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Traits of Transformative Anti-Trafficking Partnerships

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The efficacy of "partnerships" (between states, intergovernmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and businesses) to combat human trafficking should and can be assessed 15 years after the primary United Nations treaty and United States' primary law addressing trafficking were promulgated in 2000. This article examines illustrations and lessons of partnerships around the world in eight areas of anti-human-trafficking efforts: mapping and quantifying the problem; identification, immediate care, and economic empowerment of survivors; prosecution of perpetrators; prevention through awareness and training and through reducing demand; and mobilization and coordination of resources. These areas indicate that partnerships are more likely to effectively reduce trafficking if they account for market mechanisms incentivizing perpetrators, enablers, and customers, tangible metrics, synergy between partners' missions, and the soundness and substance of partners' motives.

Keywords: nongovernmental organization, partnerships, prevention, prosecution, protection, three Ps

Both the U.N. treaty and U.S. law devoted to fighting human trafficking as a modern form of slavery have the same touchstones for areas of action. Completed in 2000, both the Palermo Protocol to the U.N. Convention on Organized Crime (U.N. General Assembly, 2000) and the U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA; Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000) established norms around three Ps: *prosecution* of traffickers, *protection* of victims, and *prevention* of the offense. A fourth P was added by former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who emphasized *partnerships* between governments, multilateral organizations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and the private sector as a vehicle to seek an end to human trafficking (Clinton, 2009).

In truth, partnerships have been at the heart of anti-trafficking efforts since their inception. For instance, if it were not for strange-bedfellow partnerships between feminists, conservative Christians, legislators, and others, there would be no TVPA, no State Department anti-trafficking

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office, and no annual global *Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report* in the United States. Since the Bush Administration instituted it, the State Department office under administrations of both parties has devoted as much effort to funding NGOs and international organizations as partners as to preparing the global report as a diplomatic tool to spur change.

Moreover, a particular type of alliance—public-private partnerships—has been a feature of the Clinton, Bush, and Obama administrations as well as the U.N. Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the International Labor Organization (ILO) anti-trafficking efforts ("Report on the Vienna Forum," 2008; ILO, 2008). These partnerships involve businesses that are fighting the enabling environments for trafficking—from sex tourism in the travel sector to supply chains tainted by forced labor and onerous child labor.

Still, overall progress in fighting slavery appears less than transformative. Although over two thirds of the world's nations have enacted comprehensive anti-trafficking laws, laws on paper are not enough. According to the 2014 U.S. Department of State's *TIP Report*, only 9,460 traffickers were prosecuted and 5,776 convicted in 2013. Furthermore, only 1,199 were prosecuted and 470 convicted for labor-related (as opposed to sex-related) trafficking. The victim protection *P* is arguably even more important to addressing human trafficking than the prosecution *P*. Yet, in a world with at least 20.9 million trafficking victims, as estimated by the ILO (2012), the number of victims identified worldwide in 2013 was merely 44,758 (U.S. Department of State, 2014)—down a bit from the previous year (46,570).

Some of the most crucial partnerships between actors to provide governance on (against) human trafficking are the following:

- Between law enforcement and social service agencies of governments;
- Between national, state/provincial, and local authorities within countries;
- Bilaterally between governments of source, transit, and destination countries of transnational trafficking;
- Between governments and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs);
- Between IGOs (e.g., different agencies of the UN);
- Between law enforcement and NGOs, where there is mutual lack of trust, even in democratic countries;
- Between international NGOs and national NGOs, struggling over ownership and expertise;
- Between NGOs in coalition in a nation (e.g., the Alliance To End Slavery and Trafficking [ATEST] in the United States);
- Between businesses, either with one sector (e.g., cocoa/chocolate, apparel, or travel/hospitality) or across sectors (e.g., the global Business Coalition Against Human Trafficking [gBCAT]);
- Between businesses and governments or businesses and IGOs (public-private partnerships); and
- Between businesses and NGOs.

This sheer variety of relationships drives home both the opportunities for leveraging capacities and the challenges from friction between stakeholders in hybrid global institutions. It is time to assess what kind of partnerships are vital to eradication of human trafficking. Some partnerships are more like cotton candy—big, airy, colorful, and sweet but of little actual substance—whereas others are truly effective and potentially transformative. *Transformative* partnerships would bring about fundamental or systemic change, moving beyond mere mitigation of human

trafficking and its impact at the margins. In particular, transformative partnerships would conclusively reduce the incidence and resulting dehumanization of human trafficking and meaningfully contribute toward the crime's eventual elimination (in other words, abolition of this modern form of slavery).

Specific examples of international partnerships that have had more or less impact upon efforts to combat human trafficking yield some overall lessons. These lessons could make the difference between a disjointed, if energetic, global movement against trafficking and more focused multistakeholder institutional arrangements capable of reducing and ultimately marginalizing trafficking in veritable ways. To make this assessment, it is important to unpack eight focus areas related to the 3Ps. Three relate to protection of victims—identifying them, providing immediate care, and fostering longer term economic re-empowerment. Another is prosecution of perpetrators. Two relate to prevention—initiatives to promote awareness and training on the one hand and attention to demand forces for labor and sex trafficking on the other. (Some would argue that antipoverty programs dealing with a major root cause of trafficking is another area, but those efforts are too diffuse to explore here.) Finally, two areas of efforts cut across the 3Ps: measuring and mapping the problem and progress tackling it; and mobilizing and coordinating monetary and other resources is an eighth anti-human-trafficking focus area.

As a note on my empirical approach, these examples of stronger and weaker partnerships will sometimes be more empirically conclusive and at times will reflect heuristic or suggestive assessments based on my own work. In 2000, as Senate Foreign Relations Committee staffer, I assisted multiple House and Senate committees to finalize in conference the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. As U.S. Ambassador at Large directing the Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons from 2007 to 2009, I coordinated research, diplomacy, assistance to intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, and U.S. federal interagency cooperation related to trafficking. As Executive Director and CEO of Polaris Project 2009–2010, I oversaw that nonprofit's efforts to implement its survivor services and the primary national hotline for the U.S. Government. And since 2010, I helped found and develop the Global Business Coalition Against Human Trafficking (gbcat.org), which includes Coca Cola, Delta, Ford, Hilton, Microsoft, and NXP Semiconductor. These experiences suggest illustrations and elements of partnerships with more substance than mere form, as well as avenues for more conclusive research on efficacious collective action.

The examples herein typically are institutional actors in major powers—such as India, Brazil, and the United States. The rationale for this choice is that if partnerships in such resource-rich major powers reveal limitations, those limitations are likely to be all the more acute in actors operating in settings with lesser capacity and fewer resources.

PARTNERSHIPS FOR A BASELINE FOR ACTION

Focus #1: Researching and Mapping the Problem

To address the problem of human trafficking and to tangibly advance the dignity of its actual and potential victims, institutional partnerships need qualitative and quantitative information about the phenomenon. Importantly, those institutional partnerships need baselines to see if the problem is growing or diminishing and in what respects and whether interventions pursued (in

all the other seven focus areas) are making a difference. The human-trafficking field has suffered from weak statistics and baselines. Obviously, one of the major problems faced by researchers and organizations combating human trafficking stems from the fact that accurate accounting remains difficult given that

> [M]ost of the populations relevant to the study of human trafficking, such as victims/survivors of trafficking for sexual exploitation, traffickers, or illegal migrants are part of a "hidden population", i.e., it is almost impossible to establish a sampling frame and draw a representative sample of the population. (Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005, p. 18)

Indeed, no advances in sampling techniques will adequately overcome this intractable problem. With that said, there have been both notable successes and stumbles associated with researching and mapping the human-trafficking problem.

The ILO in its most recent report of June 2012 found that there were an estimated 20.9 million individuals at a minimum trapped in jobs or occupations that they cannot leave. It further found that 90%, or 18.7 million, were in the private economy, where the ratios of chiefly labor to chiefly sexual exploitation was 3:1, adult-to-child victims was 3:1, and female-to-male victims was 11:9 (ILO, 2012; Solis, 2012). At its base, the ILO sampling uses a commonly used statistical method of capture-recapture sampling. This sampling allows researchers to calculate elusive populations, like the number of fish in a lake, where there are no sampling boundaries available. The major margin for error associated with the sampling in this case is that it relies upon reported cases as its base. Indeed, the ILO sampling is almost wholly reliant upon secondary sources (reports from NGOs, the media, government agencies, academics, and trade unions as partners) (Mehran & de Cock, 2012). That said, based on these partnerships, notably academics as validators such as Siddharth Kara of Harvard University, this estimate is a substantially better vetted than the over the 27 million estimated by scholar Kevin Bales in 2004, ubiquitously cited by the U.S. government, the UNODC, and NGOs worldwide (Bales, 2004). And it is a huge leap forward from the aforementioned 2005 ILO estimate of 12.3 million based on weaker methodology and a propensity to undercount veritable human-trafficking victims who are adults in the sex industry or who have not crossed international borders.

The State Department's *TIP Report* is perhaps the most significant example of research and mapping of the problem.[1] Still, the *TIP Report*, "using information from U.S. embassies, government officials sharing statistics, nongovernmental and international organizations, published reports, news articles, academic studies, research trips to every region of the world, and information submitted to tipreport@state.gov" (U.S. Department of State, 2012, p. 37), is not designed to provide a baseline for the incidence of human trafficking. Rather, it is designed to evaluate efforts on a state-by-state basis to legislate and combat human trafficking, which places those states into four tiers. Indeed, those tiers are based not on the extent of the human-trafficking phenomenon in countries but rather on the will and activity of the government to address the problem. Once again, the methods have been criticized by some for being undisclosed and subject to pressure on the basis of geopolitics. Yet, the tiers offer their own baseline as states move between tiers. Thus far, the *TIP Report*, with admittedly less than transparent methods, offers the international community the most consistent reporting on the status of individual countries. It has significantly raised awareness of governments and publics. Judith

[1] In full disclosure and regarding objectivity, I edited and supervised the production of this report for two years.

Kelley of Duke University and Beth Simmons of Harvard University have established a robust causal relationship between the report's ranking and enactment of anti-trafficking laws (Kelley & Simmons, 2015).

Another example of mapping is the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The IOM focuses on supporting specific projects or networks of NGOs in regional hot spots, whether in the Volta region of Ghana or in Vietnam, to serve international human-trafficking victims. The U.S. State Department anti-trafficking office supports these programs and encourages IOM to form a comprehensive database of information on trafficking survivors. IOM's Counter-Trafficking Module Database, which "facilitates the management of all IOM direct assistance, movement and reintegration on processes through a centrally managed system, as well as mapping victims' trafficking experiences" (IOM, 2015), provides a useful tool for identifying potential hotspots. The problem with this database, however, is that it is dependent on host government cooperation and sources of funding to scale up its work. Moreover, it provides after-the-fact data that do not serve the purpose of mapping the scale of the problem.

In an emerging area of mapping, there is great ardor on the part of business, NGOs, and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to apply cutting-edge aspects of geospatial and to investigative modeling using recent advances in big data analytics pioneered by, for example, Google, Deloitte, and Palantir (Skibola, 2012). Yet, this approach's success relies on robust and large datasets, integrated dialogue between enthusiastic experts on human trafficking, and equally enthusiastic technicians in the data analytics industry, which, quite simply, do not exist today. Moreover, if there are plans to use baselines to preempt interventions to address particular human-trafficking hotspots, then standardization of data appears necessary—say, between known hotspots such as the Mekong region in Southeast Asia and the Amazon Basin in Brazil.

In a broader sense of mapping, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the world's largest regional security organization comprised of 57 states spanning from Vancouver to Vladivostok, hosts a multistakeholder partnership: the Alliance against Trafficking in Persons (Alliance). The first OSCE special representative and coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings (SR), Helga Konrad, proposed establishing an informal platform among IGOs and NGOs active in fighting trafficking. Consultations with the OSCE's chairperson-in-office and secretary general, member states, and heads of other IGOs spurred the Alliance's formation in July 2004. Konrad and her successors at SR have since chaired the Alliance, which is now comprised of some 40 stakeholder institutions (OSCE, 2014). The first meeting of the Alliance embraced an informal model for exchange of information and best practices. Input from other IGOs led to establishment of a smaller group of experts, the Alliance Expert Coordination Team (AECT), representing the same organizations at the working level, which meets twice a year in Vienna to share trends and methods and to avoid duplication. AECT meetings have yielded common understandings on such issues as protection and shelters for victims, national rapporteurs, and the protection of migrant, unaccompanied, and asylum-seeking children. The annual Alliance conference facilitates a high-level dialogue between national authorities, civil society, and other stakeholders in the OSCE region. The tenth Alliance meeting focused, for instance, on a particularly hidden form of trafficking, domestic servitude (OSCE, 2014). That the Alliance members pay their own way to meetings and events shows how concretely they value the forum.

This array of some of the most promising and potential efforts reinforces the huge need for the research and mapping of trafficking in order to advance human dignity and its elusive realization. In particular, research needs to move from the overall accounting of the scale of the

problem to subsets of trafficking (e.g., sex trafficking not crossing borders or transnational trafficking of legal guest workers—distinguished from irregular migrants), valuable to tailoring policy solutions and partnerships to discrete phenomena. Moreover, this "submapping" would allow practitioners to know which interventions work to diminish a discrete aspect of global slavery.

PARTNERSHIPS FOR PROTECTION

Focus #2: Victim Identification

To offer protection, one has to first find victims. This is no easy matter as human trafficking is an underground economic and criminal activity. Moreover, victims are often treated as criminals acting on their own volition (e.g., in prostitution or undocumented migration) and worthy of detention, deportation, scorn, or apathy. Perpetrators use this fact to intimidate victims into not fleeing from their literal or psychological grip—suggesting that, if they do flee, they will only be treated as criminals or deportable, irregular migrants. And because victims are frightened of law enforcement and immigration officials, these officers need institutional partners to assist in their efforts. More rigorous social science research is needed to appraise the added value of various nonlaw-enforcement actors, such as government social service agencies and nonprofits — compared to situations where those actors are absent.

For instance, Brazil has a substantial forced labor problem, most notably in the Amazon region, where victims clear fields to raise cattle and produce charcoal to heat pig iron for making steel. The Ford Motor Company uncovered the latter problem, which arose when it was discovered this activity had been contaminating steel supplies for its cars (Ford Motor Company, 2010–2011). Cognizant of its legacy of colonial slavery, Brazil's government has partnered with NGOs, businesses, and the ILO to address human trafficking for labor-related exploitation. With dedicated U.S. funding support for Brazil, which was among eight target countries under a Bush presidential initiative, and long-term technical advice from the ILO, Brazil's Ministry of Labor has created mobile inspection teams to find and liberate forced laborers—5,016 in 2008, 3,769 in 2009, 2,617 in 2010, 2,428 in 2011, and 2,560 in 2012 (U.S. Department of State, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013). Despite the overall decline in numbers, this is a remarkable effort to identify and assist victims.

Another example is a partnership of government, NGOs, and the business community. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) contracted with an NGO to run the primary national hotline for human trafficking. After awarding its first contract to an NGO partner that provided only limited language services and had an inadequate capacity for reliably answering calls, HHS awarded and renewed the contract twice to the Polaris Project during both Republican and Democratic presidential administrations. Its National Human Trafficking Resource Center (NHTRC) hotline (1-888-373-7888) offers not only information and training but also a place for victims, or those suspecting they have come across victims, to call. The hotline can quickly connect the latter to law enforcement. The LexisNexis Group made an in-kind contribution to Polaris by designing and building an elaborate searchable database allowing the NHTRC to refer callers to law enforcement and service providers countrywide—applying a comparative competency to extend the capacity of HHS and Polaris (LexisNexis, 2009). Now

Google has funded Polaris to share its model for setting up hotlines for victim identification in countries around the world. The statistics for the number of calls and victims assisted have grown markedly (Polaris Project, 2011).[2]

A more troubling case on victim identification was in Cambodia, roughly between 2005 and 2007. The U.S. *TIP Report*, by design of the U.S. Congress in the TVPA, assesses other governments' efforts to combat trafficking by assigning one of four possible rankings: Tier 1 (best), Tier 2, Tier 2 Watch List, and Tier 3 (representing minimal government will or effort to address the problem). It can spur action in other governments to combat human trafficking by threatening sanctions and limiting nonhumanitarian aid to countries with the lowest tier ranking of Tier 3. The TVPA (and the Palermo Protocol to the U.N. Convention on Organized Crime, also finalized in 2000) emphasizes prosecution of perpetrators. Thus, when Cambodia received Tier 3, its illiberal government interpreted it to mean they needed to lock up more criminals in the sex trade, which sadly included many prostituted girls and women (Doyle, 2006). As a result, some institutional arrangements have temporarily hindered victim identification. Clearer U.S. diplomacy and partnership with and training of Cambodian law enforcement in international agencies and NGOs, such as International Justice Mission, have improved the situation (earning Cambodia Tier 2, the second highest possible ranking in the last five years, 2008–2012).

In short, partnerships for victim identification need government will; the understanding of and training on the nature of who is a victim; and actors outside the public sector extending the capacity of law enforcement, whose officers are sometimes intimidating to victims. If institutions lack these qualities, they cannot help victims via the necessary first step: finding them. One area of fruitful future research suggested by my work at the State Department and with Polaris is the source of hostility of some governments—notably even democratic ones—to considering NGOs as worthy operational partners.

Focus #3: Survivors' Immediate Care

In addition to providing safety from traffickers, victim protection is typically interpreted as furnishing housing, food, and medical and counseling services for physical and psychological traumas induced by trafficking. Numerous global partnerships have emphasized immediate care and service over longer term empowerment, given the connotation of the word "protection" embedded in the Palermo Protocol and many States-Parties' national laws conforming to it.

One domestic example is the Salvation Army STOP-IT Program, a Chicago-based initiative that works with national and Chicago-area organizations to provide psychological treatment, residential placement, and support services for victims of sex trafficking. One of STOP-IT's most productive partnerships resulted in the success of Operation Little Girl Lost, a yearlong, undercover investigation undertaken by Chicago law enforcement working in concert with social service providers. The Chicago Task Force on Human Trafficking, comprised of law enforcement officers from a variety of local, state, and federal agencies,[3] worked to target street gang

[2] As the former CEO of Polaris and later a LexisNexis adviser, I may not be the source to offer a wholly unbiased assessment of the impact of the hotline.

[3] Law enforcement representatives included officers from the Cook County Sheriff's police vice unit, the U.S. Attorney's office, the federally created High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area (HIDTA) program, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the State Attorney's federally funded Human Trafficking Unit.

members who had sex-trafficked women and children (Alvarez, 2011). Although this collaboration had important prosecution-related dimensions, the immediate victim protection is noteworthy. Working alongside law enforcement, STOP-IT and the International Organization for Adolescents (IOFA) joined numerous raids to promptly address the needs of the recovered victims (Salvation Army, 2013; Sweeney, 2012). In this case, one sees not only a key role of an NGO in a governance partnership within this focus area but a faith-based actor.

Another energetic diplomatic actor besides the United States has been the Government of the Philippines. Citizens of the Philippines are migrant workers in nations all over the world, and the remittances to family members are the second highest in Asia, accounting for some 9% of the nation's gross domestic product (GDP; Huang, Rahman, & Yoeh, 2005). Most embassies of the Philippines in nations with a substantial number of Filipino citizens run shelters for human-trafficking victims who are running away from their exploitation, especially in Gulf Arab States where migrant workers are especially vulnerable. By running shelters and engaging the host government about their citizens (rather than ignoring the problem as numerous other governments do for fear of bad relations with host governments, which could hinder contracting access for work visas and hence remittances), these diplomatic entities extend global governance in a concerted effort.

These varied cases show that immediate victim care requires more than physical shelters, benefits from nimble NGO cooperation with governments, and even benefits from governments engaging one another. In future research, there is a clear need for an accounting of what types of immediate care are offered where and, in particular, where complex forms of psychological trauma are treated. Research should distinguish between quantitative spending and qualitative provision of multifaceted survivor services, gauging which programs are truly effective uses of funds.

Focus #4: Survivors' Long-Term Economic Viability

Finding, sheltering, and offering basic services to trafficking victims are not enough. Re-empowerment requires survivors to be capable of making a living wage and reintegrating themselves into the population and society.

The Emancipation Network (TEN), also known as Made by Survivors, provides projects to this end through education and economic empowerment. By working closely with a dozen partner agencies in Nepal, India, Thailand, Cambodia, Uganda, and the United States, TEN offers employment to over 1000 survivors and education to 200 former victims as well as their children (Free the Slaves, 2014).

TEN has a partnership with a local Indian NGO called the Rescue Foundation. Their shelter in Boisar, India, houses 100 young slavery survivors on a 40-acre farm an hour from Mumbai, India, where Rescue Foundation—the largest child rescue agency in India as an NGO accredited by Government of the State of Maharastra—pulls hundreds of minors each year from that megacity's Kamathipura red light district. Finding sustainable employment for older girls and young adults is difficult, given the stigma surrounding prostitution and the lack of local jobs for poor, untrained women. The partnership trains survivors in renewable energy management, agriculture, and animal husbandry to help them reintegrate into their communities. They work in a biogas plant designed to recycle dung from the farm's cattle. The complex, in turn, provides dairy products and fuel for the shelter. Surplus energy and dairy products are subsequently sold

locally to provide sustainable income for the survivors and the shelter. This holistic approach gives survivors tools to thrive in the long term—to apply their agency—and gives them a stake in the robust sustainability of their community (Free the Slaves, 2014).

Another institution in India has advanced long-term economic empowerment to survivors of modern-day slavery. The *Pragati Gramodyog evam Samaj-kalyan Sansthan* (PGS) is a nonprofit organization that offers comprehensive services to stonebreakers in debt bondage to help achieve sustainable freedom. To accomplish this objective, PGS has partnered with the international nonprofit Free the Slaves (FTS) while working closely with the government of India and local banks.

PGS partnerships have been particularly successful in helping hundreds of families free themselves from enslavement in stone quarry sites located within the Allahabad province. For example, PGS has created self-help groups (SHGs) that include freed laborers as well as others who are at risk of falling prey to the debt-bondage phenomenon. Once the groups are in place, PGS engages the local government to acquire cooperative quarry lease licenses for this newly formed community, and, through these leases, laborers are able to collectively manage the sites and to generate their own incomes. Overall, collaboration between PGS, the SHGs, banks, and the District Development Office has helped over 1,900 SHG members assert themselves by providing them with the economic, legal, and social tools as well as opportunities they need to thrive (Free the Slaves, 2014). Prior to these interventions, breaking free from debt bondage was virtually impossible. If families fled, they met the harsh reality of acute poverty and a dearth of opportunities (Singh & Tripathi, 2010).

In this focus area, there is a clear need for businesses to train and hire survivors of human trafficking. ManpowerGroup, a global labor placement firm focusing on neutralizing scurrilous labor recruiters who lure victims into human-trafficking situations, can play a significant role. Yet, many businesses without these special motivations can offer jobs as partners of government and NGOs. Former U.S. anti-trafficking Ambassador Luis CdeBaca envisions NGOs and businesses maintaining a joint database to help match jobs with the specific skill sets of victims. Businesses should audit their supply chains for signs of trafficking and commit marketing resources for raising awareness, but they especially should not lose sight of the fact that they are in a unique position to offer survivors the key to a new life: employment. Evidence-based research should focus on establishing the added value of employment training and placement on the sustained reintegration of survivors into economic life and its impact on their sense of dignity, as well as what programs work best.

PARTNERSHIPS FOR PROSECUTION

Focus #5: Bringing Traffickers to Justice

This *P*—prosecution—is emphasized above all other goals in the Palermo Protocol and TVPA. To this end, the International Justice Mission (IJM) has had great success partnering with local authorities in the Philippines as a part of their Project Lantern, which seeks to document that, when anti-trafficking laws are enforced by well-trained and equipped police and courts, children are less vulnerable to traffickers. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation funded a new IJM office in Cebu to work in tandem with the local police to have 100 suspected traffickers arrested

and successfully charged in that metropolitan area. External researchers found that the number of minors available for exploitation in the commercial sex industry in the Cebu metro area dropped 79% from what their initial study showed 4 years earlier, just before IJM began its casework in partnership with Cebu authorities (Haugen & Boutros, 2014). They also found measurable increases in law enforcement activity that addressed sex-trafficking cases and in the commitment of law enforcement officers trained through the project to resolving the cases (IJM, 2010).

On the other hand, the Government of Brazil has had an anemic record on bringing perpetrators of forced labor to justice. Unfortunately, the active partnerships between the Ministry of Labor and ILO discussed above to identify victims have not yielded punishments for those responsible for forced labor. There are three reasons for this. First, powerful land-holding interests continue to influence the legislative and executive branches of Brazil's government, resulting in low rates of prosecution to hold perpetrators to account. Second, the Brazilian judicial system does not move cases through its courts quickly—whereby justice delayed is justice denied. Third, judges sentencing perpetrators of forced labor tend to suspend or reduce sentences. In 2012, for example, many of the 39 people who were convicted of slave labor (*trabalho escravo*) were commuted to community service while others were given short terms in halfway houses (vice prisons). While convictions rose from 2011 to 2012, the figures remained minuscule compared to the thousands of victims rescued and the over 25,000 total victims estimated in the 2011 U.S. *TIP Report* (U.S. Department of State, 2012, 2013).

A last example is the partnership between States-Parties to the Palermo Protocol and the UNODC. UNODC, under Executive Director Antonio Maria Costa, emphasized a U.N. Global Initiative to Fight Trafficking (UN.GIFT), largely an exercise in holding conferences funded by princes of Gulf Arab States with problematic records on addressing human trafficking ("Report of the Vienna Forum," 2008).[4] His successor in 2010, Yuri Fedotov, has championed the admirable idea of a Voluntary Trust Fund for Victims of Human Trafficking, if outside UNODC's core competency. To the degree UNODC advances prosecution, it is through urging U.N. member states to sign and ratify the Palermo Protocol and to implement laws conforming to that treaty based on model laws UNODC and UN.GIFT have developed (Brusca, 2011). One grossly underemphasized area is UNODC's technical assistance to states for implementing those laws once they are in place. As Gary Haugen and Victor Boutros of the United States (2010) and Irene Khan of Bangladesh (2009) have noted, the gap between rule of law on paper (treaties and legislation) and enforced justice is acute.

Partnerships could contribute more to holding traffickers accountable in two ways. First, victim rehabilitation is crucial to successful prosecutions. Stabilizing survivors wracked by physical and psychological trauma is not only important in and of itself but it likely makes for more willing witnesses to assist law enforcement with investigating, prosecuting, and convicting perpetrators. (More empirical research is, indeed, needed to conclusively establish this hypothesized relationship.) There is a temptation to use leverage on victims, for example, detaining them and withholding immigration relief from migrants until they cooperate with law enforcement. Instead, law enforcement needs well-resourced government and NGO social service providers to support witnesses so their traffickers can be held accountable.

[4] To his credit, Costa stressed that partnerships should be the fourth *P*, beyond those cited in the Palermo Protocol, prior to then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's statement to the same effect.

Second, governments need labor inspectors to partner with law enforcement personnel, who often work only in isolated bureaucratic silos. Although victim rescue and protection is a moral imperative, law enforcement bodies need to be given access to evidence for a prosecution. Otherwise, a victim's access to justice will never be fully realized.

PARTNERSHIPS FOR PREVENTION

Focus #6: Preventive Awareness and Training Initiatives

Of the three pillars of the U.N. Palermo Protocol on Trafficking in Persons, beyond prosecution and protection, is prevention, within which awareness campaigns and training provide a sixth focus area in which to examine the capacity of global institutions and partnerships.

For instance, the goal of World Vision Cambodia (WVC) is to empower communities to build a better future for Cambodia's children. To target human trafficking, WVC began collaborating with DHS. The work of these partners is a component of the DHS initiative called The Blue Campaign. The Blue Campaign is the banner under which the DHS unites its various anti-trafficking programs. One element of the Blue Campaign attempted to prevent trafficking by publicizing the legal consequences for human traffickers. WVC coordinated this effort to illustrate the illegality of child sex tourism and created billboards within the country that evocatively showed why travelers should not participate in this industry. Captions read: "Abuse a child in this country, go to jail in yours" and "I am not a tourist attraction." This second caption is superimposed over a black-and-white photo of a child. The billboards also include a 24-hour hotline number staffed by operators who are prepared to receive any reports of suspicious activity. This engages the entire community in preventative efforts by establishing a venue for reporting suspected trafficking.

This effort, coupled with the work of the Cambodian anti-trafficking forces, international regulations, and the large-scale work by both World Vision and the U.S. Office of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, prompted a crackdown on child sex tourism following its implementation. Though the highly publicized arrests of eight alleged "child sex tourists" in 2006 and the very visible billboards show that traffickers will be prosecuted, these efforts have not been enough to come close to eradicating the practice within Cambodia. An IJM investigator and Chanthol Oung, executive director of the Cambodian Women's Crisis Center, said that the recent arrests—although causes for celebration—have prompted increased sophistication on the part of traffickers. Oung said that the government will need to allocate much greater amounts of legal and physical resources to convict the child predators (Naly, 2004).

ManpowerGroup is a major global labor placement, multinational corporation helping employers with both long-term and short-term workforce solutions. It specializes in training to improve the competitiveness of its talent pool. ManpowerGroup partners with the nonprofit organization Verité. By working directly with individual companies to ensure that their supply chains employ fair labor-recruitment practices, this partnership decreases the incidence of human trafficking (ManpowerGroup, 2012).

Verité created the initiative Help Wanted to research the ways in which current labor recruitment practices can lead to human trafficking. Help Wanted publicizes this research so that the private sector, civil society organizations, and governmental institutions can stem trafficking. Its publications outline a fair hiring framework for businesses and a template for

winnowing exploitative practices in supply chains (Verité, 2013). Help Wanted research demonstrates how continued profits are dependent upon maintenance of fair, nonexploitative labor practices, in order to avoid legal risk, harm to brand value and company reputation, and threats to investment and financing (Verité, 2010). The Verité model is based on working with businesses and establishing profit-driven interests as well as moral bases of combating trafficking. The vitality of a Manpower-Verité collaboration compared to most business-NGO partnerships lies in the similarity of premises and goals and the complementarity of assets.

A problematic example of an awareness campaign has been MTV Exit, an NGO that sought to raise awareness of human trafficking in Asia through music, films, and concerts (now defunct as of 2014). Because it was not formally part of the MTV corporation, MTV corporate resources did not fund the project—it just lent its brand name. Its partners (i.e., funders) included the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the counterpart agency Australian Aid, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Circa 2005–2008, MTV Exit's video and film messaging was distinctly murky with regard to sex-trafficking demand. In that period, USAID funded MTV Exit videos and public service announcements in India, which suggested that if a viewer was a purchaser of commercial sex that he or she should not contribute to human trafficking.[5] One does not need to wholly equate prostitution to human trafficking to recognize that a basic problem of commercial sex is the enabling environment of sex trafficking (prostitution for all minors, seen under the law as lacking meaningful consent and for adults being subjected to force, fraud, or coercion). (This is not to mention MTV as a separate entity simultaneously celebrating imagery and language of pimps in videos, again in the enabling environment of sex trafficking.) Thereafter, MTV sought to mobilize young activists through live and filmed concerts, featuring major music and acting entertainers as headliners. Although it spurred younger people to engage in social media on this issue, it is not clear where the MTV Exit content created textured awareness, as human trafficking is a classic case of the perils of knowing a little (such as incorrectly thinking that it is chiefly about children, when the ILO suggests they are only 25% of its victims; that it is abduction; that it refers to human smuggling; or that it requires physical violence). By comparison, CNN's Freedom Project (sponsored by corporate partners), which has aired news stories and documentary films since 2011, including highlighting best practices of change makers, offers qualitative awareness. As a function of ASEAN sponsorship, the content also downplayed the responsibility and accountability of states in Asia—given the so-called ASEAN way—as an operating mode not interfering in the sovereign political decision making of its member states (Tavares, 2009).

In short, to be transformative, institutional partnerships for awareness and training need partners unanimously committed to systematically reducing human trafficking's impact, to forming useful content, to targeting suitable audiences of the content, and to giving those audiences a meaningful way to act to incrementally contribute to anti-trafficking efforts.

Focus #7: Preventive Anti-Demand Efforts

The cases of WVC, MTV Exit, and Verité point to a second area of preventive work for anti-trafficking partnerships: addressing the demand side of the equation. WVC in part

[5] As State Department anti-trafficking director from 2007 to 2009, I raised concerns but the partnerships with MTV Exit continued.

sought to deter those euphemized as "child sex tourists" from creating demand for child sex trafficking. MTV Exit's messaging in part condoned sex buying and failed to address demand. Verité's training materials recognize how consumer demand for lower prices militates companies to look for cheap labor, requiring them to put in place robust vetting of labor recruitment practices. Preventive demand reduction represents a seventh focus area of its own.

Returning to the rich case of Brazil, the Brazilian government publicizes a so-called Dirty List of companies implicated in forced labor, which are denied both public and private financing. This stigma uses market demand to force the companies to change. For example, the Ford Motor Company discovered that forced labor in the Amazon was applied to making charcoal, a component used in the making of steel for export to the United States for use in Ford automobiles. With the stick of the Dirty List and the carrot of support from the ILO and a Bush presidential funding initiative, Brazilian businesses established a partnership to inspect supply chains for forced labor—the Citizen's Charcoal Institute. This is one of the best-documented case studies of how businesses, NGOs, authorities, and the ILO have worked together to counteract the demand for cheap inputs and labor feeding into its supply chain (Ford Motor Company, 2010–2011). Comparative research on the relative impact of criminal penalties and of public ostracization by governments and NGOs to spur multistakeholder action against trafficking could further these types of initiatives.

There are a number of examples and assessments of child sex-trafficking demand prevention efforts in the developing world (Vidyamali & Burton, 2007). Yet, let us take an example in the United States, pertinent worldwide to the trend of sex trafficking moving from the street and brothel setting to being sold via the Internet. "Adult services" advertisements on Craigslist.com and Backpage.com have been proven to enable trafficking of young women and girls, as testimonies of survivors validate. After weathering a similar wave of popular disapproval and pressure from state-level attorneys general, Craigslist.com eliminated this section of its Web site. However, because the *Village Voice* makes an estimated $22 million from these advertisements and has seen profits rise as it gained Craigslist.com's business, it has resisted following suit (Pompeo, 2012).

A multistakeholder partnership focused on both legal and publicity dimensions has worked to shrink an enabling environment for trafficking. The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW), an advocacy NGO, operates in 15 countries and every major region of the world. It sponsored multiple protests in front of the *Village Voice* headquarters, coordinated and catalyzed other groups' calls for the elimination of *Backpage*'s adult ads and encouraged two sets of key public officials to call for the same (CATW 2011, 2012; Office of Missouri Attorney General Chris Koster, 2012). First, attorneys general from 48 states issued a statement describing Backpage.com as a sex-trafficking hub (notably for minors) and called for the organization to reform its practices (Office of Senator Mark Kirk, 2012; Office of Senator Richard Blumenthal, 2012). Second, a bipartisan coalition of U.S. senators issued a Sense of the Senate resolution calling on Village Voice Media to end its facilitation of human trafficking by eliminating the adult services section of their Web site. The senators also wrote to 40 companies to inform them that their advertising host (*Village Voice*) owns *Backpage*, that *Backpage* facilitates trafficking, and that they should leverage their economic influence to force *Village Voice* to change *Backpage* policy (Powers, 2012). Shortly after this letter was distributed, six major companies indicated that they would discontinue their advertisements with Village Voice Media in response

to the senators' letters. This partnership of NGOs and public officials brought the leverage of a third actor, the corporate sector, to bear.

Another partnership is slaveryfootprint.org, created by musician and filmmaker Justin Dillon. Based on consumer awareness of their "carbon footprint" affecting their demand for climate-change-inducing goods and services, Dillon consulted Stanford scholars on how to create a Web site and app related to human trafficking. As one of its signature efforts since 2010, the U.S. State Department anti-trafficking office has funded the demand-focused prevention effort. One enters the Web site, answers a few questions about one's lifestyle, gets an estimate of the number of slaves (human-trafficking victims) that that lifestyle relies upon and is then encouraged to contact companies and urge them to strengthen their anti-trafficking supply chain auditing.

Although it aptly addresses demand, slaveryfootprint.org as an NGO partnership with a government agency falls short for two reasons. First, the back of the envelope calculation of the number of slaves supporting a lifestyle is the antithesis of the research and baselines Focus Area #1 requires. Second, anti-demand partnerships need to choose between working with companies (e.g., Verité) or challenging them publicly (e.g., CATW); it is unclear which slavery footprint represents, if either.

There clearly is room for more conclusive empirical studies of the impact of anti-demand campaigns. Although these last two examples are merely suggestive (if highly so) about potential impact in truly global multistakeholder partnerships, one can see some lessons for preventive anti-demand partnerships. To succeed, partnerships require both addressing the demand forces propelling gross and violent exploitation in labor (e.g., charcoal in producing pig iron) and sexual (e.g., child prostitution) domains. They must apply the capacity of complementary actors in the public sector, corporate, and civil society to create transformative leverage.

PARTNERSHIPS FOR RESOURCES

Focus #8: Marshaling and Coordinating Funding

Finally, transformative partnerships require resources for collective action against human trafficking—empowering those people already victimized, reducing its incidence based on baselines, and ultimately abolishing it as a modern form of slavery. Moreover, efforts and resources must be coordinated. Here, two cases are instructive.

Humanity United is an impact-investing philanthropy underwritten by Pierre and Pamela Omidyar, based on money made in the growth of eBay, for which the former helped lead. Imbued with a Silicon Valley ethic of metrics, engaging the private sector, and encouraging social entrepreneurship, it funds efforts in two areas: (a) fighting mass atrocities and their aftermath through postconflict peace building and (b) human trafficking. Its basic model is the same in both areas: funding specific projects of NGOs globally and, once an NGO proves to be a change maker, funding its general operational budget with no strings attached but one. That one condition is membership in an NGO coalition designed to coordinate interventions, to speak with a unified voice to government entities about their own policy and funding priorities, and to avoid competition with each other based on a fundraising imperative.

In the human-trafficking area, the result is ATEST. This alliance includes organizations with varied comparative competencies—whether involving trafficking globally or in the United States; migrants or countries' citizens; labor or sexual exploitation; victimized adults or minors. Perhaps ATEST's success over time is not just coordinating the resources of its own members (grantees) but encouraging other key actors to markedly increase resources (e.g., the U.S. government or the Gates Foundation to address this problem as the latter addresses HIV/AIDS) and to coordinate their application with others (O'Connor, 2012).

Let us return to the example of UNODC and the UN.GIFT initiative it launched as a global partnership to combat human trafficking. After the 2000 Palermo Protocol (for which UNODC is bureaucratically responsible) came into effect in 2003, UNODC chaired the established U.N. interagency group related to combating human trafficking, including, for instance, other agencies such as the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the ILO, which address particular dimensions of the problem. UNODC launched the UN.GIFT Initiative ostensibly to better coordinate efforts to fight human trafficking, based on seed money from the United Arab Emirates. Officials of their partner agencies in UN.GIFT, such as the ILO, IOM, or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), have told me they did not experience enhanced resource or programmatic coordination from UNODC. Major resources were not mobilized, other than that from the United Arab Emirates, who was eager to be seen backing multilateral efforts as the trafficking problem festered at home, as it still does today according to the U.N. Special Rapporteur on the issue (U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights [UNOHCHR], 2012). The product was chiefly conferences, model laws, trainings for businesses and legislators, and some dedicated reports.

The examples of Humanity United and UN.GIFT suggest that global partnerships can mobilize and coordinate use of resources if parochial institutional interests can be bridged with an ethic of complementarity and growing the pie. In global efforts to address human trafficking, the former does more of that (albeit chiefly with US-headquartered actors), and the latter has not.

TRANSFORMATIVE PARTNERSHIPS

This full-spectrum review of eight focus areas of anti-trafficking partnerships suggests an important separate avenue of needed research, namely how priorities are and should be set among those areas. How are substantive or budgetary tradeoffs judged? Who decides? Are national governments the central arbiters among partners? For instance, how are tradeoffs between prosecuting perpetrators and (re)empowering survivors rationalized? Or how much of a budget should go to short-term versus long-term survivor protection? As for the intended thrust of this article, of the anti-trafficking partnerships discussed above, some have proven to be more fruitful than others. Four common denominators, or four Ms, distinguish between a limited impact, higher impact, and a truly transformative partnership.

First, market mechanisms matter. A partnership must account for the supply of trafficking victims (e.g., children detached from family and regular and irregular migrants) and demand (for cheap products, cheap labor, and purchased sex). Brazil's Dirty List and CATW engage the latter, while slaveryfootprint.org and MTV Exit do so poorly. Moreover, it needs to account for the natural competition between actors—international organizations or NGOs seeking leadership

roles, prominence, or funding at the expense of others. Humanity United has done this well, whereas UN.GIFT has not.

Second, metrics matter. Collective action needs to have a sense of the problem and its extent in order to choose interventions and to measure progress. Other activities need a serious empirical basis. If actionable big data do not exist and mutual empirical understanding fails to bridge specialists respectively in data analytics and human trafficking, dreams of disrupting trafficking networks will flounder. Or, in borrowing the powerful concept of carbon footprint from the sustainability field, if slaveryfootprint.org offers only the roughest of estimates of how many human-trafficking victims support a consumer's lifestyle based on a handful of questions, it is not a very sustainable means for affecting consumer demand.

Third, matching missions matter. For a multistakeholder institution to succeed, its partners need to have aligned goals. For instance, Verité as a nonconfrontational NGO and the ManpowerGroup as a global human resources company both had interests and normative values that converged.

Finally, motives matter. Not only must the partners (governments, international organizations, NGOs, foundations, businesses) have matching intent but they need good and sound intent. Unsound intent is seen in a business pursuing window-dressing corporate social responsibility or discrete philanthropy without addressing human trafficking in its business operations or supply chains, an NGO more focused on fundraising, celebrities, and galas than programmatic impact, or an international organization seeking to raise money from dubious sources and places itself at the front of a parade of sister organizations. Lacking the determination to do more, some partnerships pursuing worthy interventions fall short of transformative impact.

This article incorporates a number of Kantian premises. Two are particularly noteworthy: (a) the value of embedding rule of law and participatory governance in global institutions and (b) actions should be judged by their intent. Institutional partnerships should be as well.

In short, the fourth of the four Ps to fight human trafficking—partnerships—need these four Ms. A partnership that is attentive to market forces, takes metrics seriously, has matching missions and exhibits sound motives is more likely to be transformative—to help survivors reclaim dignity and actually reduce or abolish the ongoing threat to potential victims. A partnership lacking one or more of these qualities is increasingly likely to resemble cotton candy—sweet, colorful fluff.

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