Abuse to MPD

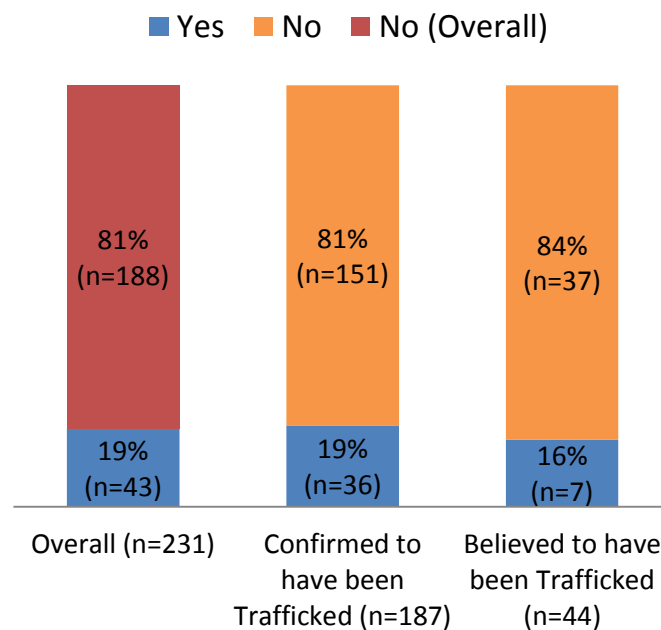


Individual's Role in Case	Total	Victim Only	Suspect Only	Witness Only	Multiple Categories
Number of Individuals (n=231)	31	27	2	2	0
Number of Individuals Confirmed to have been Trafficked (n=187)	28	24	2	2	0
Number of Individuals Suspected to have been Trafficked (n=44)	3	3	0	0	0

History of Reported Drug Crimes to MPD: To determine a history of reported drug crimes, MPD incident reports and Milwaukee Municipal Court data were analyzed. The information obtained through Milwaukee Municipal Court was based on drug related citations that resulted in charges being issued by the City Attorney's Office. Citations that did not result in charges are not listed on the public access website and were not included in this data. Approximately one-fifth of individuals analyzed (43 or 19%) in this report had a history of drug crimes with MPD.

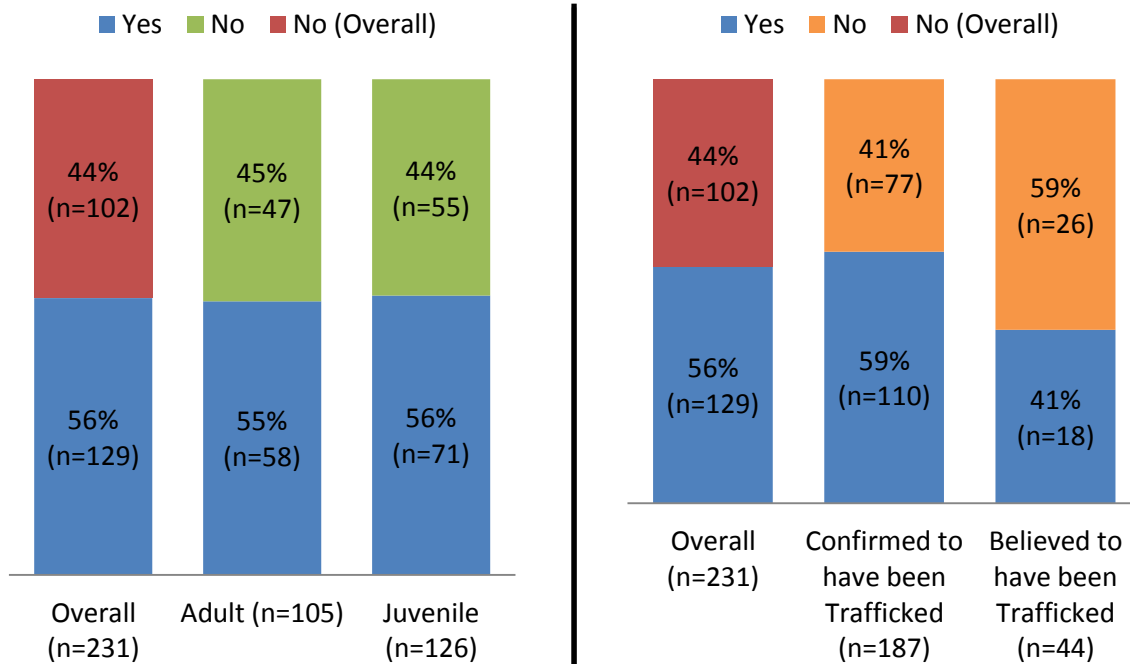
The drug crimes included possession of drug paraphernalia, possession of a drug (i.e. heroin, cocaine, or marijuana), possession with intent to deliver, and drug trafficking. Anecdotally, many victims of sex trafficking reported illegal drug addiction as one of the factors that contributed to their victimization, so these numbers are much lower than expected. There are limitations to the data; this section merely indicates the number of victims who have a history of drug related crimes in Milwaukee and *not* the number of sex trafficking victims in Milwaukee who have an addiction to a controlled substance.

History of Reported Drug Crimes to MPD



Reported History of Other Involvement with MPD: Approximately 56% (129) of the individuals identified in this report had some other reported involvement with MPD outside of human trafficking, sexual assault, battery, physical abuse of a child, drugs, and missing person’s incidents. These other incidents identified listed them as a victim, suspect, person of interest, or witness and included property crimes, robberies, burglaries, car thefts, and welfare checks, among others. Individuals believed to have been trafficked were less likely than confirmed victims of trafficking to have a history of other contacts with the MPD. This indicates that the frequency of police contacts may play a role in the identification of a victim of trafficking as a victim.

Reported History of Other Involvement with MPD

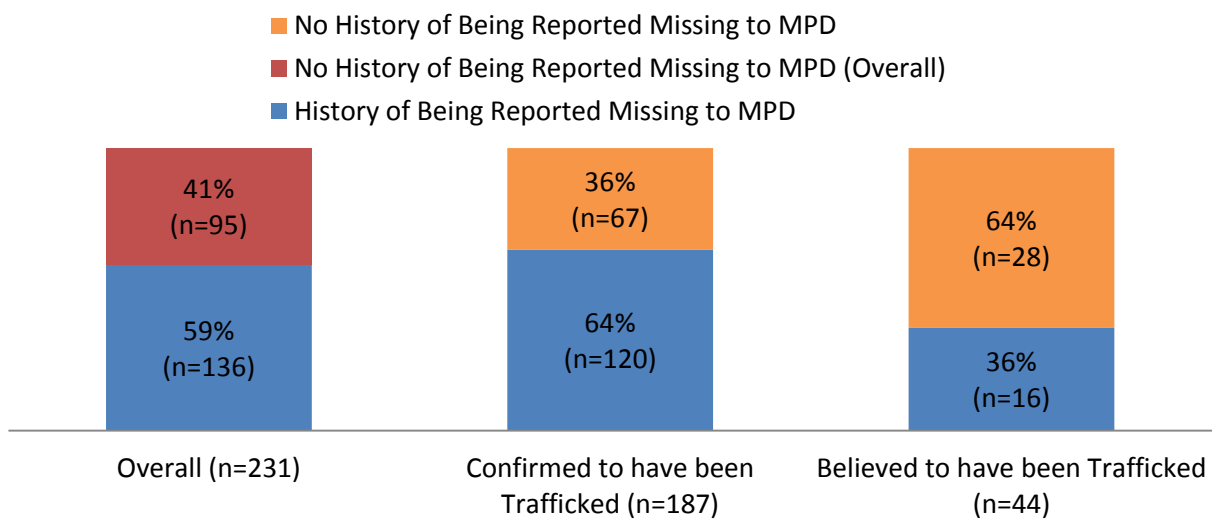


Individual’s Role in Other Case	Total	Victim Only	Suspect Only	Witness Only	Multiple Categories
Number of Individuals (n=231)	129	18	30	17	64
Number of Individuals Confirmed to have been Trafficked (n=187)	111	15	24	14	58
Number of Individuals Suspected to have been Trafficked (n=44)	18	3	6	3	6

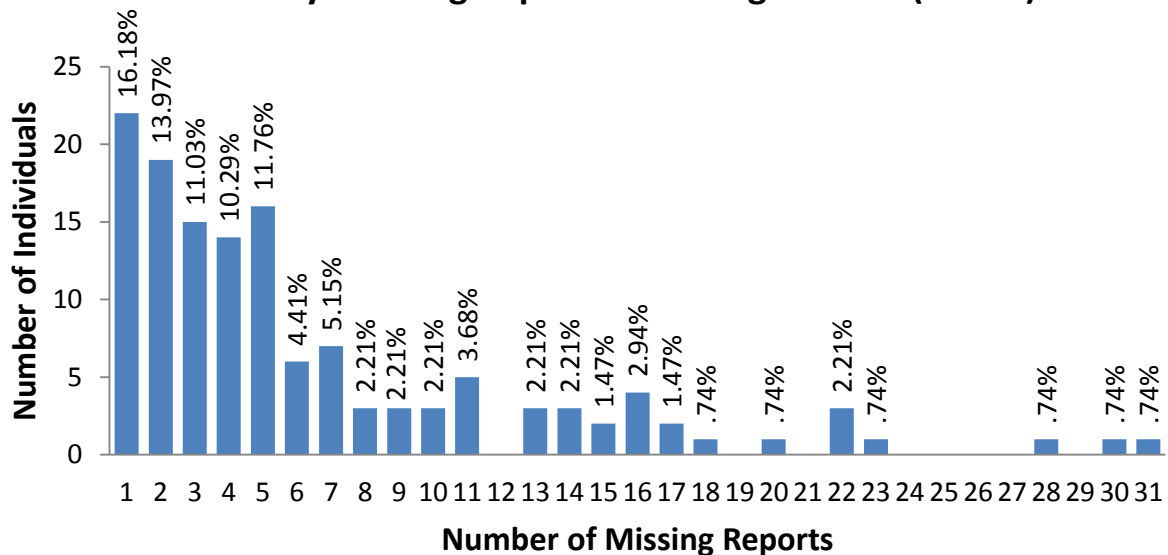
Missing History

History of Being Reported Missing to MPD: Fifty nine percent (136) of individuals in this report have a history of being reported as a missing person to MPD at least once in their lifetime. Confirmed victims of trafficking were more likely than individuals believed to have been trafficked to have ever been reported missing. The majority of those who have a reported missing history were reported missing between one and five times, though some individuals were reported missing up to 31 times. Juveniles were more likely than adults to have been reported missing and reported more than once. The median age of being reported as a missing person was 15 years old, and the majority (96% or 130) of the individuals with a reported missing history were reported missing at least once as a juvenile.

Missing History

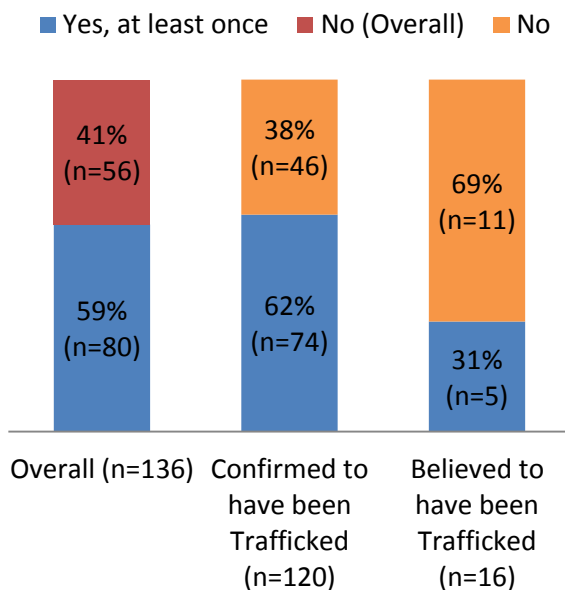


Frequency of Being Reported Missing for Individuals who have a History of Being Reported Missing to MPD (n=136)

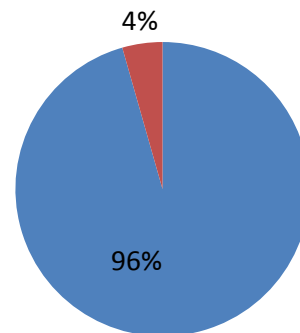
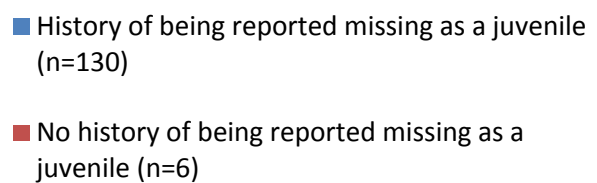


All juveniles reported missing to MPD between 2013 and 2016 have been cleared. A missing report is considered to be cleared when a missing person is confirmed returned or evidence has matched an unidentified person or body. Of the individuals analyzed for this report who had been reported missing, 59% (80) were reported missing from out of home care at least once. Out of home care includes group homes, foster homes, residential care centers, supervised independent living, and placement with a relative who is not a parent. However, individuals believed to have been trafficked were less likely than confirmed victims to have ever been reported missing from out of home care. Of confirmed trafficking victims, 62% (74) were reported missing from out of home care while five (31%) of the 16 individuals believed to have been trafficked were reported missing from out of home care. A follow up report is forthcoming and will analyze the difference between individuals confirmed and believed to be victims of trafficking and their involvement in out of home placement. It is possible that there are individuals in both categories who have a history of living in out of home care but were never reported missing from out of home care.

History of Being Reported Missing to MPD from Out-of-Home Care



History of Being Reported Missing to MPD at least once as a Juvenile (n=136)



Discussion

The following section contains a discussion of the limitations of the data. For clarity, the discussion of the data analysis was provided with each variable analyzed. The limitations of the data analysis should be carefully considered when interpreting the results presented in this report.

Limitations and Delimitations: The limitations of this study and the data collected have implications for the findings presented and the conclusions and recommendations made. Where possible, efforts were made to minimize the limitations.

This report is only a starting point in examining the magnitude and circumstances of sex trafficking in the City of Milwaukee; it analyzed those incidents that came to the attention of the MPD and resulted in an incident report being filed. The MPD files an incident report when they are notified that a criminal act or other incident specified in standard operating procedures occurred within the borders of the jurisdiction. MPD reporting requirements are codified in MPD Standard Operating Procedure 263.10, which states “members shall investigate and file an incident report for all actual or suspected statutory criminal offenses...occurring within the jurisdictional boundaries of the department.” In addition to criminal offenses, MPD also files selected non-criminal reports such as sick and injured person calls for service, welfare checks, and missing person reports.

Any calls for service that required an MPD response and resulted in the issuance of a municipal citation will *not* be captured in an MPD incident report. An incident that was advised by police because it did not meet the elements of a crime from the information known will not be documented in an incident report.

MPD has four investigators assigned to the FBI Milwaukee Joint Human Trafficking Task Force (MJHTTF). The data system used to capture human trafficking incident reports for the FBI is not the same as that used by MPD. For this reason, information contained in reports filed regarding federal sex trafficking investigations and victims in Milwaukee were not included in this report.

MPD incident reports were searched for occurrences in which a subject was confirmed or believed to be a victim of sex trafficking. Law enforcement reports and the resulting data have some inherent weaknesses as they are based on a victim’s willingness to report. Many trafficking victims are reluctant to report due to threats, outstanding debt obligations, fears of being deported, barriers in communication due to lack of language skills or simply not having the opportunity to come forward and report the trafficking (Lange, 2011). As all of the victims identified in this report were U.S citizens or those with legal status, the degree to which language barriers and fear of deportation prevent trafficking victims in Milwaukee from reporting and being identified as a victim is unknown. It cannot be said with any degree of certainty if the reason all victims identified in this report were U.S citizens or those with legal status is because the majority of the individuals who are trafficked in Milwaukee are U.S. citizens or those with legal status. It is possible that those who are not U.S. citizens or without legal status that are trafficked in Milwaukee were identified as victims through federal law enforcement channels, have not yet been identified as a victim by any official channel, or choose to work with a local social service agency, and therefore would not have been identified in this report. Additionally, some sex trafficking

victims do not consider themselves to be victims and feel as if they are benefitting from and making the conscious decision to be involved in the commercial sex trade (Wisconsin DOJ, 2015). There are multiple factors that can explain this, including trauma responses or fraudulent measures taken by a trafficker to brainwash a victim.

In addition to limitations in MPD sex trafficking incident reports, there are also limitations to MPD missing person's reports. A large segment (59%) of the individuals identified in this report had been reported by a group home worker, family member, guardian, or case worker as a missing person. There are occurrences in which a person is missing and, for a myriad of reasons, not reported. There are other times when a missing person is reported, returns home, and law enforcement is not notified that the missing has returned. Therefore, the data on missing person's reports may be an underestimate.

The data provided in this report may not be generalizable to the larger population of sex trafficking victims as it is focused specifically on individuals confirmed or believed to have been trafficked in the City of Milwaukee, aged 25 and younger, who were trafficked or believed to have been trafficked between January 1st, 2013 and December 31st, 2016. Age 25 was used as the cutoff for this report because it is a common age cutoff in research and for service providers who serve youth and young adults. To form a more comprehensive picture of sex trafficking in Milwaukee, follow-up research should not include an age cutoff.

Another major limitation of this report is the single data source. Future supplements of this report will attempt to integrate data from other sources, including POHSEY, Milwaukee County District Attorney's Office, Wisconsin DOJ - Division of Criminal Investigations (DCI) Human Trafficking Bureau, and the Department of Children and Families (DCF), to improve the completeness of the data. This will likely include additional victims who were identified through medical, child welfare, and state law enforcement channels. There is also the possibility that victims identified by MPD were also identified by these projects/agencies.

Recommendations

After preliminary analyses of the data were complete, it was presented to partners across criminal justice, medical, and social service systems. The purpose of these discussions was to put the data into context and generate recommendations from systems that come into contact with victims of sex trafficking. The recommendations address the policy needs of those systems to create a more comprehensive response to sex trafficking. This dialogue also afforded the opportunity to discuss current responses to sex trafficking in Wisconsin, preventing the report's recommendations from being redundant to initiatives and policies already in place. Some of the recommendations overlap with recommendations from other task forces, including the Wisconsin Anti-Human Trafficking Taskforce's [Guidelines for an Effective Coordinated Community Response to Sex Trafficking of Youth](#). This further supports the need to follow through on these recommendations. Further details on current criminal justice, medical, and social service responses can be found in Appendix B. Recommendations should be considered as an extension of these ongoing initiatives. The recommendations were placed into three categories: prevention, protection and intervention, and suppression. The goal to collaborate across criminal justice, medical, and social service systems and identify individuals at risk for trafficking, victims of trafficking, and perpetrators of trafficking transcend these categories and is an underlying theme of each recommendation.

PREVENTION

Slightly more than half of the individuals identified were juveniles when they were trafficked. However, the vast majority of all individuals who were identified as victims of sex trafficking had challenges in their youth, including being reported as a missing person and involvement with the child welfare system. When these challenges are addressed early, rates of victimization may decrease. It is important to note involvement with child welfare can include investigations, supportive services, and resources provided without a substantiated child abuse report. In the State of Wisconsin, children may be placed in out of home care as a result of four actions: 1. A court order for Child in Need of Protection and Services (CHIPS), when a child is removed from the home and placement in out of home care is necessary to ensure their safety; 2. A Court order for Juvenile in Need of Protection and Services (JIPS), as a result of certain behaviors including running away, uncontrollable behavior, or truancy; 3. A delinquency court order as a result of a criminal act; and 4. A Voluntary Placement Agreement (VPA) between a parent and caregiver involving the child welfare agency. VPAs require placement in a licensed foster home, group home, or shelter facility (Gentry, 2017).

Collaborate with jurisdictions both within and beyond Milwaukee County and the Department of Justice Division of Criminal Investigations (DCI) to estimate the magnitude of sex trafficking in Wisconsin:

To test the replicability of this methodology, pilot projects should be implemented in selected rural and urban jurisdictions to better capture characteristics of sex trafficking in different settings. There is also the potential to implement this methodology for estimating the magnitude of sex trafficking on a statewide level by collaborating with DCI.

Improve identification of and interventions for youth at risk for sex trafficking victimization: Currently, youth who are determined to be “at risk” for sex trafficking victimization following the Wisconsin Child Sex Trafficking and Exploitation Indicator and Response Guide would not be immediately referred to law enforcement or child protection services. Some individuals at “high risk” for sex trafficking victimization may also be screened out by child protection services. Future research should evaluate the response guide to determine which risk factors are most predictive of future sex trafficking victimization. Once the risk factors most correlated with sex trafficking are determined, the cases of individuals with these high risk factors should be reviewed and youth should be referred to social support services to prevent future victimization.

Increase in-person interaction requirements between caseworkers and youth in the child welfare system: Currently, children involved with the child welfare system have at minimum monthly meetings with their caseworkers. For many youth, this is the only time they see their caseworkers, unless there is a serious issue, such as when the child is reported missing or is hurt. Therefore, some younger juveniles may run away or go AWOL from their placement facility due to lack of attention, placing them in a vulnerable position that may cause them to be more susceptible to sex trafficking victimization. While many caseworkers meet with the children on their caseload more frequently than the minimum required by their agency, there is a lack of consistency with how often youth have face time with their caseworkers. Caseworkers should be required to visit in person with their clients who are at high risk for sex trafficking victimization *at least* once per week. Realizing caseworkers have heavy caseloads that may prevent them from meeting the needs of a high risk child on their caseload, there should be a team-centered approach implemented incorporating support from long-term caseworkers, family support specialists, medical and psychological health support, and other support based on the needs of the child.

Programming support for parents of at-risk youth: While some of the youth were placed in the child welfare system due to an abusive home environment, others entered the system because they were “uncontrollable” to their parents or guardians. The parents of these uncontrollable youth require programming support from social service systems to learn strategies to support their child and help them develop healthy coping and life skills. Currently, DCF contracted agencies, Saint A, and the Milwaukee County Courts Family Intervention Support and Services (FISS) program, provide this support. Additional support from this programming could prevent some youth from becoming involved in the system—a risk factor for sex trafficking. It may also prevent uncontrollable youth from being involved in activities that are risk factors for sex trafficking, including running away from home or going AWOL from out of home care, committing petty or violent crimes, and drug use. There are also prevention opportunities by supporting non-guardian adults in the child’s life.

Implement prevention and education programming in schools: Just as there are prevention programs in schools for drugs, high risk sexual activity, suicide, and bullying, awareness curriculums for sex trafficking should be implemented in area schools. The DCF/WI DOJ Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force has recommended two awareness curricula, [I Empathize](#) and [Prevention Project](#), which can be implemented in schools. These interventions can occur in the same setting as other prevention

curriculums, such as a health class. The goal would be to assist youth to practice healthy relationships, identify the warning signs of trafficking recruitment, and provide resources to appropriately take action. Training should also be mandated for school staff who works with children in middle school and high school, the times when youth are most susceptible to sex trafficking victimization. The younger victims identified in this report were in middle school when first groomed by a trafficker. Teachers and school staff are in a unique position to be able to identify at risk youth and victims of trafficking. They may overhear conversations between youth or identify potential indicators through the youth's comportment and the way they dress. They are able to do this because they may be more likely to see the youth on a regular basis. This does not negate the responsibility of other non-guardian adults in a child's life who may not see them as frequently, but they are nonetheless uniquely equipped to identify indicators of trafficking given their relationship to the child.

PROTECTION and INTERVENTION

Implement additional training for criminal justice, medical, and social service systems to identify and respond to sex trafficking: All partners interviewed for this report expressed a need for further training on identifying victims of trafficking and how best to intervene. Several partners acknowledged identification gaps specific to their system—for example, some indicators of trafficking may be more obvious in a medical context versus a law enforcement context. For this reason, there should be one general training curriculum that is available to any provider who may come into contact with a victim of trafficking and a second curriculum that should be system-specific (e.g., specific to law enforcement officers, advocates, prosecutors, nurses, etc.). The Wisconsin Department of Justice (DOJ) and the Wisconsin Department of Children and Families (DCF) are currently developing a training curriculum that will be made available to professionals who work in systems serving victims and survivors of trafficking. This will assist in facilitating communication between different systems and allow for the opportunity to collaboratively improve responses when an individual has been identified as trafficked. These trainings have the potential to be deployed into continuing education curricula for medical providers and educators. They may also be adapted for integration into curriculum for medical, nursing, teaching, and social work students so human trafficking in the context of their field can be understood at the onset of their careers. The Wisconsin DOJ also develops the curriculum for all law enforcement officer basic training, making these and future recommendations implementable at the onset of law enforcement careers.

Integrate data systems to improve communication between systems who come into contact with victims of sex trafficking, thereby leading to earlier interventions: Steps should be taken to integrate data systems to improve communication between system partners who come into contact with victims of sex trafficking. This collaboration will lead to earlier opportunities to intervene because systems will be in contact with each other and will be able to have a more comprehensive picture of an at-risk individual. Ideally, social services, law enforcement, and limited medical records could be merged in a database, automatically notifying the appropriate agencies when a certain number of red flags are met. From a research perspective, it would be useful to merge data from these types of agencies to identify potential differences in system specific victimology, which in turn would inform system-specific

interventions for victims of trafficking, and also contribute to more effective legislation to combat this crime. Additionally, it would help estimate the true magnitude of sex trafficking in a given location.

Group Homes

Most of the individuals identified in this report have a history of being reported as a missing person while a juvenile, of whom 59% had been reported missing from some out-of-home care at least once, including group homes, foster homes, residential care centers, supervised independent living, and placement with a relative who is not a parent. When broken down by type of out-of-home care, 55% of individuals who have a history of being reported missing have been reported as missing from a group home at least once. Therefore, addressing issues surrounding group homes was a priority for all partners interviewed for this report. From meetings with partners in law enforcement, medical systems, advocacy, child welfare, and group homes, the following recommendations were generated:

Consider safety concerns when deciding placement for survivors of sex trafficking: For most children living in group homes, it is best to keep them living in their own communities. For victims of sex trafficking, however, this may be unwise due to safety concerns for the youth. There should be explicit consideration for placement of survivors of sex trafficking who are in the child welfare system, and if it is safer to keep them in their communities or to place them far away from where they were exploited. The academic literature indicates that juvenile survivors of sexual exploitation have different needs than survivors of child sex trauma (Cole, Sprang, Lee & Cohen, 2016). Group homes in Wisconsin have “target groups” they seek to serve, including AODA, Children in Need of Protection (CHIPS), children with emotional and behavioral disorders, delinquent children, children with a history of sexual abuse, etc.; survivors of sex trafficking may fit several of these categories due to their compounded trauma and compounded needs. For this reason, there should be special consideration for the placement needs of sex trafficking survivors who are in the child welfare system.

Alternatives to group homes: Many social service partners expressed a desire for alternatives to group homes for survivors of sex trafficking, including specialized care safe homes with trained, professional foster parents or trained homes outside the foster care system that would be able to provide individual-level interventions for sex trafficked youth. This individual-level care would also include programming to “un-brainwash” victims by addressing the manipulation and trauma they endured. These safe homes may also include support from adult survivors of trafficking, who would be able to relate to these youth in a way that a non-survivor could not. Some survivors who have criminal histories or histories with child welfare for caregiver abuse or neglect would be able to attend training and become licensed through a [rehabilitative review](#) process through the Department of Children and Families (DCF). There is currently one specialized [safe home](#) in Milwaukee providing individualized care for juvenile survivors of sex trafficking. This Wraparound program, implemented through La Causa, has touted early success and should be evaluated and expanded.

Legislation deeming trafficking of a child placed in out of home care an egregious event: According to [2009 Wisconsin Act 78](#), an egregious incident is defined as “an incident of suspected abuse or

neglect...involving significant violence, torture, multiple victims, the use of inappropriate or cruel restraints, exposure of a child to a dangerous situation, or other similar, aggravated circumstances.” An incident of a child in out of home placement being sex trafficked should be legally designated an egregious event so the Department of Children and Families (DCF) must review the incident and report the results to the community.

Impose penalties on group homes that are noncompliant with state standards: Partners expressed concerns of non-compliance with reporting requirements for group homes. As of May 2017, DCF standards indicated a group home must report a juvenile missing within 8 hours to law enforcement and within 24 hours to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC). They must also report when the juvenile returns and if they were sex trafficked. Although some group homes have stricter internal requirements such as reporting a missing juvenile to law enforcement within three hours, some group homes do not comply with mandated reporting requirements if they know (or think they know) where the juvenile has run off to. There is also a failure to notify law enforcement when a juvenile has returned from missing, so law enforcement data may indicate they are missing for much longer than the time they were actually gone. Punitive measures should be imposed on these non-compliant group homes, up to and including a revocation of their license with DCF.

As a preventative measure, DCF should coordinate with local law enforcement and other reliable partners who work with group homes before issuing new or continued licenses. Because some group home owners run multiple group homes, it is important they are compliant with DCF requirements before being issued a renewed or new license. Local law enforcement and social service partners would have a pulse on which group homes are compliant with standards, and which are not, based on the nature of their partnership. Law enforcement can also provide them with information on incidents reported at the group home or involving residents of the group home.

Improve training for and communication between group homes and law enforcement: On the law enforcement side of this issue, some group homes and advocates have expressed concerns they are discouraged from reporting a juvenile missing if they are considered a habitual runaway and will likely return within a consistent time frame. Although there are [standard operating procedures](#) in place for the communication between group homes and law enforcement, consistent trainings need to be provided for both law enforcement and group homes so they understand and are compliant with the recent changes to state requirements on missing reporting policies. To help build consistent relationships between group homes and law enforcement, there should be a small cadre of officers on each shift at every district to handle missing reports. Additional training should be provided to these officers to identify warning signs of sex trafficking from information given in missing reports. The standard operating procedure related to missing persons should also be updated to include whether or not sex trafficking is suspected by the group home worker. To ensure the accuracy of this, mandatory trainings on identifying indicators of sex trafficking in a group home setting should be provided to group home owners, program managers, and workers.

Limit the number of sex trafficked youth placed in a single group home: Both police narratives and social service partners indicated that recruitment for sex trafficking happens in group homes. One partner described it as the girls “moving from one stable¹ to another.” However, as current alternatives to placing juvenile sex trafficking victims into group homes are limited, the number of sex trafficked youth placed in one single group home should be limited. Oftentimes group home workers are unfamiliar with the history of a youth, making improved communication between caseworkers and group home workers crucial. It should be required that a caseworker convey the youth to the group home before being placed there if they suspect sex trafficking or if they believe the child is at risk for sex trafficking victimization.

Develop curricula to build the physical and emotional well-being of youth in group homes, to be implemented in a group home setting: Group homes should consider building on current curricula to improve the safety of the children they serve. Group homes are mandated to offer group sessions (e.g., fitness, nutritional health, job skills, confidence building workshops, etc.) five days per week but there is no consistency in this curriculum. DCF should consider mandating a specific, consistent curriculum aimed at building the physical and emotional health of children in group homes. Also, as these workshops are intended to help youth living in group homes to build healthy skills and relationships but are not mandatory, some of the youth may not be receiving the potential benefits of these workshops. Youth should be required to attend sessions at least twice per week.

Interventions for juvenile victims of trafficking

Improve communication between service providers: It is evident that service providers who work with victims of human trafficking understand their responses to victims are most effective when coordinated with multidisciplinary partners. However, these collaborations sometimes occur in silos and providers who should be included in conversations may not be. When a true multidisciplinary collaboration occurs there are often organizations that are unable to share pertinent information due to confidentiality clauses surrounding the release of data on juveniles. In response to these issues the Child Abuse Response Team (CART) of Milwaukee County created guidelines for the initial response to commercial sexual exploitation, which facilitates the coordination of multiple agencies. In addition, it establishes the position of the Child Sex Trafficking Coordinator and the responsibilities of the coordinator. While these interventions have already brought forth drastic improvements in communication between providers, a shared countywide and even statewide human trafficking database would be beneficial to eliminating problems with communication. This database would help identify all of the agencies involved with a specific victim, which ensures that all appropriate service providers are included in conversations about the victim. It will also provide a more comprehensive view of the victim and their needs since all providers would input data into the system. This would eliminate potential duplication of efforts and assist in reducing costs associated with victim recovery efforts.

¹ Note: A “stable” in the context of human trafficking can be defined as a group of victims who are being trafficked by the same individual

Improve screening for sex trafficked youth to expedite deployment of support services: For example, Wraparound Milwaukee currently implements a team-centered approach to support the youth they serve. Wraparound currently requires at least one mental health diagnosis as defined by the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-V) and that at least one parent resides in Milwaukee County in order for a child to be eligible for services. Operating under the assumption that sex trafficking constitutes a traumatic event, a protocol should be developed in which youth who are suspected of being trafficked are automatically referred to and screened by Wraparound for eligibility for services. The youth would then have access to wraparound services as well as be referred to other support services based on the needs of the youth.

Continued trauma-informed training for criminal justice agencies: Milwaukee County is one of 11 jurisdictions across the nation to be awarded the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur grant to implement reforms to safely reduce Milwaukee's jail population and address racial and ethnic disparities in the criminal justice system. The reform strategies developed by the county include trauma and family violence education. The impact of trauma on juveniles, especially within the juvenile justice system, has been widely studied. As a result, Milwaukee County has developed trauma informed training and is presenting it to all stakeholders including judges, court staff, ADAs, and pretrial staff. In addition, they are working to increase the requirements for contracted vendors to provide evidence-based, trauma-informed care. It is recommended that trauma informed care training continue as survivors of sex trafficking can be a challenging population to work with due to the trauma they have experienced.

Provide specialized resources to survivors of trafficking: There are many programming systems available to protect and assist victims of sex trafficking, as well as provide them with empowerment skills for future success. Several of these are listed throughout this recommendations section. It is important to connect survivors with these specialized resources, as literature shows victims of sex trafficking have different needs than victims of other types of sexual trauma (Cole, Sprang, Lee, & Cohen, 2016). In addition, any programming must be synchronized with the counseling and psychological services the victim receives. "The majority of survivors have depression, anxiety, PTSD, or a more severe diagnosis: Disorders of Extreme Stress. In addition to these diagnoses, many victims of sex trafficking also have secondary psychological issues such as alcohol and drug abuse plus concurrent medical illnesses, which add to the psychological burden that sex trafficked victims endure," (Levine, 2017).

Interventions for adult victims of trafficking

Develop a clear training protocol for distinguishing between prostitution and sex trafficking in adults: Currently, MPD does not have a clear protocol for distinguishing between sex trafficking and prostitution in adults, which is essential especially when conducting street-level suppression initiatives. A training protocol should be developed and presented to MPD that distinguishes between sex trafficking and prostitution. Any protocols developed should also emphasize that *any* juvenile who is engaged in a commercial sex act is automatically considered trafficked and should be immediately investigated and referred to the Sensitive Crimes Division.

Develop and implement a coordinated response to sex trafficking of adults that addresses the intersection between sex trafficking and the drug trade: Based on trends and anecdotal reports, there is an intersection between sex trafficking and the drug trade. For this reason, an intentional coordinated response for adult victims of sex trafficking should include drug treatment, vocational intervention, housing support, and therapy. This comprehensive system is required due to multiple health and social issues experienced by victims of sex trafficking, including drug addiction, chronic homelessness, and trauma. A possible comprehensive system was described by one partner as a “Wraparound for adults.” Wraparound Milwaukee is a system of care for youth with serious behavioral, emotional and mental health needs and was designed to reduce the use of institutional based care such as residential treatment centers and inpatient psychiatric hospital, while providing additional services in the community and a child’s home.

An example of an intervention is Older Youth and Emerging Adult Heroes ([OYEAH](#)), a transitional program to adulthood sponsored by Wraparound Milwaukee. The goal of the program is to provide services and support to young adults ages 16 to 25. It was developed with the understanding that many young adults need support beyond the age of 18 so they can successfully transition into adulthood. Pathfinders also provides resources and services to victims and survivors of sexual exploitation age 25 and younger through their [New Paths](#) program.

Another example of an intervention is the Benedict Center’s [Sisters Program](#), which seeks to address the underlying needs of women in street prostitution (including sex trafficking victims) to help them safely exit the sex trade. Women enter the Sisters Program through a police diversion, street outreach, or the Benedict Center’s drop-in centers. The drop-in centers provide services including crisis management, case management, and support groups. Current collaborators include the Milwaukee Police Department, the Medical College of Wisconsin, the Milwaukee County District Attorney’s Office, the Milwaukee County Housing Division, and an interfaith collaboration of the Sisters Program South Collaborators.

Collaborative efforts with programs such as Wraparound’s OYEAH, Pathfinders New Paths, and the Benedict Center’s Sisters Program should be supported to continually improve the ongoing responses to sex trafficked individuals.

SUPPRESSION

It is essential that attitudes about human trafficking shift from minimizing it as being prostitution, “the oldest profession,” to realizing it is a modern-day form of slavery. Early evidence of this shift exists through initiatives such as “Operation Guardian Angel” in Missouri and Minnesota and the WI DOJ DCI’s demand suppression stings that seek to address the root of sex trafficking by targeting purchasers of commercial sex, while also providing services to victims of trafficking. These initiatives and others can be more effective if they occur at all levels of law enforcement, are ongoing, and multidisciplinary, including other systems serving victims and survivors of sex trafficking.

Focus enforcement efforts on purchasers of commercial sex: In the City of Milwaukee, those arrested for purchasing commercial sex can face criminal charges, be issued a municipal citation, deferred to alternative treatment programs, or have the charges “dropped completely” (Diknavic, 2016). There is a concern that the commercial sex trade is being pushed underground (i.e., in drug houses, online). Due to this, consideration should be given to eliminating the issuance of prostitution citations for those who purchase or attempt to purchase commercial sex. Instead, they should be charged with Prostitution (s. 944.30). Those who attempt to purchase sex from a child should be charged with human trafficking/trafficking of a child. Currently, Wisconsin statute 948.051 (Trafficking of a Child) supports this charge as “whoever knowingly recruits, entices, provides, obtains, harbors, patronizes, solicits, or knowingly attempts to recruit, entice, provide, obtain, harbor, transport, patronize, or solicit any child for the purpose of commercial sex acts...is guilty of a Class C felony.” The language of this, however, should be clarified: a purchaser of commercial sex can’t *unknowingly* purchase or attempt to purchase commercial sex, although they could unknowingly attempt to do so from a minor. Regardless, they are committing an actual or attempted sex crime against a child, and they should be prosecuted for that crime. 940.302 (Human Trafficking) does not support this change and will require a change in wording as it requires an element of force, fraud, or coercion to charge someone with this offense.

Common Discourse: To collaboratively address the challenges of combating human trafficking, it is important to construct a common discourse used by all disciplines, which generates a cultural shift and correctly frames sex trafficking victims as victims. Currently the discourse frequently views victims as an offender or prostitute, which carries a negative connotation for the victim. Instead of saying an individual was trafficked or was the victim of sex trafficking, many disciplines engaged in combating sex trafficking refer to victims as “prostitutes,” “sex workers” or victims of “forced sex work.” The term “work” implies a sense of agency and, by definition, victims of trafficking have had their agency stripped from them. Additionally, using a common discourse that is victim focused will help to develop a cultural shift surrounding sex trafficking. Even when the current discourse describes trafficking using modifiers like “forced sex worker” or “forced prostitution,” there remains a sense of agency and criminality, as if the victim of trafficking is somehow at fault for the trauma they have experienced.

A new discourse would also distinguish between adults who are willing participants in the sex trade, and those who are exploited as a result of it. The development of a victim-focused discourse also aligns with the goal to streamline and collaborate in the way trafficking is identified and responded to across systems, as well as with the language of the law. Under state and federal definitions of trafficking, it does not matter if an individual entered the sex trade as a consenting adult, was forced into the trade either by an individual or by their circumstances (e.g., chronic homelessness, intermittent involvement to pay the bills), or brought in as a child. Additionally, a juvenile cannot sex traffick themselves; it is either the pimp or the buyer who trafficks them. This should be reflected in the way professionals and society discuss sex trafficking.

Eliminate redundant laws: [Act 131](#) was passed in November of 2017 and increased the penalty for patronizing a prostitute (s. 944.31) from a Class A misdemeanor to a Class I felony if the person had two

prior convictions. This law should be modified so it is a felony at the first violation *for purchasers of commercial sex*. Additionally, Wisconsin state statute 948.08 (Soliciting a Child for Prostitution) currently exists. This law should be eliminated, as a child cannot be a prostitute—federal and state laws clearly state they are a victim of sex trafficking. In addition, referring to a child as a prostitute implies they are a criminal and somehow at fault for the trauma they experience. In November 2017 two additional sex trafficking-related laws were passed: [Act 128](#) increases the penalty for patronizing a child for the purpose of prostitution to a Class-I felony and [Act 129](#) makes it a Class-I felony to solicit a sexually explicit photograph, recording, or other representation from a minor.

Stiffer sentences for traffickers: Due to the severity of human trafficking and trafficking of a child, stiffer sentences for both crimes, including mandatory minimums, should be explored. Under current statutes, trafficking of a child is a Class C felony which carries a maximum confinement of 25 years plus 15 years of extended supervision. Human trafficking is classified as a Class D felony which carries a maximum confinement of 15 years plus 10 years of extended supervision. Often, convicted traffickers receive far less than the maximum sentence, sometimes as little as three years of incarceration. This sentencing is incongruent with the severity of the crimes and sentences should be modeled after federal penalties. Depending on the age of the victim, federal child trafficking statutes carry a 10 to 15-year minimum sentence. Additionally, most victims of trafficking are not trafficked one time, but many times. This makes human trafficking and trafficking of a child both serial crimes which should be reflected in sentencing guidelines.

In order to improve sentencing for those convicted of trafficking, training for prosecutors and the judiciary is required. However, it is important to know some individuals who traffick others are victims of trafficking themselves, as a “bottom” to a pimp. These individuals are often coerced into trafficking others by the pimp. Charging and sentencing considerations should be carefully considered for these individuals, although their involvement should not be minimized. Consideration for more significant punishment for traffickers should be given. Many prosecutors are required to charge traffickers with each crime they have committed, including trafficking, multiple sexual assaults, and battery, among others. This may increase a trafficker’s sentence if they are found guilty of each crime. Other times, they charge traffickers with sexual assault or sexual assault of a child because these crimes can carry heavier sentences than trafficking and are often easier crimes to prove during trial. Additional training and mentorship for prosecutors and judges pursuing trafficking cases would help make prosecuting trafficking cases more efficient and hold traffickers appropriately accountable for their crimes.

Future Research

In Milwaukee:

The characteristics of sex trafficking vary by context, so it is important to continue researching contextual factors surrounding sex trafficking in Milwaukee to inform current and future interventions and services. Due to the urgent need for research on sex trafficking in Milwaukee, an age cutoff was included for the data in this report. Future research should not include an age cutoff, so a more comprehensive picture of sex trafficking will be possible. Additionally, an examination of victims identified through trafficking narratives versus narrative word searches should be conducted to identify if there are any differences in victimology between the two groups. Further research should also include a geographic analysis of group homes in relation to known trap houses and hotels known for trafficking. Proximity to trafficking puts an already vulnerable individual at elevated risk for sex trafficking victimization.

In General:

Human trafficking is a pervasive crime. While there are still many research questions to be addressed to inform the fight against human trafficking, some research is more urgent. In order to interrupt sexual exploitation in the commercial sex market, future research should include an economic analysis of the commercial sex market and its dynamics. In other words, human trafficking should be analyzed from an economic perspective in order to bolster demand suppression efforts. Future research could also include an examination of the demographic characteristics related to the demand side of sex trafficking and what factors influence a buyer's decision to purchase commercial sex and exploit vulnerable persons. In order to estimate the magnitude of demand for sex trafficking and the characteristics of the buyers, a significant increase in suppression enforcement by law enforcement would be required.

Appendix A: Definitions of Sex Trafficking

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) provides a narrower definition than the Wisconsin trafficking statute; the Wisconsin human trafficking statute (s. 940.302) includes controlling any individual's access to an addictive controlled substance to induce them to engage in a commercial sex act as a form of coercion. The data indicated that victims who had drug addictions were often manipulated into engaging in commercial sex acts by controlling access to their drug of addiction.

The TVPA also defines a commercial sex act as "any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person." Wisconsin's trafficking statute augments this definition by delineating the terms "sex act" and "commercial." A sex act includes "sexual contact, sexual intercourse, or any other conduct done for the purpose of sexual humiliation, degradation, arousal, or gratification." The sex act becomes commercial if "anything of value is given to, *promised*, or received, *directly or indirectly*, by any person."

A comparison of the Wisconsin trafficking laws and the TVPA can be found below. Although the TVPA and the Wisconsin Human Trafficking statute also define human labor trafficking, only sex trafficking is defined for the purpose of this report. The trafficking of a child statute only applies to the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Because Wisconsin Statutes don't classify their definitions of trafficking by force, fraud, and coercion, the elements of both human trafficking and trafficking of a child were placed into one of those categories for comparison purposes.

Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) (22 USC§ 7102) –as of 2015	WI § 940.302 (Human Trafficking)	WI § 948.051 (Trafficking of a Child)
<p>Sex Trafficking:</p> <p>"the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, obtaining, patronizing, or soliciting of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act...in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age."</p>	<p>Sex Trafficking:</p> <p>"...means recruiting, enticing, harboring, transporting, providing, or obtaining, or attempting to recruit, entice, harbor, transport, provide, or obtain an individual. Except as provided in s. 948.051, whoever knowingly engages in trafficking is guilty of a Class D felony if the trafficking is for the purposes of a commercial sex act and is done through any of the following..."</p>	<p>Sex Trafficking:</p> <p>"Whoever knowingly recruits, entices, provides, obtains, harbors, transports, patronizes, or solicits, or knowingly attempting to recruit, entice, provide, obtain, harbor, transport, patronize, or solicit any child for the purpose of commercial sex acts as defined in s. 940.302(1) is guilty of a Class C felony"</p>
<p>Force: "can involve the use of physical restraint or serious physical harm. Physical violence, including rape, beatings, and physical confinement, is often employed as a means to control victims"</p>	<p>(Force): (a) causing or threatening to cause bodily harm to any individual; (c) restraining or threatening to restrain any individual; (d) violating or threatening to violate a law</p>	<p>For both TVPA and WI § 948.051, force, fraud, and coercion are <i>not</i> necessary components for trafficking if the victim is under the age of 18</p>

Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) (22 USC§ 7102) –as of 2015	WI § 940.302 (Human Trafficking)	WI § 948.051 (Trafficking of a Child)
Fraud: “involves false promises regarding employment, wages, working conditions, or other matters.”	(Fraud): (b) causing or threatening to cause financial harm to any individual; (e) destroying, concealing, removing, confiscating or possessing any actual or purported passport or official document of any individual or threatening to do the same; (f) Extortion; (g) fraud or deception; (h) debt bondage	-
Coercion: “means threats of serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; any scheme, plan or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that failure to perform an act would result in serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; or the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process.”	(Coercion): (i) Controlling any individual’s access to an addictive substance; (j) using a scheme or pattern to cause an individual to believe that any individual would suffer bodily harm, <i>financial harm</i> , restraint, or other harm	-
**does not require the physical movement of a person	**does not require the physical movement of a person	**does not require the physical movement of a person
<p>Commercial Sex Act: “any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person”</p> <p>Debt bondage: means the status or condition of a debtor arising from a pledge by the debtor of his or her personal services or of those of a person under his or her control as a security for debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied toward the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined</p>	<p>Commercial Sex Act: “sexual contact, sexual intercourse...or any other conduct done for the purpose of sexual humiliation, degradation, arousal, or gratification...for which anything of value is given to, <i>promised</i>, or received, <i>directly or indirectly</i>, by any person”</p> <p>Debt Bondage: the condition of a debtor arising from the debtor’s pledge of services as a security for the debt if the reasonable value of those services is not applied toward repaying the debt or if the length and nature of the services are not defined</p> <p>Services: activities performed by one individual at the request, under the supervision, or for the benefit of another person</p>	<p>Commercial Sex Act:</p> <p><i>Same as 940.302</i></p>
Initially Authorized: 2000 Most recently reauthorized: 2015 Reauthorization in progress: 2017	Initially codified: 2008 Most recently updated: 2013	Initially codified: 2008 Most recently updated: 2017

Appendix B: Current Responses to Sex Trafficking in Wisconsin

The following non-exhaustive list of current systems-based responses to sex trafficking in Milwaukee is included to serve as a resource for those who work in trafficking prevention and contextualize the recommendations generated in the report.

Criminal Justice responses to trafficking

The Milwaukee Joint Human Trafficking Task Force (MJHTTF) was developed as a partnership between law enforcement and service providers to ensure a victim centered, coordinated multi-disciplinary approach to identify all types of human trafficking. This collaboration ensures the individualized needs of victims are addressed through quality services, as well as the thorough, professional investigation and prosecution of human trafficking at the local, state, and federal level. The organizations involved in the MJHTTF include the Latina Resource Center of UMOG, Benedict Center, Grateful Girls, Convergence Resource Center, Inner Beauty Center, Franciscan Peacemakers, Pathfinders, Proactive Outreach for the Health of Sexually Exploited Youth (POHSEY), and Foundations for Freedom.

From a *prosecutorial perspective*, the best response to human trafficking is having a dedicated, experienced team who receive effective training and mentorship. The *Milwaukee County District Attorney's Office – Sensitive Crimes Unit* prosecutes cases of a sensitive nature, including sexual assaults and human trafficking. Assistant District Attorneys (ADAs) review cases brought before them by law enforcement and will charge a case if supported by probable cause and if admissible evidence supports a conviction in court. For these reasons, if law enforcement presents a human trafficking case the ADA does not believe can be supported by the evidence at trial, they may choose to charge it as a sexual assault or other sex crime that more accurately reflects the significance of the offense. When pursuing a trafficking case ADAs focus on all elements of trafficking, including fraudulent elements of the trafficking that may be more difficult to prove in court than forceful and coercive elements of trafficking.

The Wisconsin Department of Justice Division of Criminal Investigations (DCI) Human Trafficking Bureau takes a broad approach to address human trafficking in Wisconsin. Their three primary goals are to identify victims of trafficking and investigate those cases, to serve as a resource to both law enforcement and the public, and to provide training for law enforcement agencies. In addition to recovering victims of trafficking, DCI addresses the root of sex trafficking in their monthly statewide demand suppression operations in which they target purchasers of commercial sex.

The Federal Human Trafficking Task Force was established between the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Milwaukee Police Department (MPD) nearly ten years ago. The goal of this task force is to foster an efficient, cohesive unit capable of addressing sex trafficking and forced labor trafficking within the state of Wisconsin. The quest for interagency cooperation is relied upon to reduce sex trafficking and forced labor trafficking.

Medical provider responses to trafficking

Aurora-Sinai's Healing and Advocacy Services provides services to trafficking victims and collaborates with numerous other agencies to improve its responses to trafficking. Its primary goal is to identify victims who present for medical care at Aurora. Examples of services provided include sexual assault exams for survivors of sexual abuse and violence, trauma support from counselors who work specifically with individuals who have experienced multiple forms of abuse, routine follow-up, and referral to trauma support groups. Advocates also coordinate with the Collaborative Rapid Advocacy for Youth (CRAY), and a combined hotline for CRAY/Healing and Advocacy Services exists so that community organizations, law enforcement, and medical providers can call and request an advocacy response. This combined effort allows for more timely interventions. Internally, Healing and Advocacy Services provides training and ongoing education for Emergency Department staff, Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners, and other staff to identify subtle indicators of trafficking that may present when a victim seeks medical treatment.

Proactive Outreach for the Health of Sexually Exploited Youth (POHSEY) is a Healthier Wisconsin Partnership Program (HWPP) funded project that seeks to transform the medical response to and improve the health of sexually exploited youth. Its primary goals include developing and providing training for medical providers and community partners to identify trafficked youth, developing tools and protocols for the medical care of youth, and developing community partnerships and protocols to improve the response to trafficked youth. Using data from Wraparound Milwaukee, the Juvenile Detention Center, and Children's Hospital of Wisconsin, it identified 143 trafficked youth in 2014. POHSEY has also [developed trainings and protocols](#) through interdisciplinary collaboration with CHW, Milwaukee's Child Advocacy Center, CRAY, Rethink Resources, and other organizations that serve sex trafficked youth.

Social and community service provider responses to trafficking

The Collaborative Rapid Advocacy for Youth (CRAY) is a partnership of community and systems-based advocates designed to provide urgent medical and legal accompaniment and advocacy for youth ages 11 to 17 who have been commercially sexually exploited. They are focused on increasing the capacity and coordination for commercially sexually exploited youth advocacy in Milwaukee.

The Wisconsin Department of Child and Family Services (DCF) has updated reporting requirements for group homes as of May 2017 to combat sex trafficking of youth living in group homes. Group homes must now report a juvenile missing to law enforcement within eight hours of going missing, and to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) within 24 hours. They must advise both when a juvenile returns and report if the juvenile was trafficked.

Other identification, intervention, and prevention mechanisms in Wisconsin

The mission of the *Child Sexual Exploitation Committee (CSEC)*, a subcommittee of the Child Abuse

Review Team (CART), is to improve Milwaukee's response to children at-risk for commercial sexual exploitation. The objectives are to gather information about existing response protocols and initiatives, identify and address gaps in the current investigative and community response, and consolidate existing and emerging initiatives into a written urgent response protocol. This committee has representatives from Children's Hospital of Wisconsin, Milwaukee's Child Advocacy Center, Sojourner Family Peace Center, Department of Children and Families Division of Milwaukee Child Protective Services (DMCPS), Milwaukee Police Department Sensitive Crimes Division, the District Attorney's Office, Milwaukee Public Schools, Milwaukee County Law Enforcement Executives Association, Wraparound Milwaukee, and the Sexual Assault Treatment Center.

The Attorney General's *Crime Victims Council* is building partnerships with private industry to engage members of the workforce positioned to see, recognize and report human trafficking. Through the Council's partnerships with hotels, malls, the transportation industry, and others, it is hoped that victims will receive services sooner and law enforcement will receive more actionable leads from the public. The project focuses on indicators of human trafficking specific to each industry setting and emphasizes the development of effective reporting protocols. Through increasing public and business engagement, the project aims to disrupt the trafficking industry which relies on the ignorance of the public to exploit and victimize, and often exploits legitimate businesses as the means to do so.

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