

Minnesota Department of Health's Evaluation of Minnesota's Response to Sex Trafficking During Super Bowl LII

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During Super Bowl LII**

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Executive Summary

In 2016-2018, the state of Minnesota undertook an ambitious collaborative effort to prevent sex-trafficking during Super Bowl LII which occurred February 4, 2018 in Minneapolis, MN. The Women's Foundation of Minnesota, Hennepin County, and Ramsey County, sponsored by the Carlson Family Foundation, led an inter-sectoral initiative to raise awareness about sex trafficking, support service providers in the Twin Cities metro region, and collaborate with law enforcement to address sex-trafficking during this large, sporting event.

Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee used a public health approach based on the social ecological model (see Table 1 & Figure 1) to address sex trafficking on the individual, community, and systemic levels:

- Individual level: Increased availability of direct services to people "in the life" (people who are involved in prostitution and/or trafficking, most often due to myriad factors out of their control) and increased outreach efforts
- Community level: training sessions for local volunteers, faith-based groups, and hospitality industry staff to increase community awareness of signs of trafficking and appropriate resources, and awareness campaigns
- Systems level: protocols for providing assistance and resources to survivor/victims after law enforcement stings, protocols to guide Child Protection Services response according to new laws, and coordination between national and local hotlines

The Minnesota Department of Health (MDH) was a member of Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee during the planning phase but did not participate in the implementation phase of the initiative. Given the fact that MDH was not provided funding through this initiative, was not a member of any subcommittees, and did not provide any directives to the committee at large or individual subcommittees, MDH considered this to be a distinct opportunity to conduct an independent evaluation of the activities organized by Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee.

MDH worked with members of the Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee and other sources to gather data as outlined in Figure 1 to answer four questions:

1. Was there a change in supply and demand of sex-trafficking due to Super Bowl LII?
2. How did Minnesota respond to sex trafficking during Super Bowl LII?
3. Was this response impactful?
4. If impactful, what was the impact?

Existing research suggests that trafficking levels during Super Bowls do not increase any more than during other large sporting events. Using qualitative and quantitative methods, this evaluation reveals there was no increase or decrease in sex trafficking incidence during Super Bowl LII, suggesting an effective anti-trafficking initiative. However, it is difficult to accurately measure the existence of trafficking since there is no baseline for typical periods of time and no baseline for

incidence during large scale events, therefore making it impossible to definitively measure the success of any anti-trafficking efforts. However, an increase in online advertisements for sex was documented on platforms such as Backpage in the host city during the Super Bowl, which supports the existing research. In many ways, the Minnesota Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee was a successful endeavor that increased and improved partnerships among service providers and between service providers and law enforcement. However, transparency and inclusivity could be improved in future undertakings. Additionally, while the main emphasis was placed on building preventive initiatives from existing programs and activities, this could have been expanded to include statewide initiatives that were currently in place in order to reach more people.

The impact of these concentrated efforts was evident in arrest-rates, awareness, and services provided to victim/survivors. In fact, the impact was so great that it highlights the inadequate resources available day to day. The additional monetary and staff support provided during Super Bowl LII revealed what is possible when appropriate resources are provided to combat this public health and safety challenge. The abrupt end to the resources and support immediately after Super Bowl LII was disruptive and possibly counter-productive as it left many victim/survivors again without services.

As a result of this evaluation, MDH recommends that anti-trafficking initiatives that take place during large-scale events should:

1. Be led by one organization with the capacity to connect cross-sector participants
2. Build on established, successful state-wide programs and relationships
3. Be inclusive of all organizations and agencies that support sex trafficked victim/survivors and include people who are currently in the life or have been in the past
4. Include plans for evaluation from the initial phase of the collaboration
5. Align service provider needs with business and outreach donations
6. Appropriately compensate the people who are asked to train or provide supportive services in order to enact the planned efforts, and
7. Include a sustainability plan to ensure the improvements made for a solitary event can benefit anti-trafficking efforts after the conclusion of the event.

Minnesota-specific recommendations include:

1. Evaluate other large scale sporting events taking place in Minnesota in a similar manner and
2. Include established state-wide programs in data collection and analysis being mindful of Greater Minnesota.

Introduction

The Super Bowl is the largest single-sport event in the world, drawing over a million people to attend events in a host city every year in February (Roper, 2018). For over a decade, the myth that the Super Bowl is the largest human trafficking incident in the United States has endured despite very little evidence, if any, to support this claim (Wertheim, 2017). In reality, the risk of increased human trafficking is similar to other large-scale events that draw large crowds including holiday weekends and other sporting events (Martin & Hill, 2017). In spite of the lack of evidence, Super Bowl host cities have begun to take action to address this issue during the event, despite it being a documented chronic, omnipresent issue.

In 2014, Minnesota was selected to host Super Bowl LII in February 2018. A locally-organized initiative to prevent and respond to sex trafficking began in earnest mid-2016, led by the Women's Foundation of Minnesota, Hennepin County, and Ramsey County and sponsored by the Carlson Family Foundation and other Minnesota-based businesses and organizations with support from the National Football League. The initiative was founded on recruiting cross-sector stakeholders (collectively called Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee) from law enforcement and government agencies to faith-based organizations and service providers to business and philanthropy groups to create and implement a coordinated effort to address, prevent, and increase awareness about sex trafficking in the Twin Cities Metro Area. Efforts were made in two phases: a planning phase and an implementation phase with two levels of participation: a leadership team that met monthly and a larger group from the aforementioned sectors that met quarterly. As documented by the Women's Foundation, Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee had three overarching goals:

1. Increase public awareness;
2. Prevent and disrupt the buying and selling of sex; and
3. Offer swift and effective responses to any event-related sex trafficking activities in the form of enhanced services for sex trafficking victims.

In the planning phase, the Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee created a coordinated effort centered on supporting awareness campaigns in the year preceding Super Bowl LII. The implementation phase took place during the 10 days leading up to and including the Super Bowl, during which efforts were concentrated on providing direct services to trafficked persons and decreasing demand. Sub-committees developed organically during the planning phase to assist in planning specific efforts and met as needed. For example, a Service Provider Subcommittee formed to assess the capacity of each organization that serves trafficked people and determine their ability to increase services during the Super Bowl timespan. Subcommittees were tasked with organizing their own efforts to support the overall mission of Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee.

Using a public health approach based on the social ecological model (see Figures 1 & 2), Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee addressed sex trafficking on the individual, community, and systemic levels (Bronfenbrenner, 2005):

EVALUATION OF MINNESOTA'S RESPONSE TO SEX TRAFFICKING DURING SUPER BOWL LII

- Individual level: Increased availability of direct services to people “in the life” (people who are involved in prostitution and/or trafficking, most often due to myriad factors out of their control) and increased outreach efforts
- Community level: training sessions for local volunteers, faith-based groups, and hospitality industry staff to increase community awareness of signs of trafficking and appropriate resources, and awareness campaigns
- Systems level: protocols for providing assistance and resources to survivor/victims after law enforcement stings, protocols to guide Child Protection Services response according to new laws, and coordination between national and local hotlines

This collaborative public health effort was a unique opportunity to fill a gap in the research literature. At the time of this report, published research does not include exploration of sex trafficking during previous Super Bowls and the impact of preventive actions using a public health model. The limited literature on designing and conducting evaluations of trafficking initiatives rarely addresses impact assessment, sustainability, or lessons learned and, therefore, the value of initiatives is difficult to define (Hames, Dewar, & Vapier-Moore, 2010). Further, research has documented the influence large sporting events have on other public health concerns including communicable diseases such as measles and influenza (Ayala, et al., 2016; Lekka, Webster, & Corbett, 2010; Tsouros & Efstathiou), public health preparedness and emergency response (Tsouros & Efstathiou), road traffic incidents (Lekka, Webster, & Corbett, 2010), crowd safety (Lekka, Webster, & Corbett, 2010), and social impact and sustainability (Smith, 2009; Hover, Dijk, Breedveld, van Eekeren, & Slender, 2016) but has not addressed sex trafficking.

The Minnesota Department of Health (MDH) was a member of Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee during the planning phase but did not participate in the implementation phase of the initiative. Given that MDH was not provided funding through this initiative, was not a member of any subcommittees, and did not provide any directives to the committee at large or individual subcommittees, MDH recognized a distinctive opportunity to conduct an independent evaluation of the activities organized by Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee. MDH also has a unique interest in evaluating public health initiatives that address human trafficking: While most states implement Safe Harbor programming as a criminal justice response, Minnesota implements sex trafficking response and prevention efforts through the State Health Department, strategically recognizing the public health nature of the issue as well as the value of prevention. To our knowledge, this is the first time a state agency has evaluated sex trafficking prevention and response efforts during a Super Bowl. In conducting an independent evaluation, MDH was interested in exploring the extent to which the Women's Foundation's goals were met by answering four questions:

1. Was there a change in supply and demand of sex-trafficking due to Super Bowl LII?
2. How did Minnesota respond to sex trafficking during Super Bowl LII?
3. Was this response impactful?
4. If impactful, what was the impact?

As Minnesota continues to host other large-scale events including the Final Four in 2019, the results from this evaluation will help to guide future plans to combat sex trafficking both during the events and every day of the year. Outcomes can also be used by other organizations and locations to create their own local plans to address and prevent sex trafficking.

Methods

MDH conducted a mixed-methods evaluation to include the wide range of voices from business to law enforcement to non-profit organizations that were intricately involved in this massive effort. With support from the Women's Foundation and the leadership committee of Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee, MDH worked with consultants from the Women's Foundation to collect key data points and information from participants in the planning and implementing stages of the initiative.

Data Tools

The data tools and sources that were ultimately used for this evaluation include:

Online Survey of Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee

MDH created and implemented an online survey in partnership with the Women's Foundation to gather the thoughts and opinions of members of Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee on the process and outcomes of the initiative. The survey was comprised of open-ended questions asking about the member's experience with planning and implementing the collaborative initiatives. Questions about challenges to and facilitators of success were asked as well as questions about their definition of success.

Service Provider Feedback

MDH planned and conducted a focus group with service providers to supplement the data originally requested by the Women's Foundation. All service providers that were involved in the planning or implementation stages were invited to participate. Representatives from five organizations attended the two-hour focus group facilitated by the MDH evaluator. Questions centered on describing the actions taken by service providers, their experiences working on a collaborative committee, and the experiences they had with their clients. Follow-up questions were asked after the focus group was completed when clarification on the discussion was needed.

Data Requests

MDH identified ideal data indicators and requested these data from organizations and agencies. Comparative data was requested when appropriate (see Table 1). These data points were identified as indicators that could be collected in a relatively short period of time to accurately assess the impact of the initiative. The Women's Foundation had requested data from the service providers in advance of partnering with MDH for this final evaluation. In order to avoid being burdensome to the

service providers, MDH used the data supplied by the Women's Foundation and supplemented the previously requested data with a focus group described above.

Data Analysis

Collected data was compared to past years' data when appropriate and available. Comparison was not always appropriate as the concentration of efforts preventing sex trafficking leading up to Super Bowl LII most likely influenced the 2018 data in ways for which we cannot account. Data was used to help craft a narrative of the efforts of Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee.

The online survey responses, focus group notes, and follow-up interview notes were analyzed using grounded theory. Emergent themes and categories were identified, tracked, and analyzed.

Results

Analysis of the variety of data collected reveal a complex initiative with entities working both in silos and collaboratively towards the monumental goal of preventing sex trafficking during a large, public sporting event. The results expose both benefits and challenges to such a massive initiative. Further analysis of the impact of these results is explored in the Discussion section.

Online Survey of Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee

Questions focused on what made the initiative successful, what challenges were encountered, what lessons were learned, and what advice can be shared for future initiatives. The survey had a 25% response rate. Results were stratified by phase of participation (planning, implementation or both) and subcommittee participation (business and communication, service provider, faith-based, training, law enforcement, child protection, hotline, outreach, and other). There were no noticeable differences between participation levels or between subcommittees. Four main themes emerged from the qualitative analysis of the anti-trafficking planning committee online survey and are described below: Cross-collaboration and partnerships, leadership, planning, and inclusivity.

Cross Collaboration and Partnerships

Across all groups, regardless of stratification, respondents praised the cross-collaboration that occurred within the initiative. Almost all respondents cited the extensive network of participants as a major explanation of the success of Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee. The efforts were described as "a fabulous experience that really encouraged collaboration and awareness.... [that] [b]ridged together business professional and nonprofit community leaders" and a "cross section of community involvement" that "developed new partnerships with other stakeholders."

Leadership

Respondents to the committee survey often cited the overall leadership of the initiative by a neutral party, the Women's Foundation, as a major reason for the success of this initiative. One respondent went so far as to attribute much of the functionality of the collaboration to the "ambassadorial nature" of the leadership because "The Women's Foundation is in many ways the Switzerland of Minnesota" and can "translate across organizational lines and policy." Strong leadership was exemplified in a clear plan for action and collaboration and in an organized method for planning and implementing the initiative, including creating a safe space for discussion among varying collaborators and the organic development of subcommittees.

However, with the praise for leadership came criticism for a lack of transparency around how decisions were made, who made the decisions, and who was invited to participate in the initiative. Many respondents questioned who was and was not included (see Inclusivity below) and how these decisions were made. Similarly, there was some confusion about how donated money was spent or necessary donations were defined.

The subcommittee structure also received criticism from survey respondents. Critics cited a lack of clear leadership of each subcommittee and a lack of communication between the overall leadership and the subcommittees as challenges to productivity. Respondents felt a lack of transparency in how decisions were decided after subcommittee feedback was shared with leadership: "Sometimes we experienced lags and gaps in communication between the leadership committee, subcommittees, and full committee. This led to confusion over certain points, and delays in putting strategies into effect."

Planning

The planning of the collaborative initiative was highly praised in general for being organized, supportive, and resourceful. Respondents generally felt that the initiative was started well in advance to provide enough time to account for busy schedules of participants, regular meetings to encourage partnership and relationship building, and provide time and space for collaborators to learn about each other's assets, challenges, and opportunities to collaborate.

While some respondents felt that ample time was allowed to develop a successful collaboration, others felt that more time was necessary to be fully effective. Critics cited a lack of deadlines and milestones as a barrier to their work as well as an underestimation of the amount of time and energy that was necessary for this type of collaboration. Certain aspects of implementation were reported to be afterthoughts such as data collection and evaluation, speaking engagements, and publicity events. This caused some frustration by respondents as they felt overcommitted by the end. In particular, members of the faith-based and the training subcommittees consistently identified impressions of being afterthoughts and needing more time to fully develop the resources necessary to provide high-level participation in the initiative. Both groups wished for more time to develop their roles.

Inclusivity

The majority of respondents commended the efforts of the committee to include many different voices. For the most part, members reported feeling an intention of inclusivity but a portion of respondents criticized the Committee for a lack thereof. Collaboration was described as “infinitely key” to the success of the initiative, but there were consistent comments about missing important contributors or feelings of being asked to join late in the process. Some initial partners felt pushed out or excluded towards the end, describing a feeling of inclusivity “at the beginning, [which] grew less as the work moved further into planning and implementing.” Others felt unwelcome as a partner, “involved on the periphery when needed for something specific but not as equal members. We had to push our way in to be included and heard despite our extensive work in the area.” Other respondents described leaving the initiative due to philosophical differences such as a focus on “‘rescuing’ rather than resourcing.”

Service Provider Feedback

One hundred forty-five youth and adults used the four drop-in centers available during this initiative; two of these centers were opened just for the Super Bowl event timespan. Fifty-one temporary shelter beds were made available. This is more than double the usual number of shelter beds available in the Twin Cities.

Combining the data from the Women’s Foundation data request survey and the follow-up focus group hosted by MDH, four major themes emerged about their experience participating on Minnesota’s Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee: structure of planning committee and initiative, outreach and service capabilities and impact, the power of partnership, and the remaining need.

Structure of Planning Committee and Initiative

Service providers lauded the leadership of the Women’s Foundation and the service provider subcommittee as being key to the success of the initiative. They felt the Women’s Foundation brought most of the important players to the table, even though some were invited late. However, focus group participants acknowledged and were confused by the omission of representation from some geographic areas of the Twin Cities.

Criticism of a lack of transparency on some matters emerged: questions about financial allocations and decision-making were posed by service providers. Some products and volunteer opportunities seemed to be focused more on the donor’s wishes rather than the true needs of the service providers and victim/survivors. For example, some of the products donated for distribution through street outreach were useful in theory but difficult to carry by outreach workers (e.g., water bottles). Better communication between the donors and the beneficiaries was suggested.

Outreach and Service Capabilities and Impact

Service providers were proud of the services they were able to deliver but frustrated with the unsustainable level that was introduced. They were able to “collectively help many more people than we are normally able to” but this came to an abrupt end after the Super Bowl. As one youth participant observed, “How do they have money to do this now, but not after the Super Bowl?” Similarly, the service providers lamented that they now have the supplies (e.g., beds, bedding) to provide the necessary resources, but no longer have the funds or the staff to meet the needs of the population.

Respondents explained the success of the initiative as due in large part to the focus on expansion of successful programs, relationships, and initiatives that were established before the development of this collaborative initiative. One focus group participant stated, “The action plan was logical – find out what each organization does and each organization’s capacity to do that for 10 days.”

One organization reported, “Most of the women who came through the shelter were from Minnesota and not from other states. We did not meet women who came here to work here during the Super Bowl.” This was confirmed by multiple service provider focus group participants. There was an increase in requested services by clients but this was attributed to the fact that “we (outreach workers) were out there.” The Monday after Super Bowl LII was reported to be the busiest day at one site due to the conversations that occurred during outreach efforts.

Outreach to the general public was also discussed as a major benefit to the initiative; after learning about sex-trafficking one community member said, “You can’t just unlearn this.” Similarly, bars and restaurants shared with outreach workers a feeling of preparedness and awareness that didn’t exist before. Bar owners and staff commented to outreach workers that they “had often seen things that now they understood were exploitative and were glad to know who to contact.”

The Power of Partnership

Service providers consistently identified improved relationships and new partnerships as a major impact of the initiative. These partnerships “create...easier referrals and understanding [of] the wealth of resources for our youth and adult survivors in our community.” Staff at service organizations reported being better connected to staff at other organizations to help link survivor/victims directly to a colleague, better able to dispel myths about services offered elsewhere, and able to break down walls between organizations with historical friction. The meetings among service providers are planned to continue on a quarterly basis because these connections were found to be so useful.

Service providers also felt relationships with law enforcement were strengthened from this experience. There seemed to be a greater respect between outreach workers and law enforcement that is anticipated to improve interactions on the street and at the centers.

Remaining Need

While service providers were clear that they did not witness an increase in supply or demand as a result of Super Bowl LII, they described a few cases of women who were not currently active in “the life” being contacted by their pimps to return “just for this time” and some women were worried that their trafficker was in town. A youth organization described a few instances of youth being pressured by their friends to take advantage of “making quick money just this one time.” Some service providers and responders believe that there was not a spike in supply and demand, but numbers may appear inflated because of the concentrated response by law enforcement and availability of expanded resources by service providers. As one service provider stated, “The numbers increased because the resources increased, not because of increase in demand due to the Super Bowl.”

Despite no evidence of an increase due directly to Super Bowl LII, service providers felt that this concentrated initiative highlighted the extreme need that exists every day in Minnesota to address and prevent sex trafficking. Resources were at capacity and emergency beds for adults were fully utilized. One challenge that emerged was women with children who needed shelter. This increase in number of people in need of beds was not anticipated but shelters quickly made do with their resources to avoid having to turn anyone away. Special accommodations were made available and used to capacity during the Super Bowl such as shelter beds for adults, late night outreach shifts, and law enforcement stings on the weekends. These special accommodations were ended after the Super Bowl and yet the need still remains and is now unmet.

Data Requests

Outreach Efforts

Over 300 hours of street outreach was provided by trained service providers (not event volunteers) to youth and adults who were identified by outreach workers as at risk or suspected of exploitation or trafficking or who were being exploited or trafficked. Outreach workers reached almost 3,000 people at risk of or being exploited or trafficked. Over 2,000 youth were provided with a survival kit of necessities (e.g., socks, underwear, bus tokens, gift cards for fast food and gas stations, safer sex supplies, food, and hygiene products).

Law Enforcement

According to the Minneapolis Police Department, there were 94 arrests during the Super Bowl event time period related to sex trafficking. Ninety were felonies, three were gross misdemeanors, and one was a misdemeanor. In addition, the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension reported 36 people were booked on probable cause felony solicitation of a minor and seven people were booked on probable cause sex trafficking, promotion of prostitution (Minnesota Department of Public Safety, 2018; Snyder, 2018). No victim/survivors were arrested during this time.

Frustration was expressed with a lack of alignment between law enforcement and media pressure to publicize all anti-trafficking accomplishments despite unintended consequences. One example cited was a press conference held at the beginning of the 10 day time period leading to the Super Bowl

that revealed a sting operation and arrest of one perpetrator. This publicity was initially feared to have revealed law enforcement strategy and possibly impacted law enforcement's ability to conduct similar efforts in the coming days.

Child Protection Services

In collaboration with the leadership of the Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee, the Minnesota Department of Human Services created a Super Bowl LII Coordinated Child Protection Response Subcommittee to improve communication and develop a Response Plan that was shared with 12 metro-area counties. This provided information and protocols aimed to improve coordination among metro-area and surrounding child welfare agencies to implement 2017 state laws that require a child protection response to all reports of sex trafficking involving a minor. The Subcommittee implemented a statewide survey of child welfare agencies and developed a statewide contact list for immediate child protection response to reports of sex trafficking during the Super Bowl. Overall, there was not a significant increase in child protection intake reports of trafficking during the ten days leading up to and including the Super Bowl. Of the four new reports made in the 12 participating counties during the time span, two were determined not to be trafficking. Comparison data does not exist as the law requiring reports of sex trafficking went into effect in May 2017.

Online Advertisements

There was a 68.41% increase in total online postings advertising for escort, dating or massage in Twin Cities metro area when comparing the 10 days considered to be the Super Bowl LII event and a similar date range in 2017. Duplicate postings identified as being located in Minneapolis, MN (as opposed to Twin Cities metro area) were removed. However, 2017 total counts did not include the massage section of Backpage; this category of advertisements was counted in the 2018 total numbers. See Table 2.

Hotline Calls

During Minnesota Super Bowl LII Host Committee's planning stage, it was revealed that local hotlines and resources were not linked efficiently to the national hotlines. MDH worked with both levels of hotlines to sync the resources they provided to callers and the information that was collected and shared (for example, a protocol was developed to filter all tips and reports of trafficking behavior that came to hotlines to one, state-wide law enforcement agency rather than hotlines having to guess which agency was most appropriate). The total number of calls to hotlines did increase slightly from total numbers experienced in the same 10 day time frame the previous year; notably, the number of calls originating in the city of Minneapolis to Polaris was greater in 2018 compared to 2017. One hotline noticed an increase in calls specific to human trafficking/sexual exploitation during the entire month of January (not specific to the 10 day Super Bowl LII timeframe): There was an increase from 7 calls in January of 2017 to 29 calls in January of 2018. See Table 3.

Training

More than 15,000 people were trained in awareness and appropriate response techniques to suspected sex trafficking behavior. Ten thousand of those trained were local volunteers recruited by the Minnesota Super Bowl LII Host Committee. Super Bowl LII was the first Super Bowl at which volunteers received sex trafficking training in person rather than through an online platform. A member of the service provider community attended almost all volunteer trainings to ensure fidelity of in-person presentations. Anecdotal results reveal in-person trainings to be highly effective with volunteers appropriately identifying and reporting incidences of behavior indicative of sex trafficking, volunteers recognizing service providers as valued partners while in the field, and volunteers self-reporting an increase in knowledge and confidence in addressing sex trafficking.

In addition to volunteers, trainings were also held for members of the service sectors including people working in hospitality (e.g., hotel employees), transportation (e.g., employees at the Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport and bus drivers), lodging, food, and entertainment (e.g., Mall of America staff), as well as City of Minneapolis staff, neighborhood organizations, and faith communities. According to the Women's Foundation survey of service providers, the Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport was not sufficiently supportive of staff participating in the training sessions and thus fewer airport staff than anticipated were trained.

Awareness Campaign

Two awareness campaigns were funded through Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee: Men as Peacemakers created the Don't Buy It campaign, aimed at changing cultural norms that support exploitation in Minnesota in order to decrease demand, and The Link orchestrated the Minnesota Girls Are Not for Sale campaign, a sex trafficking prevention initiative. According to a report from the Women's Foundation, there were 122 million impressions from billboards, buses and light rail, TV, radio and online PSAs, Snapchat, YouTube, and Facebook postings from the two awareness campaigns, Don't Buy It and Minnesota Girls Are Not for Sale. Five hundred eighty four spots addressing the awareness campaigns were broadcast on 12 Cable Networks including CNN, the NFL Network, and ESPN among others. There were over 16.5 million media impressions from 10 print articles and 33 online articles published about the awareness initiatives (Korwin Consulting, 2018).

Discussion

The collaborative response to sex-trafficking during the ten days leading up to and including Super Bowl LII was of unprecedented levels. As a state agency with strong investment in anti-trafficking efforts but not involved with the implementation of Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee's multi-faceted initiative, the Minnesota Department of Health was able to conduct an independent evaluation of this collaborative effort centered on four questions:

1. Was there a change in supply and demand of sex-trafficking due to Super Bowl LII?

2. How did Minnesota respond to sex trafficking during Super Bowl LII?
3. Was this response impactful?
4. If impactful, what was the impact?

Supply and Demand of Sex-Trafficking during Super Bowl LII

Research predicts the risk of increased human trafficking is not unique to the Super Bowl but is similar to other large-scale events that draw large crowds including holiday weekends and other sporting events (Martin & Hill, 2017). According to the evaluation results, there was no obvious increase in supply or demand of sex-trafficking during Super Bowl LII, suggesting an effective anti-trafficking initiative. It is difficult to accurately measure the existence of trafficking since there is no baseline for typical periods of time and no baseline for incidence during large scale events, therefore making it impossible to definitively measure the success of any anti-trafficking efforts. Additionally, the concentrated awareness and response efforts were unique to time period leading up to and include the Super Bowl, making data incomparable with previous time periods. While there was an expected increase from the previous year in the number of advertisements placed online for sex, the measurement methodologies offer an explanation that suggests possibly little difference in the total counts – the category of “massage” was not included in the numbers reported for 2017 but was included in 2018. This is supported by qualitative evidence collected from people in the life and the service organizations that were active during this initiative; people in the life or closely tied to it did not report an increase in demand and service providers reported no survivor/victims received support during the 10 day span who was explicitly working because of the Super Bowl.

Few clients at shelters or drop-in centers were from out of state; indicating that there was not a noticeable influx of trafficked youth or adults. One organization reported, “Most of the women who came through the shelter were from Minnesota and not from other states. We did not meet women who came here to work here during the Super Bowl.” This was confirmed by multiple service providers. There was a noticeable increase in requested services by clients but this was attributed to the fact that “we (outreach workers) were out there.” Similarly, the arrests made by law enforcement were nearly all Minnesota residents (all but one arrest), indicating, again, the demand for sexual exploitation and/or trafficking was largely local. According to our findings, any increase that did exist was not due to out of state influence.

Service providers saw more clients (via street outreach, shelters, on-site services) and law enforcement made a substantial number of arrests during the event time period. However, this is likely due to the fact that law enforcement and service providers had a greater capacity to do so during the 10 day Super Bowl LII event. For example, law enforcement stings of the caliber experienced during Super Bowl LII occur infrequently and irregularly under normal circumstances, only four to six times per year due to funding and staffing limitations, and service providers do not do street outreach overnight like they did during the Super Bowl event time period. The capacity to address the situation changed, not necessarily the number of people involved in trafficking.

The awareness campaigns that took place well before Super Bowl LII cannot be discounted as possible influences on the supply and demand for illicit sexual encounters. While hotline calls specific to trafficking and sexual exploitation did not seem to increase substantially during the 10 day span, it is notable that one hotline did have an increase in the month of January as a whole. This could be attributable to increased awareness from the campaigns.

Research dictated that the Twin Cities would experience an increase in supply and demand similar to other sporting events, but professionals across multiple fields did not report either a substantial increase or decrease during the Super Bowl event. With millions of impressions of the awareness campaigns throughout the state, increased trainings, and improved response systems, these collaborative efforts could be effective ways to decrease demand and supply of sex trafficking activity, therefore producing an appearance of non-effect (no increase or decrease).

Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee's Initiative

Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee, funded by the Carlson Family Foundation and founded in large part by a collaboration of Hennepin and Ramsey Counties and the Women's Foundation, should be commended for responding to sex trafficking from multiple angles and founding a functional, effective collaboration of cross-sector stakeholders. The strategic and thoughtful response benefited from a single lead-organization (the Women's Foundation) that had the capacity and connections to bring a multitude of stakeholders to the table early in the planning process. The Women's Foundation provided regular, frequent meetings of participants with a structure that allowed for topic-expertise to guide the response in a variety of categories (e.g., faith based initiatives).

Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee addressed sex trafficking from multiple levels, impacting change on the individual, community, and systems levels. Initiatives increased support for service providers and increased street outreach efforts to reach individuals, communities received training and awareness messages, and systems were strengthened through the development of protocols between law enforcement and service providers, for example, and among organizations offering hotline services.

By building on existing relationships and programs, tried and true programs and processes were able to be expanded rather than creating new systems. However, focus group and survey results show that transparency of decision-making, financing, and partnerships could have been improved. Inclusivity could also have been increased by finding ways to include more voices of survivor/victims, other service providers, and established state-wide support infrastructures. Anticipating and planning more carefully for the intense time commitment necessary of service providers for training, press conferences, and other events could have relieved some stress and anxiety that was unexpectedly felt by some providers. Similarly, planning more transparently for data collection and analysis could have alleviated last minute requests and enhanced the type of data that could be collected for impact and comparison purposes.

The implementation is an example of “unprecedented cooperation” according to one stakeholder. Members of Minnesota’s Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee reported the broad range of actively and regularly-involved stakeholders were integral to the success of this initiative. An example of this is the cooperation between service providers and law enforcement. Extra meetings and trainings were held to ensure both parties knew the others’ role and thus service providers reported that no incidents occurred that did not follow the pre-arranged plan. Even so, the activities and initiatives that took place concentrated on the Twin Cities metro area, leaving out a large portion of the state in which a strong network of sex-trafficking prevention and service organizations exists. Involvement of Greater Minnesota could have increased resources during the event and brought awareness to sex-trafficking as a state-wide public health concern, not just an urban issue.

Service providers were able to meet the needs of the population during the 10 days leading up to and including game day, however they were staffing at unsustainable rates and provided services that are not normally available (e.g., 24/7 drop-in centers; shelter beds for adult women; increased outreach workers). Temperatures were extremely cold during the days immediately preceding Super Bowl LII which may have impacted the use of shelters and drop-in centers. Similarly, law enforcement was able to conduct more stings and make more arrests because of increased officers on duty and the ability to conduct stings on weekends. These resources and activities were unsustainable and forced to end immediately following the Super Bowl, resulting in disruption of people receiving valuable support and resources and a severe decrease in the intensity of addressing sex-trafficking in the Twin Cities metro area.

Impact of Minnesota’s Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee Response to Super Bowl LII

There was a clear multi-level impact from the collaborative anti-sex trafficking response to Super Bowl LII: On an individual level, arrests were made, survivor/victims and potential survivor/victims were supported and provided resources; on the community level, relationships between agencies and organizations were formed and strengthened, over 10,000 people were trained to recognize sex-trafficking, and awareness campaigns received great publicity; and systems were strengthened between law enforcement and service providers, among county Child Protection Services and local law enforcement agencies, and among social service hotlines. These efforts collectively increased awareness and the response skills and protocols of a range of people from volunteers to law enforcement. One can anticipate that this new knowledge will change some behaviors and attitudes towards this public health challenge that exists 365 days a year, not just during large events, perhaps increasing levels of volunteerism, activism, and funding.

A major impact of this collaborative initiative was the attention brought to the gaps in services that exist on a daily basis. Additional services and resources were introduced during the Super Bowl. The fact that outreach workers, service providers, and law enforcement were so successful in reaching survivor/victims or those at risk of becoming survivor/victims during this period of time emphasizes the need for more outreach workers on the streets in the late night/early morning hours, more

emergency beds, a women's shelter, increased collaboration with trained law enforcement on weekends and nights, and in-person training for volunteers at large events. The resources that were added because of this special event had a substantial impact on how many people could be reached on both the demand side (through stings and arrests) and the supply side (through services and emergency resources), but the resources were unsustainable. The Twin Cities metro area is in need of increased emergency shelter options for adults, outreach workers during the late night/early morning hours, and increased police focus and collaboration addressing trafficking and exploitation during specific times such as weekends not just when large-scale events occur.

In addition to the anticipated or hoped-for impacts, there were unexpected consequences of the initiative as well. A gap in priorities was revealed between law enforcement and media needs. Sting operations were publicized perhaps prematurely revealing strategy to combat demand. Collaboration between media and law enforcement could have been coordinated to avoid feelings of exposure. Youth organizations were so focused on creating awareness of the increased risk of sex trafficking and the lure of money during this time through sexually exploitive activities that some fear their conversations may have been taken as advertisements of opportunity to some youth and inadvertently encouraged participation in exploitive activities. Another example of an unanticipated consequence came in the form of legislative action. While causation cannot be assumed, between twelve and fourteen pieces of legislation addressing sexual exploitation and sex trafficking were introduced to the Minnesota Legislature in the winter of 2018, the first legislative session following Super Bowl LII. These pieces of legislation addressed a spectrum of topics from inclusion of child sexual abuse prevention instruction in health curricula to mandates to collect information on the connection between pornography and sex trafficking to requirement of sex trafficking recognition training for all lodging facility employees. Approximately four to five pieces of legislation addressing similar topics were introduced to the state legislature during the winter 2017 session.

Limitations

While some data collection was included in Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee's initial plans, a comprehensive, independent evaluation was not considered essential until close to the time of the actual event. Once MDH was permitted to conduct such an evaluation, the type and amount of data, particularly process data, that was able to be collected and used for this evaluation was limited. All data requests were made with short notice and little established buy-in from stakeholders. Some ideal and important data was unable to be included (such as training outcomes) due to lack of timing and relationships. Moreover, few baseline measurements were able to be collected. Baseline incidence and prevalence rates for sex trafficking are difficult to establish due to the stigma and illegality of the activities and other outcome indicators were difficult to collect due to the short timeline. Qualitative data collection may be influenced by selection bias, as it was a voluntary response to the data collection tools. As previously mentioned, all anti-trafficking initiatives took place in the Twin Cities metro area and all members of Minnesota's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee were from the Twin Cities area. Findings are therefore not generalizable to

rural areas. Similarly, this evaluation did not capture any impact Super Bowl LII or the anti-trafficking efforts may have had on Greater Minnesota.

Recommendations

This evaluation reveals recommendations for other venues or event committees as they plan anti-sex trafficking initiatives and Minnesota-specific recommendations.

1. For large-scale initiatives focusing on a distinct event, a single, respected organization should lead the initiative by providing unbiased guidance, connections to all relevant stakeholders, and sustainable capacity to lead a long-term initiative.
2. Efforts should build on established, successful state-wide programs and relationships to ensure buy-in from stakeholders and avoid overwhelming participants with additional tasks and responsibilities, including linking local resource hotlines to national numbers.
3. Inclusivity should be of the utmost priority for all stakeholders to ensure the farthest reach possible and to avoid feelings of exclusion or rejection. Including areas other than urban centers could reveal different impacts of a Super Bowl or large-scale event and opportunities for different prevention initiatives.
4. Include plans for evaluation from the initial phase of the collaboration to avoid last minute data requests and to allow for process evaluation to identify gaps and needs during the various phases so that remedies can be implemented in a timely manner.
5. Align service provider needs with business and outreach donations through open communication and honest dialogue. Similarly, encourage communication training for media or encourage communication planning between law enforcement and media to avoid exposure of strategic plans that benefit from a level of secrecy.
6. Appropriately compensate the people who are asked to train or provide supportive services in order to enact the planned efforts.
7. Develop a sustainability plan to ensure the improvements made for a solitary event can benefit anti-trafficking efforts after the conclusion of the event.

Minnesota-specific recommendations:

1. Evaluate other large scale sporting events taking place in Minnesota (Minnesota Fishing Opener, 2019 Final Four, etc.) in a similar manner to improve our understanding of baseline numbers to support analysis of increases or decreases in supply and demand of illicit sexual activities.
2. Include established state-wide programs in data collection and analysis to explore the impact of anti-trafficking initiatives across Minnesota versus a concentration on the Twin Cities metro area.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this was a successful example of collaboration, cooperation, understanding, and dedication to the response to and the prevention of sex trafficking during Super Bowl LII in the Twin Cities metro area. The success of this concentrated effort exemplifies the capability of prevention if there is adequate funding and capacity to sustain the maximum level of service. It is important to continue to evaluate these initiatives to both document the impact of concentrated initiatives such as this one and to highlight the need for continuous support and services for those affected by sex trafficking.

Tables and Figures

Table 1. Evaluation Data Outline and Rationale

Content Area	Indicator	Indicator Definition	Rationale for Data	Comparison Data	Data Source	Data Collection Method
MN's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee	Review of experience	Opinions and feedback about experience as Committee participants	How did participants on the Committee feel about their time, efforts, and outcomes? In their opinion, what went well and what did not go well?	N/A	MN's Super Bowl LII Anti-Sex Trafficking Committee	Online survey
Law Enforcement	Incidents	# of arrests of suspected perpetrators for human trafficking incidents within the Twin Cities Metro area during the SB LII timeframe	Was there an increase in incidents during this time? Was law enforcement training effective?	N/A	Minneapolis Police Department; BCA	Request
Law Enforcement	Online Advertisements (Backpage, etc.)	# of advertisements posted for services in the Twin Cities Metro area during the SB LII timeframe	Was there an increase in advertisements during this time as predicted by research on past SBs?	10 days before/ including SB LI	Minneapolis & St. Paul	Request
Hotlines	Hotline Calls	# of calls to hotlines requesting information or services for human trafficking victims/survivors located in the Twin Cities Metro area during the SB LII timeframe	Was there an increase in calls to hotlines? Were youth and others more aware of their resources?	10 days before/ including SB LI	Day One; 211; Polaris	Request
Service Provider Partner Organizations	Victim/Survivors	# of victim/survivors served in the Twin Cities Metro area during the SB LII timeframe	How many people were served? Is this number greater or fewer than average for this time period?	N/A	Service Providers	Service Provider Focus Group
Service Provider Partner Organizations	Demographic Information	Age, race/ethnicity of victim/survivors	Does the demographic profile of victim/survivors remain similar to other periods of time or are other groups being reached by the awareness campaign?	N/A	Service Providers	Service Provider Focus Group

EVALUATION OF MINNESOTA’S RESPONSE TO SEX TRAFFICKING DURING SUPER BOWL LII

Content Area	Indicator	Indicator Definition	Rationale for Data	Comparison Data	Data Source	Data Collection Method
Service Provider Partner Organizations	Victim/Survivor Needs or Requests	Type of information or service being requested or reported	What types of services are being sought during this time period? Are they different than other times?	N/A	Service Providers	Service Provider Focus Group
Service Provider Partner Organizations	Service Request Spike	An unusually large number of existing clients or new clients requesting services from the organization during the SB LII timeframe	Did service utilization increase in correlation with awareness campaign/increased outreach and training?	N/A	Service Providers	Service Provider Focus Group
Service Provider Partner Organizations	Barriers	Narrative explanation of gaps in training, barriers to services, or unforeseen challenges experienced during the SB LII timeframe in terms of servicing victim/survivors	What were some lost opportunities for training? What were service organizations not prepared for? How can training be improved?	N/A	Service Providers	Service Provider Focus Group
Service Provider Partner Organizations	Referral Success/Challenges	Narrative explanation of success and/or challenges with referral partners experienced during the SB LII timeframe in terms of servicing victim/survivors	Were referral partners working in a collaborative manner? When referrals were made, was the referred organization available and able to meet the victim/survivor’s need?	N/A	Service Providers	Service Provider Focus Group
Service Provider Partner Organizations	SB Related Consultations	# of consultations provided during the SB LII timeframe that were clearly related to the Super Bowl or Super Bowl tourism	Was there human trafficking activity particularly tied to the SB LII event?	N/A	Service Providers	Service Provider Focus Group
Service Provider Partner Organizations	Preparations	Description of specific measures an organization or program took to prepare for the Super Bowl	What efforts were conducted to prepare for the event and possible increase in need?	N/A	Service Providers	Service Provider Focus Group
Service Provider Partner Organizations	Preparation Success	Evaluate identified preparations as sufficient, insufficient, or unnecessary	Identify successful preparations and opportunities for improvement	N/A	Service Providers	Service Provider Focus Group

EVALUATION OF MINNESOTA’S RESPONSE TO SEX TRAFFICKING DURING SUPER BOWL LII

Content Area	Indicator	Indicator Definition	Rationale for Data	Comparison Data	Data Source	Data Collection Method
Outreach	Supplies distributed	# supplies distributed	Extent of outreach	N/A	Service Providers	Request
Training	People trained	# people trained	How many people are now aware of trafficking signs, resources, and appropriate responses due to Super Bowl LII activities?	N/A	Women’s Foundation	Women’s Foundation report & Online survey
Awareness	Publicity hits	# of people estimated to have seen or heard awareness campaigns	How many people were exposed to anti-trafficking messages?	N/A	Women’s Foundation	Women’s Foundation report

Table 2. Online Advertisements

	2017	2018	Change
Advertisement Postings	4,473	7,533	+ 3,060 (+ 68.41%)

Table 3. Hotline Calls

	2017	2018	Change
United Way 2-1-1	0 (1/27/17-2/6/17)	1 (1/26/18-2/5/18)	+1
Day One	23 (1/1/17-2/5/17)	25 (1/1/18-2/5/18)	+2
Polaris (event date range)	3 (1/27/17-2/6/17)	10 (1/26/18-2/5/18)	+7
Polaris (January)	7 (January 2017)	29 (January 2018)	+22

Figure 1. Conceptual Model

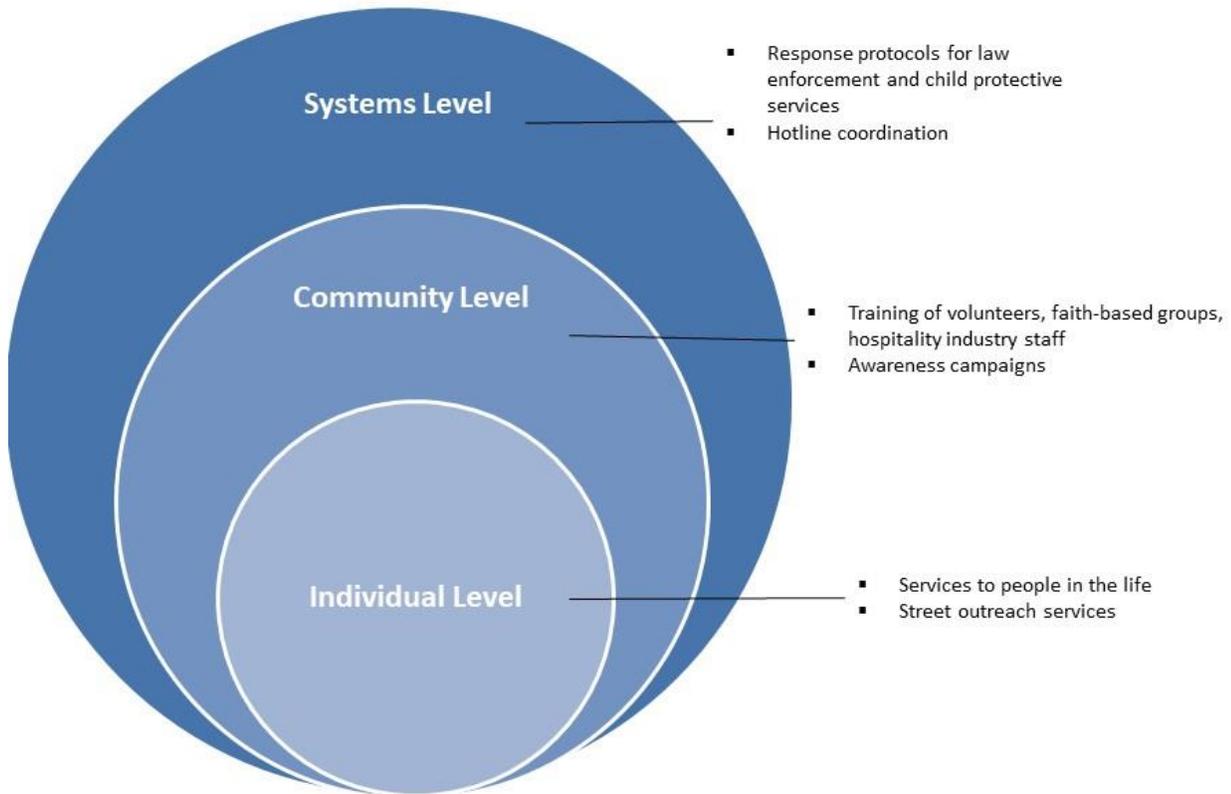
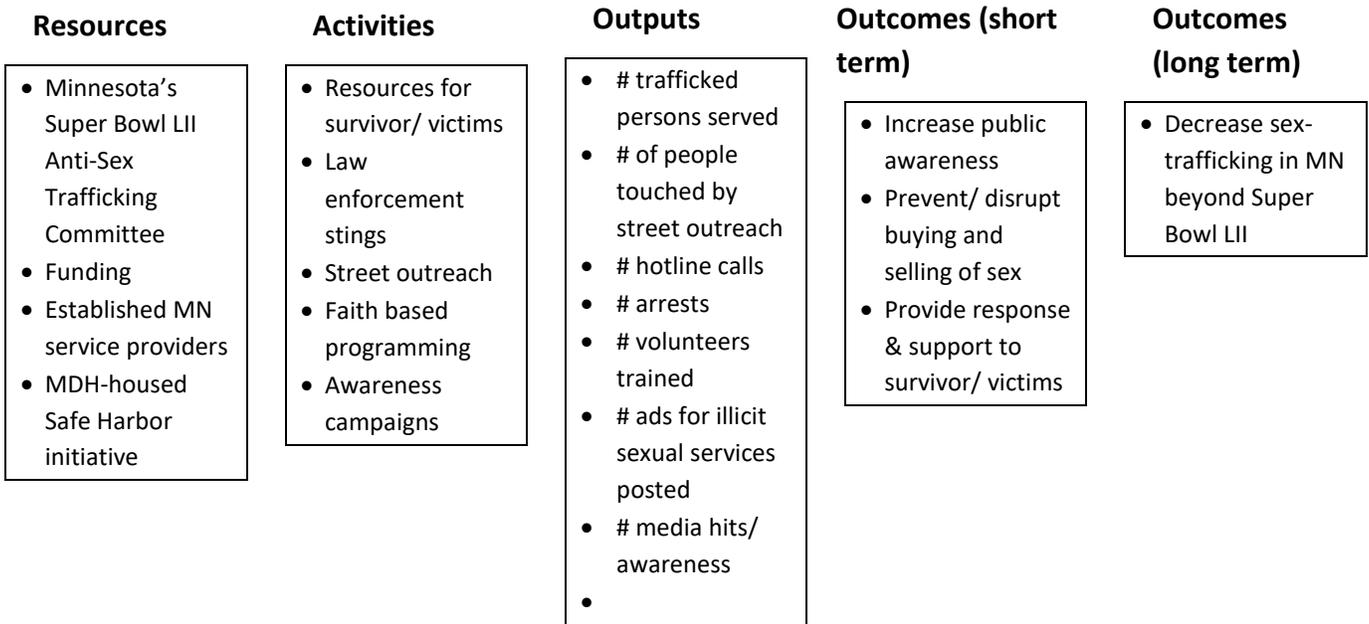


Figure 1 Explainer. Conceptual Model

Level	Initiatives
Individual	Services to people in the life Street outreach services
Community	Training volunteers, faith-based groups, hospitality industry staff Awareness campaigns
Systems	Response protocols for law enforcement and child protective services Hotline coordination

Figure 2. Logic Model



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