Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the anti-human trafficking movement have proliferated over the last few decades, each focusing on different aspects of the problem. Many of these NGOs have joined coalitions to pool resources and expertise. What are the messages that NGOs use to define and prescribe solutions to the human trafficking issue? How do changes in the external political environment or the internal coalition structure impact NGO framing strategy? This paper uses a unique dataset to illustrate and analyze the discursive processes of NGOs over three distinct time periods: 2008-2010, 2011-2012, and 2013-2014. The data was gathered from public documents and supplemented by interviews from fifteen U.S. anti-trafficking NGOs involved in the Alliance to End Slavery and Trafficking (ATEST). Using constructed grounded theory methods (Charmaz 2014), this longitudinal analysis shows that the ATEST coalition has targeted the state (contentious politics) and private industry (private politics) to advance its AHT agenda (Soule 2009). Sex trafficking has normally been met with tactics from the contentious politics model due to its historical legal connection with prostitution; labor trafficking, on the other hand, has been approached via the private politics model due to its connection with business. However, due to the coalition’s formal organizational structure, members have been able to learn from each other and adopt tactics normally reserved for certain types of targets in new ways, i.e. using contentious political strategies for labor trafficking and vice versa. This study builds theory by showing how coalition learning in social movements across time periods can diffuse tactics and provide new action repertoires for coalition members.
FRAMING STRATEGIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT COALITIONS:

ASSESSING TACTICAL DIFFUSION

IN THE FIGHT AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKING

FROM 2008-2014

A dissertation submitted
to Kent State University in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

CHAPTERS

Chapter 1: Framing the Fight against Human Trafficking

I. What is Human Trafficking?

II. NGOs and Framing

III. Research Design

IV. Strategy and Tactics in the AHT Movement

Chapter 2: Background and Methodology

I. The Formation of the Alliance to End Slavery and Trafficking (ATEST)

II. Methodology

III. Data- Documents

IV. Data- Interview Analysis

Chapter 3: Solidifying the Base, 2008-2010

I. History of the TVPA

II. ATEST and the Policy Environment

III. Organizational Diversity, Identity, and Learning

IV. Conclusion
Chapter 4: Addressing Challenges 2011-2012 .............................................................. 100

I. Politics as Usual? ........................................................................................................ 101

II. ATEST and the Policy Environment ....................................................................... 105

III. Organizational Diversity, Identity, and Learning ...................................................... 115

IV. Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 140

Chapter 5: Growing by Learning 2013-2014 ................................................................. 144

I. Persistence Pays Dividends ....................................................................................... 145

II. ATEST and the Policy Environment ....................................................................... 150

III. Organizational Diversity, Identity, and Learning ...................................................... 158

IV. Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 179

Chapter 6: Diffusion, Identity, and Movement Success .................................................. 182

I. Viewing Human Trafficking Holistically ................................................................. 185

II. Diffusion of Tactics through Coalition Learning ...................................................... 188

III. Weathering Political Change ................................................................................... 195

IV. Implications for Future Research .............................................................................. 198

REFERENCES .................................................................................................................. 201

APPENDIX A- Acronyms and Websites ....................................................................... 223

APPENDIX B- Interview Protocol .................................................................................. 225

APPENDIX C- Interviewee List ....................................................................................... 228

APPENDIX D- Weighting Formula .................................................................................. 229
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Framing Tasks and the Policy Process ................................................................. 19
Figure 3.1 2008-2010 Code Occurrence by Theme .............................................................. 80
Figure 3.2 Code Occurrence-Human Trafficking Theme 2008-2010 .................................. 82
Figure 3.3 Code Occurrence-Geographic/Demographic Theme 2008-2010 ....................... 85
Figure 3.4 Code Occurrence-NGO Activity and Identity Theme 2008-2010 ...................... 90
Figure 3.5 Code Occurrence-Policy and Law Theme 2008-2010 ....................................... 94
Figure 4.1 2011-2012 Code Occurrence by Theme ............................................................. 117
Figure 4.2 Code Occurrence-Human Trafficking Theme 2011-2012 ............................... 118
Figure 4.3 Code Occurrence-Geographic/Demographic Theme 2011-2012 ...................... 123
Figure 4.4 ATEST Full Page Advertisement, January 2011 ................................................ 129
Figure 4.5 Code Occurrence-NGO Activity and Identity Theme 2011-2012 ...................... 130
Figure 4.6 Code Occurrence-Policy and Law Theme 2011-2012 ....................................... 136
Figure 5.1 2013-2014 Code Occurrence by Theme ............................................................. 160
Figure 5.2 Code Occurrence-NGO Activity and Identity Theme 2013-2014 ...................... 162
Figure 5.3 Code Occurrence-Human Trafficking Theme 2013-2014 ............................... 165
Figure 5.4 Code Occurrence-Geographic/Demographic Theme 2013-2014 ...................... 169
Figure 5.5 Code Occurrence-Policy and Law Theme 2013-2014 ....................................... 174
LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Membership of ATEST 2007-2014 ................................................................. 32
Table 2.2 Total Documents by NGO by Year ................................................................. 46
Table 3.1 Members of the President’s Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat 
Trafficking (PITF) ........................................................................................................... 65
Table 3.2 2008-2010 ATEST Document Count ......................................................... 79
Table 4.1 Unauthorized or expiring bills per year, 2008-2014 .................................... 104
Table 4.2 2011-2012 ATEST Document Count ......................................................... 116
Table 5.1 2013-2014 ATEST Document Count ......................................................... 159
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Amanda D. Clark

May, 2018

Kent, OH
Chapter 1: Framing the Fight against Human Trafficking

The scale of human trafficking is atrocious. The silence that conceals this crime is disgraceful. We have to speak out because the victims are living in fear for their lives. We have to raise our voices for them. That means confronting the social and economic conditions that abet this crime. It means arresting traffickers. And above all, it means protecting victims. - Former United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon as quoted in the 2017 Trafficking in Persons Report.

Modern day slavery, or human trafficking, has received increased attention at all levels of public policy in the last two decades. Human trafficking is a crime of exploitation; it takes away people’s freedom by forcing them into service, any service, without their consent. Global attention became refocused on the topic beginning in the late 1990s, mainly due to the work of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This work resulted in the creation of new legal protocols to address human trafficking. The United Nations (UN) released its primary protocols on trafficking in 2000 in Palermo, Italy as a part of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. In the U.S., the Clinton Administration followed with the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000. The International Labour Organization (ILO), in partnership with the International Organization for Migration and the Walk Free Foundation, recently produced a report that estimates that almost 25 million people worldwide are victims of forced labor (ILO 2017). Human trafficking has been touted as the third most profitable global criminal enterprise after illegal drugs and arms sales (UN 2014).

As with many human rights concerns, human trafficking is a topic that is brought to the attention of policymakers by those involved on the ground, seeing and documenting the abuse first-hand. Anti-trafficking programs challenge the status quo by requiring a reassessment of current law to ensure that human trafficking is criminalized. If and when these laws are passed,
whole new sets of criminals must be punished and victims must be given the chance to reclaim their lives. Human trafficking is a global phenomenon. Many of these victims, when found, are far away from their home countries, complicating the delivery of services. Services for victims include legal aid, mental health support, and medical attention, not to mention job training and other services to reintroduce survivors back into society. These programs are an additional cost to any government and require new mechanisms and bureaucracies that must be paid for through tax dollars.

These characteristics of the problem have required the active engagement of NGOs throughout the history of the anti-human trafficking (AHT) movement. The importance of eradicating slavery must outweigh any concern for the use of tax dollars to do it; AHT work must be seen as a moral imperative, yet also a good bargain. Human trafficking has been taken up by many different groups as a key policy problem: groups as disparate as women’s rights, child welfare advocates, religious service groups, immigration rights’ advocates, and law enforcement. NGOs and their networks help define problems, lobby public officials, advocate for policy change, and provide training and victim services (DeMars 2005; Gusfield 1981; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Rochefort and Cobb 1994; Wong 2012). NGOs in the movement have also joined formal coalitions to enhance their presence, share ideas, and pool resources.

The number of NGOs in the U.S. that address trafficking has grown steadily both in number and influence since the late 1990s. The first rendition of the Global Modern Slavery Directory in 2014 listed 218 organizations and hotlines that address human trafficking in the U.S. That number has grown to almost 400 today. The passage of the TVPA in 2000 and its subsequent reauthorizations in 2003, 2005, 2008, and 2013 are evidence of the success of the AHT

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1 The Global Modern Slavery Directory was created in 2014 by three anti-trafficking groups: Polaris, the Freedom Fund, and the Walk Free Foundation. The directory is in its first phase and will continue to add organizations once they are verified. www.globalmodernslavery.org.
movement to place human trafficking on the policy agenda. Many people immediately recognize the phrase “human trafficking and modern day slavery” and understand that it is a moral problem that needs to be addressed via policy.

Human trafficking occupies a distinct place on the public policy agenda; it is well recognized, but not well understood. Most Americans have a very high level of understanding about modern slavery and do not dig much deeper into the types, causes, or consequences of it. However, sex trafficking receives the most attention at all policy levels, especially the sex trafficking of minor girls. This narrow definition has hampered some of the momentum of the movement in eradicating all forms of trafficking and leads to an interesting problem. NGOs must not intimidate supporters or dampen the enthusiasm for fighting sex trafficking because it is an important problem in its own right. However, other forms of human trafficking are as pervasive and inhumane. The process by which NGOs define victims and perpetrators and prescribe solutions is an important piece of the puzzle in explaining the evolution of human trafficking as a policy problem and determining why some definitions seem to resonate more than others. This process is also known as framing. Framing refers to the practice of presenting information in a way that causes the audience to view an issue from the framer’s perspective; “frames help to render events or occurrences meaningful and thereby function to organize experience and guide action (Benford and Snow 2000, 614).”

What are the messages that NGOs use to define and prescribe solutions to human trafficking? How do the messages change, in either content or delivery, when faced with changes in the external political environment? In addition, what happens when NGOs join a formal coalition? How does this relationship impact framing strategy? A unique dataset was created that illustrates the discursive processes of NGOs over discrete time periods. Data was gathered from official
documentation from U.S. anti-trafficking NGOs involved in the Alliance to End Slavery and Trafficking (ATEST) from 2008 to 2010, 2011 to 2012, and 2013 to 2014. This dataset was supplemented with interviews with key NGO personnel. These unique time periods include changes to both the internal coalition structure and the external political environment, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter and in chapters three through five.

Through grounded theory methods, this study discovers and describes NGO messaging on human trafficking, the way these messages are disseminated, and how these messages and framing techniques changed (or not) over time. I found that framing patterns emerged over the time periods that supports the idea that, one, the dominant public narrative of sex trafficking has impacted the way organizations talk about trafficking and, two, the coalition structure of ATEST has enabled organizational learning across its members. The coalition, in an attempt to balance out the greater attention that sex trafficking receives, has used the bulk of its messaging and advocacy work to advance the topic of labor trafficking. ATEST and its members do not ignore sex trafficking, in fact, a few of its members focus on it as their main concern. However, labor trafficking does take precedence in the messaging these organizations use.

In addition, the ATEST coalition has followed what Soule (2009) identified as both the private and contentious politics models of strategic action in order to address human trafficking in a holistic way; however, the coalition’s formal organizational structure allows members to learn from each other and apply those strategies in new ways (Soule 2013). Sex trafficking dominates the narrative of human trafficking policy; its connection to prostitution (illegal in most parts of the world) firmly places strategic action in the contentious politics model targeting the state to create solutions to the problem. Alternatively, labor trafficking has been seen as a private, corporate problem; organizations fighting labor trafficking have often targeted private
industry directly with awareness campaigns and urged them to join voluntary programs to address slavery in the supply chain. This study shows that the ATEST coalition, through organizational learning, has applied contentious politics strategies to labor trafficking and private politics strategies to sex trafficking, using these models in new ways to achieve better results.

Human trafficking needs to be presented as an urgent and important, yet approachable, problem in order to garner the necessary support. There has been a call for more research on the “discursive processes through which frames evolve, develop, and change” (Snow 2013, 474). There are several studies that have examined the framing process and its interaction with both culture and political opportunity in abortion discourse (Ferree et al 2002), Islamic terrorist movements (Snow and Byrd 2007), and U.S. peace movement organizations (Woehrle, Coy, and Maney 2008). This dissertation will continue this work by examining the unique role that NGOs play in bringing attention to human trafficking by analyzing the intersection of social movement framing strategies and organizational learning via coalitions. This study illuminates how other social movements can address social change for issues that are well recognized, but not well understood; diffusion of strategic framing and action repertoires through the use of organizational learning in coalitions is a key factor. The rest of this introduction will define human trafficking and provide a brief history of the scholarly literature, then a discussion on framing and social movements will follow and, finally, a review of organizational theory’s relationship with social movement scholarship.

I. What is Human Trafficking?

The literature reviews on human trafficking often follow one of two structural paths: a chronological one (see Bruckert and Parent 2002; Gozdziak and Collett 2005; Gulati 2010; Jakobi 2013), and a thematic one (see Farell and Fahy 2009; Lee 2011; Parrenas, Hwang and Lee
2012). This paper will follow the former. Early scholarly work on human trafficking first outlined the controversies surrounding the establishment of what “human trafficking” is (Chuang 1998; Raymond 1998; Shannon 1999; Skrobanek, Boonpakdee and Jantateero 1997; Wijers and Lap-Chew 1997). Further work focused on methodological issues and the lack of empirical evidence to back up claims of rampant human trafficking worldwide (Gozdziak and Bump 2008; Gozdziak and Collett 2005; Kelly 2002; Kempadoo 1998; Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005; Tyldum 2010; van der Pijl, Breuil, and Siegel 2011). Others focused on analyzing the impact of laws addressing human trafficking on survivors, perpetrators, and governments (Alvarez and Alessi 2012; Farrell, Owens, and McDevitt 2014; Farrell and Pfeffer 2014; Gozdziak and Bump 2008; Markon 2007; Shigekane 2007).

The compelling narratives of human trafficking typically focus on the international trafficking of women and children across borders and into forced prostitution. As early as 1996, the World Congress Against Commercial and Sexual Exploitation of Children in Stockholm included 471 NGOs advocating against human trafficking (Kane 1998). The full title of the UN’s protocol on the subject is the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. The very title of the act seems to suggest a focus on sex trafficking of women and children. Prostitution awareness posters in highway rest areas and mass transit stations have proliferated. The number of articles on sex trafficking in the mainstream media immediately prior to any major international sporting event increases dramatically.² Despite the focus on sex trafficking in the mainstream media, the ILO estimates that only 20% of

victims of forced labor are recruited for the sex industry; forced labor in other industries is much more prevalent (ILO 2017). The reliance on the sex trafficking narrative can be traced back to the definitional arguments surrounding the creation of the UN’s Palermo Protocol in 2000 (Kempadoo 2005, Weitzer 2007).

Slavery, human trafficking’s historical antecedent, has been a horrific crime for centuries. Abolitionists and human rights groups have long pushed for its demise and anti-slavery language has been enshrined in many international treaties and declarations, including under Article 4 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948.3 Despite official declarations by states to uphold these standards, human trafficking has continued and has been addressed in more detail since the late 1990s. Human trafficking has been most recently defined by the United Nations (UN) Palermo Protocol as

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (UNODC 2000).

Trafficking in persons, by this definition, encompasses sex and labor trafficking, as well as slavery, servitude and the harvesting of organs. The only real requirements are the fact that victims are coerced, either by force or deception, to provide labor services “for the purpose of exploitation.” “Transportation” or “transfer” does not include an international component,

meaning that a person does not have to cross a border to be considered trafficked. UN member states passed very similar laws of their own at the national level. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) reports that 134 countries have passed ordinances against human trafficking in accordance with some aspects of the 2000 Palermo Protocol (UNODC TIP 2014).

Reaching consensus at the UN on the definition above was not without its controversies as various groups jockeyed for different admissions and exclusions to the Protocol. Arguments surrounded the use of many terms, including consent, coercion, and sex work (Jakobi 2013, 168). Two major coalitions emerged about the topic of prostitution: a non-abolition and an abolition group, or “neo-abolitionists” (Chuang 2010). On one side, a coalition of some feminist, conservative, and religious groups almost exclusively focused on the exploitation of women and children in sex trafficking in order to link human trafficking law with the abolition of prostitution (Chuang 1998; Raymond 1998; Shannon 1999; Skrobanek, Boonpakdee and Jantateero 1997; Wijers and Lap-Chew 1997). Conversely, the other coalition fought to have prostitution recognized as a voluntary and legitimate labor choice; this coalition has been less successful in seeing its argument accepted (Chuang 2010; Gozdziak and Collett 2005). Consent and coercion are also problematic terms. A child can never consent to being trafficked in the eyes of the law. However, an adult can willingly enter into a contract that provides an opportunity to work, but suffer consequences of that decision. Conflict and natural disasters also create environments in which people need to move and make choices that put them in unfavorable situations. Many would argue that these people are also being trafficked.

Human trafficking, in addition, is seen by many as a national security problem through linkages to transnational criminal activity, terrorism, and migrant smuggling. Charnysh, Lloyd, and Simmons (2014) found that focusing on the crime dimension of human trafficking garnered
more support from the international community when drafting the Palermo Protocol. Many have argued that a transnational enterprise of this size had to require the expertise and logistical prowess of organized criminal groups and that the profits that could be realized from human trafficking were too attractive to be ignored by organized crime (Di Nicola 2013; Shannon 1999, Shelley 2007, Taibly 2001). On the contrary, other recent research has shown that human trafficking victims enter into the system through family members, close friends, or by answering newspaper ads advertising jobs overseas (Owens et al 2014; Shamir 2012; UNODC 2012; DOS 2010). Kidnappings and outright coercion into trafficking exist; however, they are not the main avenue through which victims are recruited.

Immigration opponents have also used human trafficking to bolster their arguments. In the 1990s, the end of the Cold War and increased movement of people across global borders created an atmosphere of fear and apprehension that translated into stricter border controls and deportation schemes for both victims and traffickers (Milivojevic and Pickering 2013). Ironically, the closure of borders in the North has created another issue where those affected by the worst poverty and violence in their home countries cannot escape legally, pushing them straight into the arms of trafficking networks (Lee 2011). This law and order approach and focus on illegal immigration dovetailed with anti-terror themes of the 2000s. U.S. efforts to combat trafficking were consistently tied to the “War on Terror” in the post September 11th time frame (Aradau 2004, Chacon 2006). Human trafficking was also portrayed as the major funding source for terrorist groups even though these claims were not empirically validated (Farell and Fahy 2009). The consistent view of human trafficking as a criminal matter needing resolution within existing legal networks is still the prevalent view, particularly for sex trafficking.
After the passage of the Palermo Protocol and subsequent national laws defining human trafficking as a crime, researchers began to study how successful the laws were in addressing human trafficking. Notwithstanding increased global attention, convictions based on anti-trafficking laws remain low in most countries. Many argue that the low number of convictions is the result of overestimations on the number of victims (Markon 2007). Others argue that human trafficking laws are too new and unfamiliar to law enforcement and are not used effectively (Farrell and Pfeffer 2014). However, when convictions are present, they are focused on sex trafficking. The gap between the number of sex trafficking cases filed versus labor trafficking and other forms is substantial. Recent scholarship in the U.S. found relatively low numbers of trafficking cases filed, with most being sex trafficking cases involving domestic underage victims (Alvarez and Alessi 2012; Farrell, Owens, and McDevitt 2014; Farrell and Pfeffer 2014; Gozdziak and Bump 2008).

Definitional problems aside, these studies and debates helped push a renewed interest in human trafficking, which led to unsubstantiated and, some argue, sensational claims of the high numbers of trafficking victims (Gozdziak and Collett 2005). The lack of empirical data to back these claims created a round of research that focused on how to quantify human trafficking. The problems inherent in calculating the actual number of trafficking victims are well documented. Prior to the Palermo Protocol, many countries did not differentiate between human smuggling (voluntary) versus human trafficking (involuntary). Both victims and perpetrators are often part of “hidden populations” (illegal immigrants, prostitutes, refugees, etc.) that are difficult to observe empirically (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005, 18). In addition, many victims of trafficking were considered criminals themselves or were told they were criminals by their handlers and did not come forward. As reporting and familiarity with new laws has increased, the sensational
numbers of the late 1990s and early 2000s have consistently been revised down or at least challenged (Kempadoo 1998, Gozdziak and Collett 2005). The ILO is considered to have some of the most methodologically sound data on the number of trafficked persons and their figure for the number of victims has consistently been between 21 and 25 million over the last 5 years. The ILO also estimates worldwide illegal profits from forced labor are USD150 billion per year (ILO 2014). Human trafficking touches on almost every industry and every country, including construction, domestic work, hotels and travel, child soldiers, organ trafficking, and agriculture.

Given the long and contested road that the topic of human trafficking has already taken, groups in the U.S. have struggled to address human trafficking without turf wars erupting at every corner. The split between non-abolitionist and abolitionist, also known as “End Demand”, groups was mirrored in the U.S. Fighting slavery and its modern day equivalent would seem to endear a certain level of comradery and, at least, a consistent starting point from which most non-profits could work together. However, this has not always been the case. The troubles that plagued the definition of human trafficking at the international level have been played out at the national level as well. In fact, ATEST was formed to address these fractures in the anti-human trafficking field.

The U.S. is both a destination and origin state in the human trafficking supply chain, although mainly serving as a destination state. The U.S. passed its anti-human trafficking law in 2000. The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (P.L. 106-386 or “TVPA”) was passed “to combat trafficking in persons, especially into the sex trade, slavery, and involuntary servitude, to reauthorize certain Federal programs to prevent violence against women, and for other purposes.” Immediately, the TVPA privileged the trafficking of women into sex while paying lip service to the idea that all victims, men, women, or children forced into any labor,
would be treated the same (Peters 2015, 36). These hierarchies of victimhood would serve to splinter some of the anti-human trafficking community for years to come.

The U.S. government followed a three-pronged approach to fighting human trafficking: protect, prevent, and prosecute. The TVPA required the U.S. Department of State (DOS) to produce an annual report assessing the efforts of other countries to combat trafficking and providing an opportunity to assist (or punish) those countries that did not meet certain minimum standards (prevention). A special office was established, the State Department Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP). The TVPA also called for more programs to provide services to trafficking victims, including mental health and immigration services (protection). A key component of this legislation was a special T-visa that would allow non-resident victims a chance to stay in the country for those victims willing to cooperate with investigations. Finally, the Act called for creation of a new set of trafficking laws and sentencing standards for those found guilty of trafficking (prosecution). Interestingly, U.S. law does not require transport or movement of a victim; the law only requires proof of coercion to provide labor, services or commercial sex acts.4 This special feature of the U.S. law enables the recognition of domestic human trafficking that may not cross international or even state lines.

The TVPA was reauthorized and amended quite regularly over the next 8 years. Further details of these Acts will be discussed in Chapter 3. The TVPRA 2008 expired in September 2011 and was not reauthorized by Congress before the deadline. After years of steady progress, the law was allowed to lapse. In 2013, the Violence Against Women Act (P.L. 113-4 or “VAWA”) was passed and the TVPRA was added as an amendment. While many anti-trafficking groups blamed the law’s lapse on political tensions during the budgeting process in

Washington, the fact that the law was allowed to lapse provides a unique opportunity to examine NGO responses via their framing strategies (Cadei 2012). The time frames used in this study allows for an analysis of NGO framing before, during, and after the lapse.

In addition to laws passed at the federal level, U.S. states have also passed stand-alone laws addressing human trafficking. Prior to the TVPA, human trafficking was not recognized as a distinct or unique crime. Many times, perpetrators and/or victims were just prosecuted under existing criminal statues concerning kidnapping, prostitution, money laundering, or pandering. However, in the 17 years since the passage of the original TVPA, all 50 U.S. states have passed laws directly addressing human trafficking as a crime. Polaris, a member of the ATEST coalition, monitors state progress on human trafficking and offers assistance to those states that want to improve upon their human trafficking statutes.

In the policy world, human trafficking is still a rather new problem. Although the TVPA has been reauthorized several times and all 50 states have passed AHT laws, many NGOs in the U.S. still feel there is much work to be done, particularly in the protection prong of the 3P framework. The final state to pass an AHT law was Wyoming and it only passed in 2013. Many states’ laws are rudimentary and are not used as often as they should be because prosecutors and first responders are still unsure when they see human trafficking and do not apply the new laws when they can (Farrell and Pfeffer 2014). The members of the ATEST coalition, in particular, see an opportunity to further the conversation and address the human trafficking problem in a more holistic way in the U.S. The next section will discuss social movement framing and political opportunity structures as these groups seek to guide the conversation.
II. NGOs and Framing

Some may argue that ATEST and its members are merely interest groups that are expressing a desired change in policy, not a full “social movement.” However, the use of social movement theory to describe the actions and purpose of the anti-human trafficking movement is supported by numerous definitions of social movements throughout the literature. Diani (1992) defined a social movement as “consisting of networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups, and/or organizations, engaged in political and/or cultural conflict on the basis of a shared collective identity.” Social movements take ideas and situations that are normally considered as “undesirable” and turn them into a cause that must be addressed in order to elevate those suffering from it (Turner 1969). One of the most famous social movements of the last few centuries was the fight against state sanctioned slavery. Activists, mainly from the United Kingdom and the U.S., worked to redefine the racial, cultural, and economic rules of the day that allowed the worldwide market in human beings to flourish. Many have pointed out the differences between outright generational ownership of a human being that represented the slavery economy in the late 1800s and today’s more subtle manifestations of slavery (Bales 2000). However, the current AHT community heavily relies on the historical success of the global abolitionist movement of the nineteenth century to ground their work. Describing human trafficking as “modern day slavery” is one discursive tool used to connect both struggles. Human trafficking may not be “state-sanctioned” (for most countries), but informal processes, cultural attitudes, and ambivalence allow it to occur under the eyes of the state. Slavery is not gone, it is just hidden underground.

Tarrow (2011) also defined social movements as people who contest the status quo by grouping together and “strategically employing a repertoire of collective action, creating new opportunities, which are used by others in widening cycles of contention (29).” The history of
the AHT movement in the U.S. illustrates this trajectory nicely. Women’s rights and religious groups brought the question of human trafficking to the broader public, calling for policymakers to outlaw this practice and punish the perpetrators. Other groups soon entered the fray, including children’s rights advocates, labor rights, and migrant rights groups. This widening of the circle of contention against the status quo has provided new opportunities and new facets of the fight against human trafficking to be written into law. The intersection of groups working on the broader topic of human trafficking offer a glimpse into the informal networks of activists that support each other because of their shared human rights mission. Throughout this research, activists often spoke of the comradery among runaway youth, domestic violence, and labor rights groups as they struggled to help their own unique constituencies, while not turning away other survivors. Before explicit legislation existed to provide funding for housing of human trafficking victims, domestic violence shelters took them in. This cooperation has influenced the AHT movement as it is careful to not exclude certain groups from trafficking policy advocacy and create political enemies that might impact its own work. This shared dedication to human rights and fighting for those outside the system creates a collective identity and social movement network (Diani 2013).

Social movements are defined by their “conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents” (della Porta and Diani 2006, 20). Despite legislative success in the passage of the TVPA and increased public awareness, NGOs also continue to fight against backsliding and fight for the expansion of the TVPA law. Although no one is “pro-human trafficking,” the issue must be defended against those that want to see less government regulation, less spending, and those that question the definition of what types of victims qualify as having suffered from human trafficking. In their minority opinion brief on Senate Bill 1301 (the 2011 reauthorization of the
TVPA), Senators Kyl, Sessions, Lee and Coburn fight against the “growing bureaucracy of anti-trafficking programs” that were “wasteful, mismanaged and duplicative.” They were also concerned about the “imbalance of funds” benefitting foreign victims versus domestic. Human trafficking is not just sex trafficking of minor girls. As the AHT movement has grown and begun to focus on labor trafficking and transparency in supply chains to prevent slavery, they have met opposition from the business community, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Finally, Gulati (2012) found that despite lip service to the importance of fighting human trafficking, most human trafficking bills fail to make it to the floor for vote.

On the surface, human trafficking is a broad tent topic, one that is easy to support. However, once details of the work that needs done are known with the associated price tag, human trafficking bills tend to die a quiet death. This unique position that human trafficking holds in the policy world has created a strategic dilemma for the AHT community. Social movements are known for contentious tactics aimed at convincing people of the merits of their positions. Protests, sick-outs, boycotts, and criticism of government officials are all part of the repertoire. However, given the broad acceptance of human trafficking as an undesirable situation and the continued support of the TVPA, the AHT movement has had to change tactics. NGOs continue to press for the acceptance of AHT legislation and protection of survivors, but also look to deepen the conversation by talking about more than sex trafficking. This paper focuses on a subset of social movement organizations within the larger AHT movement and examines how they have used organizational population diversity, identity, and learning to move their goals forward (Soule 2013).

How do NGOs advocate for anti-human trafficking policy? There are several organizing (sometimes overlapping) themes that are present throughout the literature and among the types of
NGOs that address the problem. Human trafficking can be seen as a human rights issue, a security concern, a byproduct of globalization and inequality, and as a criminal enterprise (including prostitution). Framing refers to the way groups want a problem to be viewed or understood by others. Erving Goffman’s 1974 book, *Frame Analysis* forms the basis for subsequent studies on the topic of framing. Goffman focused on how people structure their thoughts and experiences, through a cultural lens, in order to make sense of the world around them. People apply meanings to words, situations, and symbols that they can access later to address other concerns. Goffman focused on the individual and how framing works on a psychological level. However, framing can also be used as a strategic tool. When applied by groups, framing encompasses four critical points as defined by Entman (1993): frames define a problem, identify causes, pass judgment, and identify solutions.

Social movement theorists took this idea of strategic framing and extended it. Social movement organizations (SMOs) must create “linkage of individual and SMO interpretative orientations” in order to increase the appeal and salience of the SMO mission to the ideas of the individual (Snow et al 1986, 464). This process is known as frame alignment. Without making valid cognitive connections with people on the topic of human trafficking, NGOs could not recruit members, pressure policymakers, or find support for their message. Snow and his co-authors (1986) outlined four types of frame alignment: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation. Frame bridging is the process by which two or more similar but disconnected frames are linked to lend weight to the frame in question. Frame amplification involves taking current beliefs and values and making them more appealing by embellishment or bringing older values and beliefs back to the forefront through revitalization. Frame extension is the practice of bringing in other groups by appealing to values and beliefs not
directly associated with the original mission. Finally, while the previous three types include harnessing existing values, frame transformation occurs when a group has to redefine ideas that may have been perceived as negative in the past or create completely new values that were not considered.

Snow and Benford (1988) outlined three core framing tasks that need to be met in order for a movement to achieve success in having their message heard and taken up by others: diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing. Studying NGO frame alignment processes for AHT groups will elucidate the ideas being disseminated about what human trafficking is and what causes it (diagnostic), how it should be addressed (prognostic), and who should be involved (motivational). The framing tasks and actions undertaken by the AHT movement can be understood by utilizing Anderson’s (1997) policy-process framework.

Anderson’s policy stages were: agenda (problem definition), formulation, adoption, implementation (administration), and evaluation (1997, 40). Prior to 2000, human trafficking policy flowed through the first three stages. AHT groups were able to elevate the problem of human trafficking to the policy agenda, work with lawmakers to craft the TVPA, and get that law passed with clear bipartisan support in 2000. During the implementation stage, anti-human trafficking NGOs were focused on expanding programs under the TVPA to provide additional victim services and more penalties for traffickers under the law. During each reauthorization, policy evaluation was also taking place. NGOs were routinely addressing questions regarding the scope of the human trafficking problem and how programs were addressing it. Figure 2.1 shows the policy process and how each framing task aided in the completion of that step.
Diagnostic framing by NGOs is at least partly determined by their organizational goals. This type of framing is most prevalent in the agenda setting stage of the policy-process framework. Defining human trafficking and its root causes are an important step in getting the problem on the policy agenda. NGOs focused on fair trade and slave labor place blame on corporations for their lack of accountability on the unethical use of child labor or poor working conditions in the supply chain of their products. Anti-prostitution groups claim that human trafficking is a moral issue centered on permissive attitudes towards the sex industry and governmental laxity. Human rights groups argue that human trafficking is a breach of the fundamental human right to freedom and integrity and blame weak laws against protecting victims and prosecuting traffickers. Each NGO constructs its definition of the problem and the causes behind it. The idea that certain groups are “targeted” for both negative and positive constructions (Schneider and Ingram 1993) has been studied over many years and many policy areas including veterans (Jensen 1996, 2003, 2005, Mettler 2002) and immigration (Newton 2005). The ability to change the socially constructed image of a population is a salient factor in policy change (Wison 2000). Using diagnostic framing, NGOs seek to harness policy change in the direction they prefer by portraying trafficking victims in a positive light while placing blame on corporations, governments, and traffickers.

Prognostic framing encompasses the way in which NGOs propose to deal with human trafficking. Again, NGO actions are predicated on their organizational structure. Benford and
Snow (2000) argue that the way groups use prognostic framing is the key way that they differentiate themselves from others. Fair trade groups focus on greater transparency in the supply chain by calling on companies to disclose their sourcing practices, publicly shaming corporations that have been found negligent, and lobbying government officials to include stricter labor provisions in trade agreements. Anti-prostitution groups call for harsher punishments for those found soliciting prostitutes at home and abroad and fight for the complete abolition of prostitution. Human rights groups tend to focus on rehabilitation and restoration of victims, regardless of how they came to be where they are, and propose both tougher laws on traffickers and more services for victims. Prognostic framing begins during the policy formulation stage and can continue through implementation.

The actions of NGOs to grab the attention and more active forms of support from the public or even other social movement groups that may share similar goals is known as motivational framing (Benford and Snow 2000). NGOs need to create an atmosphere in which people feel compelled, yet comfortable, to get involved. This may be as simple as inspiring people to join a local parent-teacher group by appealing to a parent’s sense of duty to their children. On the opposite end of the spectrum, motivational framing can also be illustrated by the marketing of suicide bombing tactics by extremist militant groups (Snow and Byrd 2007). Benford (1993) identified four key variables to creating this sense of connection to the group and the cause through his study of the nuclear disarmament movement: severity, urgency, efficacy, and propriety. Human trafficking has been identified as the “fastest growing” illegal enterprise in the world (severity and urgency). Its victims are innocent women and children that are caught up in processes beyond their control (propriety) and everyone can do their part by supporting legislation to outlaw trafficking, buying products free of slave labor, and providing support for
victims after the fact (efficacy). As mentioned earlier, in order to garner support from the public and influence policy makers, human trafficking needs to be seen as an urgent and important problem, yet surmountable. People need to feel their community is at risk from this scourge of modern slavery and that they can stop it by supporting NGOs. Thus, motivational framing is a particularly important process to analyze for the AHT movement.

Social movements do not happen in a vacuum. The external environment and political system in which they reside are important in explaining how and why social movements happen, and the choices they make in their work. Those that study these relationships and dynamics call this the political process or political opportunity theory (McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1983; Tilly 1978). Recently, scholars have focused on how the state interacts with social movements and how this interaction affects the outcomes of social movement strategies (Meyer and Minkoff 2004) and how national and sub-national differences can affect social movements in different ways in comparative studies (Rucht 1996; Schock 1999; Snow, Soule and Cress 2005). Framing processes are also influenced by the political opportunity (and constraint) structure in which social movement organizations are embedded.

AHT movements play a pivotal role in raising awareness and mobilizing both the public and government officials. However, even AHT movements need to be cognizant of cultural and political cues and tailor their messages accordingly in order to stay relevant and resonate. The dominant narrative of the pervasiveness of the sex trafficking of minor females in the U.S. is acknowledged by the ATEST coalition. The NGOs in this study do not ignore the problem of sex trafficking; to do so would harm their reputations and standing as experts in the field. However, the bulk of their documents focus on labor trafficking because the coalition tries to balance the attention sex trafficking receives. In addition, the coalition members do not ignore or downplay
the issue of domestic (U.S.) human trafficking. In fact, many members of the coalition are directly concerned with human trafficking victims in the U.S. However, the bulk of the documents do focus on international human trafficking flows because that is from where the majority of the victims come. The ability of the coalition to acknowledge the dominant narrative in their framing while still pushing for an expanded understanding of the problem is a key takeaway from this study.

III. Research Design

Discovering how the political environment and the internal organizational changes of the coalition affected the core diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing tasks of ATEST and its members will be the main framework of this study. How did external political changes, like the lapsed reauthorization, and internal organizational changes, like membership growth, impact the framing tasks of the coalition? For example, in the case of the postponed reauthorization of the TVPA, the policy process framework might suggest that NGOs would loopback and begin to use diagnostic framing tools to reintroduce the problem to the public and lawmakers in order to achieve the reauthorization. However, this may not be the case. In fact, would it be beneficial to redefine the problem? Interestingly, the data shows that, even in the face of the law’s interruption, motivational framing tasks remained paramount to the coalition. ATEST and its members continued to build bridges amongst themselves by partnering with each other on major AHT campaigns and advocacy work, while constantly reminding the public and lawmakers of the moral imperative to fight modern day slavery through its public outreach.

This dissertation utilizes largely inductive qualitative analysis to discover, describe and analyze the framing strategies of NGOs in the larger AHT movement from 2008 to 2014. Although there are many AHT groups operating in the United States, this research focuses on the
NGOs who are (or were) members of ATEST due to their reputations in the AHT community. It is also a practical approach as gathering data from all the AHT groups across the country would take years to find and analyze. There are currently thirteen member organizations, although this study will examine fifteen members over the 2008-2014 period.

The main data source is publicly released press releases, testimony, and statements from the coalition. The use of public communications from both the coalition and its member NGOs offers an opportunity to compare NGO framing across similar, but not identical organizations. Publicly available documents are used because these statements reflect the intended messages of the groups. These groups advocate for and base their solutions on a broader human rights approach, focusing on the rights of the individual. This is also known as a “victim-centered approach” (Choi-Fitzpatrick 2015, 493). This master frame of ending human trafficking because it is perceived as an assault on basic human rights is the tent under which their individual work resides (Snow and Benford 1992). The members of ATEST can be divided into several smaller groups: labor rights/fair trade, children’s rights, women’s rights and social justice. A full description of these groups follows in Chapter 2.

As mentioned above, human trafficking can be seen through a variety of lenses. Many groups choose to concentrate on the criminal aspects of the trade, relying on solutions steeped in police work and security. Others choose to focus on the prostitution frame or the migration factors that push and pull people through the system. Analyzing the data compiled across these groupings will lend insight into how AHT frames complement, and, perhaps, compete against each other. Data retrieved from the organizations’ documents will be supplemented with data from semi-structured interviews conducted with individuals from the coalition. The published words of the organizations, the spoken words of the interviewees, and historical research on each
time frame will help substantiate the hypothesis that ATEST has harnessed multiple strategies to advance AHT policy at all levels of government and the private sector.

The years examined for this study offer many advantages in comparing AHT messaging strategy. First, this time frame includes a unique external focusing event: an authorization expiration in 2011 of the cornerstone U.S. trafficking bill after several regular reauthorizations. Although program funding was still flowing from past approvals, the fact that Congress allowed the Act to expire without explicit reauthorization was new and indicated possible trouble in the future for achieving appropriations for the many programs supported by the TVPA legislation. How would the movement react to this new challenge? Second, although this time period encompasses only one Presidential Administration, the balance of power between the political parties shifts in 2010 when the Democrats lose control of the House of Representatives. How do these political events impact AHT messaging? Third, the recession of 2008 impacted the federal budget process for many years. How did the coalition push for additional funding in a challenging environment? Finally, this time frame includes unique internal ATEST events to compare as well. The membership of ATEST grew in 2010, 2011, and 2014. Comparing framing strategies across organizations pre- and post-membership, along with ATEST itself as its membership grew, provides insight into the internal communication strategies of these groups.

IV. Strategy and Tactics in the AHT Movement

Human trafficking, as a policy issue, suffers from too much broad exposure, but not enough understanding its true mechanisms and representations. Most people have heard of human trafficking and usually equate it with the sex trafficking of women and children. Policymakers across the country have been eager to prove their human trafficking awareness by sponsoring AHT bills and having celebrity spokespeople testify in hearings. In addition, the mere passage of
A law often engenders a sense of fait accompli; if the law is there, it must be being used. The AHT movement must not overwhelm supporters who think they know the problem by attacking or overly criticizing policymakers, yet, the movement must move the conversation forward and not be afraid to challenge these narrow perceptions. AHT groups not only focus on the state, but also have to deal with private corporations, particularly when focused on labor trafficking. These many targets often require different strategies.

In Sarah Soule’s (2009) work on anti-corporate activism, she outlines two theoretical concepts: private politics, in which the social movement influences private industry without involving the state directly (Baron 2003) and contentious politics, in which the state is the key target (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001). She argues that anti-corporate activism is best understood when looking for both strategies (Soule 2009, 30). I believe her model is useful in analyzing the framing strategies of the AHT movement. As mentioned above, the AHT community has to deal with the definitional hurdles of what human trafficking is. This problem is created by the pervasive idea that sex trafficking is prostitution and vice versa, while leaving labor trafficking as a private problem for industry. The reliance on these definitions places each type of trafficking into each tactical repertoire: sex trafficking should be handled by targeting the state because that is the environment in which it lives, while labor trafficking is handled by private campaigns against business, mostly due to a lax regulatory environment and reluctance of the state to engage and damage business relationships. This study found that patterns emerged over the time period that supports the hypothesis that the AHT movement had to use strategies encompassing both private and contentious politics due to the unique position of human trafficking in the public domain.
In addition, these groups have used both types of tactics on nontraditional targets. Soule (2013) has lamented the lack of social movement scholarship drawing on organizational theory. This study fills a gap in the social movement literature by showing how the ATEST coalition has harnessed organizational population diversity, identity, and learning to deepen the understanding of human trafficking and advance policy. The use of tactics from the private politics model, like compelling companies to police themselves by signing a Code of Conduct to reduce child sex trafficking is an example of this innovation. Likewise, ATEST’s continued focus on creating a federal law that would require companies to report on their supply chain transparency efforts shows crossover between the contentious politics model and labor trafficking. Finally, this longitudinal analysis also shows that the AHT movement has had to eschew typical social movement tactics (i.e. outsider tactics) in order to push forward their agenda. Because human trafficking is so well-known, but not understood, the movement is careful to partner with, rather than confront, policymakers and private industry. Members of the group still participate in traditional social movement tactics, like protests and boycotts, however it is not the main identity of the coalition. Members of the group often critique the actions of the state, but these critiques are usually in the form of recalling and amplifying the moral imperative of the U.S. to address these concerns and rarely call out individual policymakers.

The ATEST coalition has been particularly successful at targeting multiple levels of government in addressing the human trafficking problem. Although the coalition itself targets advocacy at the federal level, its members often focus on sub-national politics in U.S. states, cities, and localities. Lessons learned from members in how to design, implement, and evaluate sub-national policy is helpful in crafting a unified recommendation on federal level policy. Coalition learning is evident in the ability of ATEST and its members to target multiple levels of
policymaking within the U.S., thereby creating a larger “policy battleground” (Holyoke 2003). Tackling human trafficking from all angles provides a holistic solution to the problem.

The dissertation will proceed as follows. Chapter 2 will outline the creation of ATEST and describe the NGOs that make up its membership, including such variables as geographic location, membership, public outreach, and funding sources. This chapter will also include an explanation of the data and methods. Chapter 3 will focus on the time period 2008-2010 as AHT NGOs were beginning to really multiply around the country and ATEST itself was finding its voice in the advocacy world. Chapter 4 will focus on the more challenging years of 2011-2012 as ATEST and its members advocated strongly for the reauthorization of the TVPA, which expired in 2011. Chapter 5 will delineate the new directions the alliance headed towards in 2013-2014 after the reauthorization of TVPA was achieved. Chapter 6 will conclude the study and offer insights on how NGOs use framing to push their agendas and how the unique position of the human trafficking problem in the policy world changed the strategic tactics of the movement. The ATEST coalition is a strong example of successful collaboration in the human trafficking arena.
Chapter 2: Background and Methodology

This study examines the messaging strategy of major anti-human trafficking NGOs within the United States between 2008 and 2014. In what follows, I will first review the history of ATEST and provide background information on the member NGOs. I will then describe how grounded theory methods were used to flesh out the theory that the unique position of human trafficking in the policy world led to the adoption of innovative social movement tactics by the ATEST coalition. Then, I will describe the data, both from the public documents and the interviews and the limitations of this research design.

I. The Formation of the Alliance to End Slavery and Trafficking (ATEST)

Since the adoption of The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (P.L. 106-386 or “TVPA”) in 2000, the number of anti-human trafficking non-profits has grown in the U.S. and the world. In the United States alone, there are almost 400 organizations that address human trafficking.\(^5\) Such a large community of organizations is difficult to analyze, so the organizations examined for this study were chosen based on their presence on the national stage and their work on national policy. The NGOs used for this study are (or were) all members of ATEST. The members of this alliance are some of the most well-known anti-trafficking groups in the country. Their representatives have testified before Congress, been involved in national anti-trafficking conferences, and have provided expert opinion to policymakers and the public for many years.

\(^5\)Global Modern Slavery Directory is a project of ATEST member Polaris and funded by the Freedom Fund. [http://www.globalmodernslavery.org/](http://www.globalmodernslavery.org/). Date last accessed 10/12/16.
ATEST was formed in 2007 by Humanity United, a human rights philanthropy group. Founded by Pierre and Pam Omidyar in 2005, Humanity United’s work is focused on two areas: building peace and advancing freedom. Its peace work includes building capacity on the ground in conflict areas, like Sudan and Liberia, to promote conflict resolution and security. The Omidyars wanted to end modern slavery and put their vast fortune behind their efforts (O’Connor 2012). In addition to the coalition, Humanity United has given significant grants to other AHT groups throughout the world. In 2012, they partnered with the U.S. government to fund the Partnership for Freedom, a public-private partnership that encourages collaboration in creating solutions to human trafficking. The Partnership hosts annual contests based on themes within human trafficking, such as improving survivor services and addressing weaknesses of the global supply chain and awards grants to the winners to implement those plans.\(^6\) In 2013, Humanity United, along with the Legatum Foundation and the Minderoo Foundation, founded a private philanthropic project to fight modern slavery called the Freedom Fund. The goal of the Freedom Fund is to attract private money to the cause of ending human trafficking.\(^7\)

ATEST is a U.S. based organization that “advocates for solutions to prevent and end all forms of human trafficking and slavery around the world.” ATEST is an umbrella network that acts as an advocacy arm for its members. Organizations that belong to ATEST designate a point person who meets regularly in person and via phone with their counterparts to strategize and produce recommendations in one voice. ATEST, through its leadership and members, focuses on all players in the global human trafficking chain. They focus on national and international business operations through private business and government contracts to uncover human trafficking in supply chains and hiring practices. ATEST also is attentive to the efforts at all

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\(^6\) Partnership for Freedom. [https://www.partnershipforfreedom.org/what-is-pff/](https://www.partnershipforfreedom.org/what-is-pff/). Date last accessed 10/12/16.

\(^7\)[http://freedomfund.org/about/our-story/](http://freedomfund.org/about/our-story/). Date last accessed 10/12/16.
levels of government (federal, state, and local) to passing comprehensive human trafficking legislation, particularly laws that focus on rehabilitation and decriminalization of victims. U.S. federal legislation, however, is the group’s main policy objective. They advocate for numerous anti-human trafficking bills in the U.S. Congress and for executive and other federal agency programs. Currently, the group is actively working on the passage of Senate Bill 744, the Prevention of Trafficking in Persons and Abuses Involving Workers Recruited Abroad Act, which would crack down on foreign labor recruiters who use fraud and coercion to lure workers into human trafficking networks and the reauthorization of the TVPA set for 2017.8

ATEST is unique in that it is a funded coalition that provides logistical and staff support for its members. There is another AHT coalition working in the U.S. called the Freedom Network. However, the Freedom Network is a coalition of direct service providers (a few ATEST members are members of both coalitions) and is not focused solely on advocacy. Its members include direct service providers, along with individual legal experts that work in human trafficking law. The Freedom Network does not issue press releases or serve as a spokesperson for its members, nor does it provide any monetary compensation for being a member of the group. Its mission is to increase public awareness and create training, research, and networking opportunities for its members.9

Since its creation in 2007, the membership of ATEST has grown to its current size of thirteen NGOs that are involved in many different aspects of the AHT movement. Each organization has its own website and many have Twitter accounts and Facebook pages, which are used to communicate with the public and the AHT community. Some of the groups are very large with vast networks of offices, while some are very small with only a handful of employees.

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8www.endslaveryandtrafficking.org
9See freedomnetworkusa.org.
This breadth of experience lends insight into the framing strategies and overall impact of the ATEST coalition by allowing for a wider range of expertise.

The organizations can be categorized by the main focus or theme of their advocacy: women/children, labor trafficking, and social justice. The number of NGOs in each of the three categories is roughly equal today, but the concentration has shifted over time. The categorizations are mine and are merely used for organizational purposes. Many of these NGOs focus on multiple problems and represent themselves as such. “Women and children” is a category reserved for organizations that specifically mention the wellbeing of women and/or children in their mission. The “labor and sourcing” category combines organizations with a specific focus on labor trafficking or labor rights related issues. Finally, the “social justice” category is comprised of many of the original members and represents their anti-human trafficking program roots. Summaries of the organizations and their work follow, including a timeline of membership expansion in Table 2.1. All descriptive information is taken from the groups’ websites, a listing of those websites can be found in Appendix A.
Table 2.1 Membership of ATEST 2007-2014

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Color Key: Blue- Social Justice, Red- Women/Children, Green- Labor/Sourcing

**Women and Children**

Five of the fifteen organizations of ATEST have a unique focus on the needs and concerns of women and children. Human trafficking is but one of the many topics these groups focus on along with poverty, domestic violence, and safety.

**End Child Prostitution and Trafficking (ECPAT)**

ECPAT’s mission is to eradicate child sex slavery. It was the first U.S. NGO to focus exclusively on this issue and the group works on lobbying legislatures to enact laws that prohibit child sex slavery and child sex tourism both in the U.S. and abroad. The group provides training for first responders and partners with corporations in the tourism industry to recognize and
prevent child sexual exploitation. Its past campaigns have focused on ending child prostitution in Asian tourism, lobbying the U.S. Army to provide training for its service members on child sexual exploitation, and creating a human trafficking task force in New York that has become a model for other states. ECPAT has worked with 5 U.S. states to create safe harbor laws that provide support for victims of child sex trafficking after they are found. ECPAT’s most recent campaign was lobbying for the passage of the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act, which passed successfully in May of 2015. Founded in 1991, ECPAT’s U.S. office is based in Brooklyn, NY and joined ATEST in 2010.

Futures Without Violence

Futures Without Violence (FWV) was founded in 1980 by Esta Soler to bring awareness to the problem of violence against women and children. The group has created programs and training for those in the legal and medical profession to recognize and better deal with victims of abuse and FWV was “a driving force behind the passage of the Violence Against Women Act of 1994”. Recently, the group’s campaigns have focused on domestic violence in major league sports including Major League Baseball (MLB) and the National Football League (NFL). They have also advocated to end domestic violence on college campuses. Futures Without Violence is focused on educating the public and first responders in the criminal justice system about how violence is tied to human trafficking. The organization is headquartered in San Francisco, CA with offices in both Washington, DC and Boston, MA. Futures Without Violence joined ATEST in 2014.

The National Network for Youth (NN4Y)

The mission of The National Network for Youth is “to champion the needs of runaway, homeless, and other disconnected youth through strengthening the capacity of community-based
services by facilitating resource-sharing and the influencing of public policy”. NN4Y is dedicated to advocating for at-risk youth through federal legislation, although the group is itself a network of state agencies, service providers and faith-based organizations from around the country. Its current focus is the Runaway and Homeless Youth and Human Trafficking Act (RHYTPA). The Runaway and Homeless Youth Act of 1974 provided grants and resources to service providers to address youth homeless with emergency shelters, education, transitional housing and family intervention services. The Act requires reauthorization every five years and expired in 2013. In April 2015, the Senate failed to pass the RHYTPA, but the NN4Y continues to advocate for the Act’s passage. The NN4Y is headquartered in Washington, DC and joined ATEST in 2014.

Vital Voices

Vital Voices was founded by former U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton in 1999 and is focused on the wellbeing of women around the world. Through programs and partnerships, Vital Voices advocates for women by advancing economic opportunity, opening doors to leadership positions in politics and advocating for human rights. The organization also mentors and trains female leaders globally, creating networks of connected women to address international problems. Vital Voices follows a model based on a “multiplier effect”, arguing that once a woman is trained and supported in leadership roles, that woman will mentor and connect with other women, creating positive externalities on the ground where they live. Its work in human trafficking is a piece of its human rights program, which focuses on ending gender-based violence (GBV) against women. Vital Voices is headquartered in Washington, DC and helped found ATEST in 2007.
World Vision

“Building a better world for children” is the tagline for World Vision, which is a Christian-based humanitarian organization, founded in 1950. Its programs focus on many topics facing the world’s children today including poverty, disaster relief, access to clean water, access to education, ending violence, ending child trafficking, and providing health services. The group follows a “community development approach” and works on the ground to reestablish community relationships that impact the proliferation of poverty and vulnerability. Although a Christian-based organization, the group does not require people to join a specific church or adhere to specific religious principles to receive aid. World Vision is an international organization and its U.S. branch is headquartered in Federal Way, WA. Other U.S. offices are located in Washington, DC, Los Angeles, CA, Chicago, IL, Denver, CO, Dallas, TX, Pittsburgh, PA, New York, NY and Philippi, WV. World Vision joined ATEST in 2010, but left the organization as a formal member in 2015. World Vision decided that its “child protection model” was more focused on concerns outside of human trafficking.  

Labor Trafficking and Sourcing

Several members of ATEST choose to focus the bulk of their work on labor trafficking and related labor rights issues. These organizations work on ending labor trafficking and unsafe or unfair labor practices in many different industries and geographic locations around the world. They target private companies and governments.

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10 Despite its withdrawal from formal membership in ATEST, a spokesperson from World Vision indicated that they are still hoping to work with ATEST when strategic concerns on children and anti-trafficking align. (Email from Jessica Bousquett- World Vision, received by the author on March 11, 2016.)
Coalition to Abolish Slavery & Trafficking (CAST)

CAST was founded in 1998 by Dr. Kathryn McMahon in response to a scandal involving sweatshop workers in the garment industry in Los Angeles. Its mission is to provide awareness about labor trafficking and provide services to victims. CAST provides social services, legal services, and outreach/training. They operate a shelter for victims of human trafficking and a toll-free hotline. The organization has been active in lobbying for the national TVPA’s many reauthorizations. It was also a co-sponsor of the California Transparency in Supply Chain Act of 2010. CAST was the first nonprofit to receive the Presidential Award for Extraordinary Efforts to Combat Trafficking in Persons in 2014. CAST is headquartered in Los Angeles, CA and was a founding member of ATEST in 2007.

Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW)

The CIW was launched in 1993 as a worker-based human rights organization. Starting with a focus on organizing farm workers in southern Florida, CIW has expanded its work to three main programs: The Fair Food Program, and Anti-Slavery Campaign, and The Campaign for Fair Food. These programs focus on educating workers on their labor rights, encouraging businesses to pay fair wages to farm workers, uncovering human trafficking and slave labor in farm operations in the southeastern U.S., and educating consumers on the companies that are actually profiting from unfair labor practices. The group has orchestrated successful boycotts of fast food and grocery store chains in order to facilitate change. Its recent campaign is targeting both the fast food chain Wendy’s and the grocery store Publix. CIW received a Presidential Award for Extraordinary Efforts to Combat Trafficking in Persons in 2015 for its two decades of work. CIW is headquartered in Immokalee, FL and joined ATEST in 2010.
National Domestic Workers’ Alliance (NDWA)

The NDWA was founded in 2007 and is focused on the abuses of domestic workers. Many domestic workers (housekeepers, nannies, and caregivers) are not included in the Fair Labor Standards Act. Their exclusion makes them ineligible for protections like a mandated minimum wage, sick time, overtime, and access to health insurance. Members of the domestic work industry, many of whom are women, are vulnerable to abuse, human trafficking, and low wages due to this exclusion. The NDWA lobbies state governments to pass worker “bills of rights” that provide worker protections and access to minimum wages. They also train and develop leaders at the grass root level to organize domestic worker groups locally. The “We Belong Together” campaign focuses on reforming the immigration system to eliminate an underlying cause of human trafficking into domestic work. The NDWA is headquartered in New York, NY with offices in Oakland, CA and Washington, DC. It joined ATEST in 2014.

Solidarity Center

The Solidarity Center is affiliated with the AFL-CIO and was founded in 1997 as an international worker rights organization. The Center focuses on assisting workers in unionizing and advocating for safe work places, fair wages, and social protections. The group has 221 professional staff members that work around the world, partnering with local nonprofits and workers’ groups to train them on effective strategies. They also post official statements that are cross-posted on the AFL-CIO’s main website. Members of the group give speeches and testimony before U.S. government committees. Their focus on human trafficking is directly tied to their commitment to enhancing or creating laws to protect workers, including requiring more regulation for recruiters and educating workers to recognize trafficking red flags. The Solidarity Center is headquartered in Washington, DC and was a founding member of ATEST in 2007.
Verité

Verité began its mission in 1995 by working with companies to increase their supply chain security and recognize weaknesses and warning signs that might indicate unfair labor practices, including human trafficking. It is a nonprofit training and consulting organization. Its model includes assessing a company’s current social responsibility programs, and providing research, training, and consulting to companies and their partners to limit their exposure to unfair labor practices and the negative consequences. Verité’s clients include Gap Inc., Nordstrom, Hewlett-Packard Company, and Levi Strauss and Co. The organization has also produced white papers on forced labor in the Malaysian electronics industry, best practices for companies adhering to the California Transparency in Supply Chains Act, and uncovering forced labor in the international palm oil industry. Verité is headquartered in Amherst, MA with regional offices in Shenzhen, China, Manila, The Philippines, New Delhi, India, and Dhaka, Bangladesh. The organization became a member of ATEST in 2011.

Social Justice

The final set of organizations fall under the broad category of social justice. These groups focus on human trafficking in general or see human trafficking as a piece of the larger human rights puzzle.

Free The Slaves (FTS)

FTS was founded in 2000 by Kevin Bales, Peggy Callahan and Jolene Smith. Its purpose is to fight global slavery at the local level through community-based social movements. FTS provides training and services to vulnerable communities to reduce the causal factors that support human trafficking. The group also rescues victims of human trafficking and supports their reintegration into society. FTS has active high school and college chapters were students
can learn how to advocate against trafficking and partners with faith-based organizations. FTS operates in six foreign countries that they consider hot spots for trafficking: India, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nepal, Brazil, Haiti and Ghana. The group has actively lobbied Congress for the many reauthorizations of the TVPA since its inception in 2000. FTS does not issue official press releases, but does have a quarterly newsletter, which has been published regularly since 2013. It also has an active blog dating back to 2010. FTS is headquartered in Washington, DC and helped found ATEST in 2007.

International Justice Mission (IJM)

IJM was founded in 1997 by Gary Haugen. Haugen’s work as a UN investigator after the genocide in Rwanda prompted him to start an organization that addressed violence around the world. Violence comes in many forms and IJM focuses on human trafficking, police brutality, and restoring civil and property rights to affected groups. Their work also facilitates the changes that are needed in justice systems around the world in order to stop everyday attacks against the poor and vulnerable. IJM has field offices in 20 cities, mostly in Latin America, Africa, India, and Southeast Asia where IJM staff train and interact with local partners to help victims and reform legal systems. The organization is headquartered in Washington, DC with support offices in Canada, The Netherlands, Australia, Germany and the United Kingdom. IJM was a founding member of ATEST in 2007.

Not For Sale

Not For Sale was founded by David Batstone in 2007 and is a founding member of ATEST. He is a full time faculty member at the University of San Francisco and a former investment banker. Not For Sale’s mission was to begin a “grassroots constituency that could
work locally, nationally, and internationally.” The group created technology tools like the Free2Work app that would give consumers information on the companies and their commitment to slavery-free products. It partnered with Major League Baseball to sponsor its Free2Play initiative, which is a platform to increase public awareness of children caught in human trafficking. In addition, Not For Sale created training for “Smart Activists” both in its home city of San Francisco and around the nation through an innovative app. The training helped activists move from just creating awareness of human trafficking to creating active programs to address trafficking in their communities. Not For Sale is also focused on survivors with programs designed to give survivors education, job training, and counseling after rescue. Not For Sale left the ATEST coalition in late 2014; however, remains a supporter of the coalition through sign-on letters and advocacy campaigns.

Polaris

The Polaris Project, now known as simply Polaris, was founded by two college seniors, Katherine Chon and Derek Ellerman, in 2002 in response to an illegal brothel being uncovered near their college apartment. Women were being held there against their will under the guise of a massage parlor. The goal of Polaris is to eradicate human trafficking by focusing on the causes and the repercussions that perpetrators of trafficking experience. Polaris wants to move human trafficking from a “low-risk, high-profit” industry to one that is “high-risk, low-profit”. The group started a national hotline, the National Human Trafficking Resource Center (NHTRC), for both victims to access services and for the reporting of any suspected human trafficking activity by the public. That data has become important in mapping networks of human trafficking throughout the U.S. Polaris is also heavily involved in training first responders to be able to recognize human trafficking as it is happening, instead of relying on outdated misconceptions on
what trafficking actually is. The group is headquartered in Washington, DC and was a founding member of ATEST in 2007.

Safe Horizon

Safe Horizon was established in 1978 in New York, NY. Its mission is “to provide support, prevent violence and promote justice for victims of crime and abuse, their families and communities.” Human trafficking is one of the types of violence that Safe Horizon addresses through its victims’ services. Safe Horizon offers legal assistance and referrals for housing and counseling for trafficking victims. It also provides education for first responders to better recognize trafficking. The group operates hotlines for rape, domestic violence, human trafficking and crime victims throughout the New York City area. Safe Horizon also provides counseling for the families of victims touched by violence and works with the court system to respond in more helpful ways. Safe Horizon is headquartered in New York, NY and joined ATEST in 2010.

II. Methodology

This dissertation utilizes constructivist grounded theory methods to discover, describe and analyze the framing strategies of NGOs in regards to human trafficking from 2008 to 2014. Grounded theory is a method of qualitative analysis first described by Glaser and Strauss (1967). The premise behind grounded theory is the careful collection and analysis of qualitative data to create theories, not using data to test existing theories. Glaser and Strauss sought to counter the attacks on qualitative research during the positivist revolution of the 1960s, which claimed that qualitative research was “impressionistic, anecdotal, unsystematic, and biased (Charmaz 2014).” This method includes gathering data, constructing analytic codes from the data itself (not relying on current theory), comparing codes and analysis throughout the research, memo-writing throughout the process to address discoveries and gaps in the data, and conducting a literature
review after completing the analysis. The grounded theory method as espoused by Glaser and Strauss was actually quite positivist in nature, relying on objectivity of the researcher and a strict adherence to theory creation, including eschewing the traditional process of reviewing the literature before entering into research. Grounded theory emerges from the data separately from the researcher.

Many found this approach to be too constricting and, during the 1990s, advocated a constructivist grounded theory that allows more flexibility in the method. Charmaz (2014) argues “the constructivist approach perspective shreds the notions of a neutral observer and value-free expert (13).” Constructivist grounded theory encompasses the process as laid out by Glaser and Strauss, however, Charmaz also places a special emphasis on the fact that researchers interpret their data and impute their own experiences, values, and perspectives on the analysis. Theory is constructed through the researcher’s interactions with the data (Charmaz 2014). This study uses constructivist grounded theory methods to show how and why social movements change their tactics to succeed in different political environments.

The 2008-2014 time frame includes a unique external event, along with several internal ATEST events. After several regular reauthorizations since 2000, the U.S. Congress failed to reauthorize the TVPA in 2011. The Act remained lapsed until 2013 when the TVPA was added as an amendment to the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA). This longitudinal analysis will focus on three unique time frames in analyzing NGO framing strategy: from the last reauthorization in 2008 to the year leading up to the lapse, 2010; the time when the act was under fire from 2011-2012; and after the law was reauthorized under the VAWA from 2013 to 2014. The 2008-2010 time frame captures both internal changes within ATEST as they made the decision to expand its membership and external changes in the implementation support and
advocacy of the 2008 reauthorization. The years 2011 and 2012 proved to be a crucial test in the history of the coalition as the reauthorization in 2011 was delayed. How would the coalition react to these changes in the external environment? Finally, 2013-2014 encompassed both the successful reauthorization of the TVPA and another increase in membership. These time periods lend to useful comparative analysis of the framing strategies across time and events.

Content analysis of key documents produced by NGOs combined with interviews with NGO personnel from ATEST and its members are the main research methods of this study. In addition to the lapse of the TVPA reauthorization, ATEST went through several changes internally. Over the study time frame, the organization grew to fifteen members before losing one member in the last year of the study. The growth in membership in 2010, 2011, and 2014 allows for comparative analysis across time periods with new member perspectives. This study examines both the communication changes within ATEST and the member organizations as they became part of the alliance. This study focuses on all fifteen NGOs that were members of ATEST during this time period.

This research design of combining document and discourse analysis with interviews has proven effective in other related social scientific studies. Owens et al (2014) analyzed service provider records and interviewed victims of labor trafficking in their study. Their interviews supplemented the raw data from the reports and gave the researchers greater insight into the victim’s actual experiences. Other scholars have found that interviews can contradict discursive themes that were found only by just examining media output (Mahdavi and Sargent 2011). The use of both public documents and interviews provide additional insight into the framing strategies of the target NGOs. The next two sections details the methodological benefits of using
interviews and content analysis of official documents together as a research strategy, along with a description of the data.

III. Data - Documents

This study uses content and discourse analysis with NVivo to review published documents from ATEST and its members. Each of the above organizations has a focus on eradicating human trafficking, some focus exclusively on human trafficking while others see it as a piece of a larger puzzle within their mission. Six of the fifteen organizations have been with ATEST since it was founded in 2007. This study is focused on the documents these organizations released in the years 2008 through 2014. During the months of June-August 2015, a total of 345 documents were obtained through the current live websites of the ATEST members. In September 2015, another 168 documents were found using searches on Google using the organization’s name and “press release” in the search parameters and via the website The Wayback Machine. The website was created by The Internet Archive, a nonprofit organization whose goal is to create an Internet library. The website provides access to webpages through an archived database, which enables users to see webpages from years past that are no longer active. Documents from these older versions of the ATEST member websites were retrievable and added extra data that would have not have been available to this study previously. Another set of documents was found using the LexisNexis Academic database search using the wire services search function.

Most of the documents were available on webpages and some were downloadable Adobe Acrobat documents (PDF files). The text from the documents was copied and pasted into individual Microsoft Word documents to facilitate their storage and quick analysis in the Nvivo

\[\text{11} \text{https://archive.org/web/ last accessed September 30, 2015.}\]
program. The paragraph structure was kept intact as published during this process to ensure accuracy when coding at the paragraph level. Paragraphs are a natural way that information is organized and each paragraph gives readers a specific theme or message. Coding at the paragraph level will enable the themes of each document to be realized. Titles will be considered a paragraph onto themselves and be included during the coding process. Each document was labeled via a naming protocol: organization name followed by the date in a two-digit year, month, and day format and a short description. Naming the documents in this way lends itself to easy identification and sorting. A total of 789 documents were obtained for this data set (see Table 2.2). Although 789 documents were gathered in total, only 577 were used for the bulk of the data analysis. Only documents from the year of membership in ATEST going forward were used when analyzing the framing of messages (unless otherwise indicated). The purpose of this study was to analyze the framing used by the coalition and the members of the coalition itself. Documents from years prior to membership in the coalition are not pertinent to the main research question for this study and are excluded.
Most of the NGOs published press releases, although the frequency and availability of those press releases varied by organization. The data is more robust towards the end of the study time frame. In addition, some NGOs are much more prolific in their publishing of press releases. For example World Vision had 202 press releases compared to just 10 over the same time period for ECPAT. In addition, Free the Slaves (FTS) does not issue press releases and only recently started publishing a quarterly newsletter in 2013. FTS does publish a blog, which was created in 2010. The information gleaned from those blog posts would have allowed a good glimpse into the concerns and ideas supported by FTS; however, they were not official press releases.

As some organizations average more documents than others or may produce longer documents, a weighting protocol was developed that accounts for both the difference in volume and/or length of each document among the organizations for the three time frames. Some
organizations released verbose documents with over a thousand words, while others were small with less than 400 words. A formula has been created to take into account the number of words per document divided by a mean for all organizations (see Woehrle, Coy, and Maney 2008). The formula used is:

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\text{Mean-based formula for weights} = \left( \frac{\text{Mean # of Words for all NGOs}}{\text{Total Words for Individual NGO}} \right) \times \left( \frac{\text{Mean # of Words per Paragraph for Individual NGO}}{\text{Mean of NGO Means}} \right)
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Content analysis is a research method that examines the meaning behind communication by giving a quantitative base of how often certain words, phrases, and ideas are used in communication. Beginning with propaganda studies in the early half of the twentieth century (Laswell 1927), content analysis became a reputable research methodology (Berelson 1952, Holsti 1969, Krippendorf 1980). Content analysis began with analysis of text or verbal data converted to text; however, the method can be used on any communication data, including symbols and other visual representations (Krippendorf 1989). Discourse analysis is a research method that examines the meaning behind these communications and will be coupled with content analysis to provide a robust description of both the words and their actual meaning. The link between content and discourse analysis is summarized well when Lasswell (1949) described content analysis as “Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?” Studying NGO publications following Lasswell’s simple guide will unearth the framing strategies used by the groups to increase public awareness and policy.\(^\text{12}\)

The data retrieved was coded to unearth the frames used by these groups. Coding in qualitative research is an activity that allows a researcher to assign a short descriptor or category to a text based piece of data (Saldana 2009, 3). The coding process was both deductive and

\(^{12}\) Critiques of Lasswell’s model include the fact that it is linear and does not account for other outside influences, including from the communication target itself in the form of feedback. However, the basic question is one that is useful in determining the impact of NGO communication on social issues.
inductive. Deductive codes include whether or not the focus of the item is sex or labor trafficking, and what type of action is being promoted. For example, the “3P paradigm” is a concept that evolved from the Palermo Protocol and is supported by governments worldwide; the U.S. uses this paradigm in its annual TIP report to rate other nations on their human trafficking policy. The concept outlines the manner in which countries should address human trafficking. Governments should not only worry about the passage of legislation to punish traffickers (prosecution) but also about preventing cases of human trafficking by recognizing patterns and protecting victims once they are found.

Grounded theory coding relies on inductive codes generated by repeated readings of the materials. Codes and themes emerge from the material as the researcher defines what they see in the data (Charmaz 2014). The researcher must define actions and processes, not just concepts when reviewing the data. Interpretation of the documents through thoughtful examination enables one to draw out other NGO frames; Adler (1964, in Bernauer et al 2013) marked the importance of reading as an active endeavor. Themes emerged from the documents that are not as obvious as the simple sex versus labor dichotomy. As the model emerged showing multiple codes and links among them, it facilitated the creation of broader categories. This model was created in NVivo with the raw data from the documents (Bernauer et al 2013).

In order to set up an initial set of codes and code families, a sample was chosen from the documents from the year 2011. This year is a pivotal year in the dataset as it was the year that the TVPA was due to be reauthorized. If any year would show the relevant themes and foci of the ATEST members, it would be the year when increased interest in the reauthorization of the TVPA would be at its most public. 114 documents were collected for 2011. Using a random

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sampling website\textsuperscript{14}, a random list of numbers representing 15 percent of the 2011 documents was created to begin the coding process. The random sample included documents from 11 of the 14 NGOs, along with a document from ATEST. The only NGO that did not have a document during this year was Free the Slaves.

The sample yielded interesting results in the coding process. Despite the TVPA being in a pivotal reauthorization year, it was only mentioned in three separate documents in the sample (documents from CAST, Verité, and World Vision). This brings up interesting questions on the timing of the support for the TVPA. Perhaps the TVPA was not seen as under threat until closer to the expiration date. Analysis of the year after the lapse should yield more mentions of the TVPA. Overall, the documents were much more directed towards improving the plight of domestic and international workers, violence prevention in general, and the idea of protecting the victims of trafficking. Contrary to prior assumptions, labor trafficking was actually mentioned much more prevalently than sex trafficking in the sample, in fact, by a three to one margin.

This process of coding the sample is an example of how grounded theorists interact with their data through iterative, comparative processes. As Charmaz (2014) describes it, the researcher enters into an “interactive analytic space (115).” Sample coding brought to light several themes that were used to code the rest of the documents during the data analysis stage. These themes were not known to me before I started this process of reviewing my data closely. These themes included whether or not the document was supportive or critical of current government efforts against trafficking, separating the idea of labor trafficking or forced labor from the idea of labor rights, and delineating the causes of trafficking, like poverty, civil conflict, natural disasters and criminal behavior.

\textsuperscript{14} www.randomizer.org
The full document analysis shows that the ATEST coalition has been remarkably consistent in its messaging regarding human trafficking. In addition to consistency, the ATEST coalition has notable breadth in the number of topics it has addressed throughout the study time frame. A total of seventy-six themes and sub-themes emerged from the document dataset. These themes can be grouped into five overarching categories: Human Trafficking Specifics, Corresponding Issues, Geographic and Demographic Specifics, NGO Specifics, and Policy & Law.

Human Trafficking Specifics covered a range of codes that touched on the types of trafficking being discussed and their causes. The sex versus labor dichotomy is well known in the human trafficking literature and it is no different here. ATEST and its members, however, have approached the human trafficking problem as a holistic problem and strive to include all types of trafficking and all victims in their literature. As will be discussed in later chapters, labor trafficking and its variations are well-represented in the data. Interestingly, the causes of human trafficking are not discussed as prevalently in the document data.

Most NGOs tend to have certain groups of people on which they focus, or even certain areas of the world. A large number of codes could be grouped under “Geographic and Demographic Specifics”. These codes referenced the specific target group, whether they are men, women, or children or a specific geographic target of concern, like international or domestic. These codes were further separated into whether they were specifically discussing human trafficking or other problems. The prevalent codes in this area illustrated an international focus on women and children. In fact, the trafficking of men and boys received very little attention in the document data. Focus on men and boys for other problems was also non-existent. Futures Without Violence does have a large number of programs that include training men and
boys about domestic violence prevention, but nothing specifically about men or boys as victims of said violence.

Given the nature of the documents, another prevalent grouping was NGO activities, including fundraising, advocacy, outreach, and services. “NGO Specifics” includes these activities along with codes that looked for NGO identity and the tone in which these NGOs communicated their concerns. For an advocacy group like ATEST, determining the tone of the documents was a useful exercise to determine if the group was antagonistic or supportive of government efforts on the problem of human trafficking. The three time periods illustrate a fascinating evolution of this idea. The time period during the TVPA lapse, for example, showed a large number of documents that criticized inadequate government efforts as ATEST attempted to push for the passage of the law. This critical stance was not a normal one for the ATEST group, as the organizations are mostly seen as bipartisan and supportive of the attention human trafficking receives from lawmakers.

The members of ATEST are a diverse group and, as such, their interests often lie outside the realm of human trafficking. A group of codes can be gathered under the heading “Corresponding Issues”. These topics included poverty, violence, child abuse, homelessness, human rights, and health. While these concerns can also be associated with human trafficking, these codes did not reference human trafficking and stood alone on their own merits. They were separated from the codes pertaining just to human trafficking to clarify how much attention human trafficking was receiving from these groups.

Finally, the ATEST coalition is an advocacy group. Their goal is to influence policy at the federal level. A final class of codes can be labeled “Policy & Law.” Outside of the TVPA, ATEST sponsors and advocates for other federal bills and executive actions surrounding human
trafficking. They also are supportive of U.S. state laws on human trafficking. This group of codes also includes a breakdown of how many documents reference the ideas behind the 3P paradigm as outlined by the State Department. This analysis shows an overwhelming attention to the idea of protection (i.e. victims’ services), followed by prevention. There is less attention on the idea of prosecution of traffickers. This short summary of the themes will be further explored in each chapter and a full codebook is available upon request.

Coding a set of documents this large and with so many different groups presented many challenges. First, through extensive research into the subject of human trafficking, I knew that I would be searching for certain themes within the documents. Although grounded theory coding should be an open-ended process, many scholars acknowledge that one cannot forget all prior knowledge or ideas when coding (Dey 1999, Charmaz 2014). Types of trafficking, gender of victims, and geographic foci of NGOs on human trafficking would be coded right away. For example, the focus on either sex trafficking or labor trafficking, which is a major dichotomy of interest in the field, should be coded separately. However, with many of these NGOs, sex and labor trafficking were often mentioned in the same sentence or even both phrases grouped with “and other forms of human trafficking”. This extensive use of an overarching phrase to encompass all forms of trafficking led to a more detailed reading of each paragraph to see if in fact the NGO was actually discussing one type of the other.

Second, as these organizations are not all human trafficking focused, codes began to emerge that had nothing to do with human trafficking, but were pertinent. For example, Futures Without Violence and World Vision have very few mentions of human trafficking within their documents. However, their focus on violence, both international and domestic, is an important corresponding issue to human trafficking. The focus of these NGOs on concerns outside of
human trafficking led to two sets of codes. One set was very human trafficking specific, meaning that if an organization was linking poverty to the rise in human trafficking directly, it would be coded as a human trafficking cause. If an organization was just talking about poverty in a general sense, not linking specifically to human trafficking, it would be coded as a corresponding issue. This separation of codes can lead to in depth analysis of what percentage of paragraphs are actually referencing human trafficking and how important it is to that specific organization.

Finally, the use of major categories with subcategories was essential as the coding process began to get very cumbersome. Documents are often used to describe what organizations are actually doing, outside of reporting their opinion on a certain legislative bill, executive action or news event. As coding commenced, many different kinds of activities were being described, including announcements of sponsored conferences, published documentaries, public awareness campaigns, fundraising efforts, and other organizational events. The code “NGO Activity” became a master code that encompassed many different kinds of physical actions that the organizations were doing or describing within their documents. Another major category was “Policy and Law.” The TVPA was not the only legislation that interested ATEST or its member organizations, nor was the federal legislature and executive branches the only targets. NGOs in this study focused attention on many different policies, both at the federal and state level. These codes were grouped under a master code of “Policy and Law” to show what these documents were discussing. Rolling many of these sub-codes into major categories helps with the analysis of what these organizations were spending their time on, without getting lost in the minutiae of the daily activities.
IV. Data- Interview Analysis

Interviews with key personnel in both the member NGOs and ATEST were conducted. Interviewing is a robust qualitative tool that enables the researcher to get to a level of detail that is difficult to reach through content analysis alone. Sometimes, the easiest way to ascertain what a group’s goals and strategies are is to ask them directly. Content analysis provides a very high level look at possible strategies behind NGO work. However, interviews provide the personal experiences and stories behind the publications. A researcher may code a document in one way, but find out later from information gathered from the interviews that the perception of the researcher was incorrect. On the other hand, the framing that was meant to be conveyed through the documents may have been poorly constructed. Asking both directly and indirectly about the intent of the message from those that wrote the documents and/or who used them in their advocacy work is very important to the integrity of the research. Documents produced and published have gone through an editing process prior to publication that may limit the information made available to others. Information gathered from the participants in their own words can aid in deciphering the nuances of the documents. This process of confirming findings through multiple methods is known as triangulation (Campbell and Fiske 1959, Denzin 1978). Triangulating the discourse analysis of the documents and the data from the interviews will provide a complete picture of the framing strategies NGOs are using in the AHT movement.

Names of intended interview targets were acquired through the contact information available on the organization’s websites. Starting with the personnel responsible for communications and media relations gave me an opportunity to examine the public face of the organization. Those responsible for public relations have a certain script that they follow in describing the work of the NGO. Once that basic information about the NGO was gathered, I requested interviews with those responsible for strategic planning and government relations.
These are the people directly responsible for marketing the organization and working with those in public policy. Their insights into how and why messages were created and what obstacles were anticipated in the terms of pushback from policymakers are invaluable additions to the research. In addition, during the interviews, I asked my interviewees for the names and contact information of others, both current and former employees, who might hold relevant information. I requested interviews with those that have been with the NGO the longest to ask them about the history of the organization, even if they were outside the government relations/policy area. In several cases, I was able to connect with prior employees of the NGOs to provide insight from the study time frame. In total, twelve current and two former NGO employees within the ATEST coalition were interviewed. The interviewees served as media strategists, government policy experts, and program directors in either human trafficking or human rights for their organizations. Confidentiality was offered to all interviewees; their names and actual job titles will not be divulged. A list of interviews by date is available in Appendix C.

This study uses semi-structured interviews. The interview questions and overall structure were created by the researcher prior to the interview and approved by the Kent State Institutional Review Board in May 2015. The interview protocol is available in Appendix B. Both participants can be reflexive in both answering and asking the questions in this type of interview. The interview becomes an interactive learning experience. Some researchers feel that semi-structured interviews are also on more stable ethical ground because the researcher’s biases and opinions are not forced onto the interviewee (Mason 2004). All interviews were done via phone or Skype to accommodate both the interviewer and interviewee’s schedules and geographical location. These interviews took place between February 2016 and September 2016.
Interview questions cover a range of topics. First, there are questions about general information regarding the history of the organization, the number of people involved, the interviewee’s role, and what type of events and information the group provides. Second, questions regarding the organization’s key partnerships and networks of support were addressed. The organization’s partners are critical to shining light on the values that the NGO holds in high regards. In addition, partnerships are used to supplement weaknesses within the organization itself. What tactical skills do these partners lend to the NGO in question? Finally, the interviews include questions regarding the focus of the group, which strategies are thought to be the most effective in increasing public awareness, and questions about the type of trafficking on which they concentrate their efforts.

Interviews were recorded as to allow me to maintain attention on the speaker and transcribed after the interview. The audio files were downloaded onto a laptop with a backup copied to an external hard drive. Once transcribed, the texts of the interviews were also saved in NVivo for analysis. While the inductive and deductive codes found from the document data were present throughout the transcripts, the interviews were analyzed as a single conversation as to not take any comments out of context; in other words, I did not isolate certain snippets of data to fit any preconceived coding scheme (Lehrner and Allen 2008). The interviews provided depth and background to the document analysis.

Many of the interview questions were objective in nature, like the type of trafficking the group focused on or how they shared their message. However, some of the interview questions did involve personal opinions on the inner workings of the coalition and how the movement responded to the TVPA lapse. As mentioned above, many of these respondents are still active in the AHT field, particularly those still in the coalition, confidentiality was offered to the
participants. To protect confidentiality, a pseudonym and generic job title is used for all interviewees. Any direct quotations attributed to a member of an NGO are retrieved from publicly available testimony or comments, including within press releases.

Although rich in detail and depth, the weakness of this type of study is that the results may not be generalizable. The focus on a particular set of NGOs in a particular field can limit the applicability of the findings to other types of NGOs in another social movement area. However, this study will provide an in-depth accounting of a social movement coalition and the framing strategies over time in the human trafficking area. In addition, the data gathered was limited by the availability of archival data. Many of the organizations did not have copies of press releases from the early years of the study due to data loss when transferring over to new websites or a lack of an employee to save the old data. Some organizations just did not produce official documents in that capacity at that time.

Other concerns may be raised by the data and interviews. Although anonymity was granted to the participants, given that ATEST is a funded coalition, many of the interviewees may not feel comfortable talking about the alliance in a negative way. This could limit the full picture of the effectiveness of the coalition if members are reluctant to speak about the challenges. In addition, the interviews were all conducted via Skype or over the phone. In person interviews have advantages and disadvantages stemming from the environment of the meeting or a lack of rapport between the interviewer and interviewee. Interviews not conducted in person can suffer from these limits as well. Outside of using a video call, personal eye contact and other body cues cannot be used in a phone interview. This may influence the ability to the interviewer to gauge boredom, disinterest, or, perhaps, veiled anger at a question.
Finally, this study was conducted by a single researcher. There were no other coders of the data, rendering tests for reproducibility of codes impossible (Krippendorf 2004). Reliability in coding for qualitative studies is a well-known topic of concern, particularly in studies conducted by a single researcher (Becker 1970, Deutscher 1970). The coding scheme developed for this study was created through the careful use of inductive and deductive reasoning. The use of a sample test of document data from 2011 aided in testing the validity of the codes used before further coding occurred. In addition, a robust codebook was designed to aid any interested parties in determining the validity of both the codes and method behind their use.

Despite the hurdles in conducting this type of in-depth qualitative research, the results are a robust study in the use of strategic messaging in the AHT field by a subset of organizations within the community. I feel that the unique position of the human trafficking question in the policy arena has determined the depth and breadth of strategic framing responses of the movement. In addition, the coalition provided an opportunity for organizational learning and diffusion of tactics. Framing of the human trafficking problem and the action repertoires learned and shared within the coalition will be analyzed beginning in the next chapter with an in depth look at the early years of the ATEST coalition, 2008-2010.
Chapter 3: Solidifying the Base, 2008-2010

The ATEST coalition was founded in 2007 by Humanity United with an explicit goal of advocating for federal human trafficking policy. Its original members were already active participants of the AHT community and their collaboration created a unique opportunity to influence policy further. The issue of human trafficking and its easy acceptance by both the public and the state as a pertinent concern provided a challenge to AHT groups. On the one hand, an overwhelming surge of support for a general view that trafficking and slavery were not acceptable created a positive environment in which organizations could be created and express their views. The AHT movement had experienced tremendous success at both the private and public levels of establishing human trafficking on the policy agenda. On the other hand, this attention was somewhat narrow in its focus on sex trafficking. Attention to labor trafficking and the many day-to-day problems facing human trafficking survivors, including legal services, rehabilitation, and economic aid, quickly made that support less reliable. In order to keep the focus on the broader frame of human trafficking, ATEST and its members adopted different messaging and tactics. Traditional social movement tactics of challenging the status quo in a confrontational way and creating uncomfortable situations for lawmakers were really not the path forward during this time period.

The chapter proceeds as follows. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA) is the cornerstone human trafficking law in the U.S. In order to appreciate the work of ATEST on the TVPA, a review of the history of the Act begins below, focusing on the years 2000-2008. A review of the major changes in membership of ATEST and its subsequent work on
policy from 2008-2010 follows. Then, an analysis of the major themes that emerged from the document dataset for 2008-2010 will be discussed. Messaging on trafficking during this time frame shows that ATEST and its members focused on a multi-layered strategy to approach both the public and the state. ATEST is the policy advocacy vehicle for coalition membership. ATEST and the small staff working in Washington, D.C. created policy and appropriations recommendations geared towards Congress and federal agencies, using its knowledge of the policy process to affect change and cultivate legislative support. The members of ATEST also advocated on Capitol Hill and supported the coalition’s work; however, coalition members ran traditional public awareness campaigns to create upward pressure from constituents and the public and provided direct services to survivors of human trafficking and modern day slavery.

The data illustrate that the AHT social movement harnessed organizational population diversity, set a clear organizational identity, and used coalition learning to advance its cause.

I. History of the TVPA

The original TVPA was passed in 2000 on the heels of the successful international passage of the Palermo Protocol. In the subsequent years, the Act was reauthorized in 2003, 2005, and 2008. With each passage of a reauthorization, a reassessment of the law itself can be accomplished and new policy areas can be addressed. Information and knowledge on human trafficking has grown in the seventeen years since the passage of the TVPA in 2000. With each passage of the TVPRAs (reauthorizations), important changes were made to the original act. The below descriptions of those changes for 2003, 2005, and 2008 are not comprehensive, but are indicative of the major points addressed.
TVPA of 2000

International collaboration to address human trafficking under the auspices of the United Nations (UN) culminated in the passage of protocols added under the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, including the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, also known as the Palermo Protocol. The U.S. was heavily involved in the drafting of the Protocol and brought those lessons home in the drafting of the U.S. law. The TVPA does not exclude U.S. citizens being recognized as victims of trafficking. However, the fact that the State Department was tasked with monitoring modern day slavery and the language within the law itself referencing international victims and transnational trafficking patterns shows that the original TVPA was directed at a global problem, not a domestic one. The oft cited mantra “policy creates politics” is clear in the history of anti-human trafficking policy (Lowi 1972). The original TVPA’s focus on international victims had both interpretive and resource effects on human trafficking policy as human trafficking first was known as a problem outside of the U.S. and resources were given to organizations that specialized in international trafficking (Pierson 1993). As will be discussed later in this chapter and subsequent chapters, the focus on either international or domestic human trafficking tends to split organizations into multiple camps, with each advocating for more focus on their geographic target.

The TVPA created what is now known as the 3P Framework: protection, prevention, and prosecution. Protection refers to the government’s attempt to protect all survivors of trafficking by increasing social services and access to those services, including a special category of visa (“T-Visa”) for those foreign nationals who would help in prosecution of traffickers. Recognition of the fact that victims are not complicit in their trafficking, despite actions they may have had to
take during their trafficking, including illegal ones, is a major component of the protection clause. However, not all victims were eligible for these special services. First, the T-visa was capped at 5,000 per year. In addition, the TVPA created two classes of victims: human trafficking and “severe human trafficking.” Severe human trafficking was defined as victims under 18 years of age or those who could prove that they had been forced to perform a commercial sex act or aid in obtaining a person for labor or services. Only victims of “severe human trafficking” are eligible for services. Determining who is a victim of severe forms of trafficking can sometimes take months or even years to accomplish. Services for victims of trafficking include housing, legal aid, counseling, job training, help in returning home (if so desired by the victim), and other physical forms of aid.

The prevention pillar illustrates the U.S.’s resolve to help other nations develop their own anti-human trafficking laws and programs. The TVPA required the production of an annual report, the Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report, assessing the efforts of other countries to combat trafficking and providing an opportunity to assist (or punish) those countries that did not meet certain minimum standards. Minimum standards included requirements that a country draft anti-human trafficking laws, provide programs for victims, and prosecute traffickers. The State Department Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP) is the main driver of human trafficking information for the U.S. The main goal is to aid and assist others in researching and raising awareness of the problems associated with human trafficking around the world. There are significant amounts of grant money available to those NGOs and government agencies that work with their counterparts overseas to develop these programs. However, there is a “stick” component as well. Included within the legislation is the ability to withdraw federal aid if a country is not meeting the standards of the U.S. government in the fight against human
trafficking.\textsuperscript{15} In fact, while this clause has never been used, it does suggest the seriousness of the problem to the U.S. government.

Finally, prosecution efforts include the creation of a new set of laws that specifically address human trafficking in all its forms. Prior to the passage of the TVPA, most cases of human trafficking, when they were found, would be tried under standing laws for kidnapping, involuntary servitude, or even prostitution and illegal immigration. The reliance on laws such as these created an environment in which many of the victims were held as responsible as the traffickers. Prostitution is not legal in most places; women and men charged with prostitution could be trafficking victims, but are unable or unwilling to testify against their trafficker. Labor trafficking victims might be too afraid of their undocumented status (or have been held past the legal dates of any visa entrance documents) and are unwilling to go to the authorities for fear that they will be deported. A piece of the TVPA that many found discouraging was the defining of force, fraud and coercion and the requirement that victims cooperate in investigations in order to receive benefits. A heavy burden of proof fell to the victims themselves (Rocha 2012). In addition, sex trafficking victims were seen as more deserving of aid or more worthy of rescue (Peters 2015). Forced labor or forced sexual servitude may be easy to prove if someone is kidnapped or sold by another against their will. However, in many instances, victims enter into what they think are legitimate job opportunities to only then be exploited and defrauded into forced labor. Coercion takes many forms in such situations. For example, the trafficker may threaten their families at home and the victim is faced with an impossible dilemma, forced to stay out of fear. Victims have not only suffered the injustices of being trafficked, but the injustice of not being seen as worthy of help and/or criminals themselves. The original TVPA, while not perfect, aimed to address some of the legal ramifications surrounding the definition and the

\textsuperscript{15} This did not include trade-related or humanitarian aid.
prosecution of trafficking crimes. Many of these concerns about the shortcomings of the law would be taken up by the AHT community in subsequent reauthorizations.

TVPRA of 2003

In 2003, the TVPRA (P.L. 108-193) addressed the growing bureaucracy and need for stronger data surrounding human trafficking and modern day slavery. The increasing number of federal agencies and departments being tasked with addressing human trafficking concerns led to the creation of the President’s Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking (PITF). The PITF is made up of agencies across the federal government; they meet annually to coordinate the anti-human trafficking response. A list of agencies and departments appears in Figure 3.1. The 2003 TVPRA included the creation of the Senior Policy Operating Group (SPOG) that represented the members of the PITF and meet quarterly. The SPOG has five standing committees that help inform its work: Research and Data, Grantmaking, Public Awareness and Outreach, Victims Services, and Procurement and Supply Chain.
The high number of federal agencies touched by the human trafficking problem helped guide the growth and expertise of ATEST and its members in future years. The ATEST coalition sought to become a unified voice in the fight against trafficking. The sheer number of agencies that touched upon the subject created silos where different NGOs would focus on different aspects of the problem. International NGOs focused on the DOS and the US Agency for International Development (USAID), while NGOs working on domestic policy focused on the Domestic Policy Council and the DOJ. As one interviewee put it, “We didn’t need ten different policy shops running around the Hill with 10 different meetings. We would be better as a movement if we coordinated our political strategy, energy, outreach and pooled resources to get some real actual lobbying muscle (Timothy, Interview, February 11, 2016).”

The 2003 reauthorization added new requirements including an annual report to be conducted by the Attorney General (DOJ) on anti-trafficking efforts. The report was to include

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**Table 3.1 Members of the President’s Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking (PITF)**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department of State</th>
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<td>Department of Defense</td>
<td>Domestic Policy Council</td>
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<td>National Security Staff</td>
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<td>Department of the Interior</td>
<td>Office of Management and Budget</td>
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<td>Department of Agriculture</td>
<td>Office of the Director of National Intelligence</td>
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<td>Department of Health and Human Services</td>
<td>U.S. Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>Department of Transportation</td>
<td>U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission</td>
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The 2003 reauthorization added new requirements including an annual report to be conducted by the Attorney General (DOJ) on anti-trafficking efforts. The report was to include
statistics on the number of people receiving benefits, being granted continued presence, and being convicted with a trafficking crime. In an effort to reach further into the underground world of sex tourism, increased resources to warn travelers about ties to human trafficking were allocated. The 2003 TVPRA included programs that increased funding for documentaries and other forms of media to expose the slavery conditions under which many sex workers (and even children) toiled under abroad. The 2003 reauthorization also included a new law that allowed victims to sue their traffickers in federal court.

TVPRA of 2005

Up until this time, the TVPA had mainly focused on the plight of foreign national victims of human trafficking, the global nature of the human trafficking supply chain, and organizing the bureaucracy surrounding human trafficking policy in the U.S. In 2005, however, there was an acknowledgement of the growth in the number of U.S. citizens being caught up in the system as well. Washington became the first state to pass its own standalone human trafficking law in 2003, followed by Texas in the same year (Polaris 2014). Polaris, a founding ATEST member, was very involved in not only rating states’ efforts on human trafficking policy, but providing support to legislators and activists within states to push the AHT agenda. Polaris created a Comprehensive Model State Law in 2004 to provide states with a legal template to address human trafficking at the state and local level (Polaris 2014). Further discussion of both ATEST’s and Polaris’ impact on state law will be discussed in the next section.

Consequently, the TVPRA of 2005 (P.L. 109-164) focused on domestic trafficking in the U.S. and victims who were U.S. citizens. The reauthorization created grant programs for the states to help them recognize human trafficking at the local level and provide services to victims. The text of the reauthorization also includes an acknowledgement that runaway and homeless
youth are a prime target for traffickers and tasks the government with improving data gathering and services to juvenile victims. While the reauthorization focused on all types of domestic trafficking, the language of the bill is heavily tilted towards commercial sex trafficking. This diffusion of the privileged status of sex trafficking versus other forms from international trafficking policy to domestic is telling. The successful framing by anti-prostitution groups in the original TVPA of sex trafficking being the most severe form of the crime was readily taken up by the Bush Administration and others in the Republican Party (O’Brien and Wilson 2014). Coupled with an extremely pro-law enforcement/security environment of the post 9/11 years, the focus on the criminal aspects of prostitution was an easy sell in Congress.

On the international side, those groups focused on labor trafficking saw some of their proposals included. The 2005 TVPRA expanded U.S. federal criminal jurisdiction to include trafficking activities committed abroad by U.S. federal employees or contractors. NGOs knew their work was cut out for them in approaching the labor trafficking concerns of the movement given the economic and political clout corporations hold in the U.S. The attempt to concentrate on federal contractors was a starting point to begin conversations about slavery in the supply chain. The U.S. had designated itself as a leader in the international fight against human trafficking through its issuance of the TIP report and the grant apparatus created by the TVPA. It would logically follow that a country that leads the fight against trafficking should not be turning a blind eye to trafficking by its own employees. The TVPRA 2005 also began to sow the seeds of future awareness campaigns by calling out important labor trafficking conditions. The Department of Labor (DOL) was required to produce a report and list of goods worldwide where suspected forced or child labor was used in their production. The work was to be done through the Bureau of International Labor Affairs in the DOL, which meant the report was not addressing
slavery in the U.S. production of goods. However, it was a good first step in formal reporting on forced and child labor in international supply chains by the U.S. government outside of the TIP report.

The 2005 TVPRA law also noted the correlation between the deployment of peacekeepers and military personnel and an increase in human trafficking claims. After the deployment of UN peacekeepers in both Kosovo (1999) and in Haiti (2004), NGOs reported spikes in trafficking activity (C. Smith 2012, H. Smith 2012). By focusing on new areas of concern, like U.S. domestic victims, labor trafficking in the production of goods overseas, and the increase of trafficking reports after the deployment of peacekeepers, the TVPRA 2005 began to address root causes of trafficking. These important connections to the favorable conditions in which trafficking flourishes and an attempt to educate the public and policy makers were first steps that were built on in the next reauthorization in 2008.

TVPRA of 2008

The TVPRA of 2008 (P.L. 110-457) was the most comprehensive expansion of the original law. TVPRA 2008 also was the first reauthorization that ATEST advocated for after the coalition’s creation in 2007. The law focused on increasing the authority of the State Department’s Trafficking in Persons office and implementing changes to make it easier to prosecute traffickers. It enhanced existing penalties for those conspiring to commit trafficking or benefitting financially in any way and expanded the definition of forced labor. Several important new provisions concerning minors were also enacted. Domestically, this entailed removing the force, fraud, or coercion clause when the victim was underage at the time of the trafficking. This acknowledgement that children cannot be coerced because they are legally not able to make those decisions on their own was an important piece of the protection puzzle (Kappelhoff 2008).
Internationally, two important areas were covered that had not been addressed specifically within the human trafficking framework: unaccompanied foreign children and child soldiers. The treatment of unaccompanied minors apprehended at the border was improved to require that all children be screened and their status as trafficking victims be determined within 48 hours and further processing with counseling be provided within 180 days. The Child Soldiers Prevention Act was passed with the 2008 TVPRA and requires the DOS to maintain a list of countries using minors in any military capacity. The Act requires the suspension of all U.S. military assistance for those countries that do not comply. However, there is also a provision made for Presidential waivers of this requirement.

Enhancing victims’ services was another strong pillar of the 2008 TVPRA. The new provisions included extensions of the programs of the DOL, the Department of Justice (DOJ), and the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). The TIP report also received some important changes including removing a provision that required coverage only if countries had reported 100 or more victims of trafficking; this change opened up the TIP to provide coverage for all countries. Another change in the TIP reporting involved updates to the definition of “minimum standards,” the benchmark by which countries are ranked in the tier system. The new definition included requiring sustained efforts to end demand for commercial sex, supporting indigenous populations (such as providing proof of citizenship to lessen their vulnerability to traffickers), and upholding sentencing for traffickers without reducing it unnecessarily. Failure to meet these new minimum standards would result in new penalties from the US, including an automatic downgrade when listed on the Watch List for two years.

The reauthorizations in 2003, 2005, and 2008 were largely bipartisan accomplishments with little controversy surrounding their passage. Democrats and Republicans alike were supportive of
the recognition of human trafficking as a pertinent policy problem (Stoltz 2005). The fight against human trafficking appeals across party lines because it intersects with so many different issues, including human rights, crime, immigration, children’s rights, and prostitution. This time period was also one of increased awareness and attention on human trafficking within the U.S. public and numerous organizations began to address it. Scholars have documented this rise in awareness via public opinion surveys (Bouche, Farrell, and Wittmer 2015), media content analysis (Austin and Farrell 2017; Denton 2010; Farrell and Fahy 2009; Gulati 2011), and even the rise of celebrity activism via content analysis of Congressional hearings (Haynes 2014).

However, this wide array of organizations also caused a bit of fracturing within the movement itself that mirrored the early definitional arguments. Increased attention by media outlets, including popular television shows and movies, tended to spread the narrative that all victims (usually female) are pure and innocent and needed to be rescued from predators (usually male); this narrative harms those victims that are not so easily categorized like male victims or those that entered into arrangements voluntarily only to be later victimized (Denton 2010; Austin and Farrell 2017). Others called attention to the fact that human trafficking is seen as a pertinent issue, but is not considered a result of larger societal problems like economic inequality (Chuang 2006). Human trafficking is understood as just another criminal enterprise that does not affect them personally (Bouche, Farrell, and Wittmer 2015). These attitudes and understandings have created many different types of organizations, with many different goals. Consistent with (inaccurate) U.S. attitudes that human trafficking is mostly about the sex trafficking of women and girls, some organizations focused on only sex trafficking and the abolition of prostitution. Others have focused on international victims only, while ignoring the U.S. domestic trafficking situation. Organizations also focus on different pieces of the AHT tool box, with some focused
on prevention, while others are mostly concerned with service provision and rehabilitation of victims. In order to guide policy in positive ways that would impact the human trafficking problem at a holistic level, ATEST sought to gather some of these many different types of organizations into a coalition to enhance policy advocacy on the federal level.

II. ATEST and the Policy Environment

The original members of ATEST include the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking- Los Angeles (CAST), Free the Slaves, International Justice Mission (IJM), Not For Sale, Polaris, Solidarity Center, and Vital Voices. Many of these groups were single-issue AHT organizations, focusing on raising awareness of human trafficking. Free the Slaves, Polaris, IJM, and Not For Sale are examples of these. While CAST was born out of the sweatshop scandals of the late 1990s, its main identity is as a service provider for victims rescued from trafficking situations. Vital Voices, an organization whose goal is to increase female leadership around the world, addresses trafficking as one of many topics impacting women. Finally, Solidarity Center, an affiliated group with the AFL-CIO, works with laborers around the world to address labor rights abuses and organize workers into unions.

Scholars have debated the efficacy of social movements for some time. One of the problems with analyzing the impact of social movements is isolating social movement action and proving causation, not just correlation. Some argue that social movements do influence the political landscape (Baumgartner and Mahoney 2005; Olzak and Ryo 2007; Olzak and Soule 2009; Soule, McAdam, McCarthy, and Su 1999); while others are not as convinced (Guigni 2007; McAdam and Su 2002; Skocpol 2003). However, ATEST realized many public and verified successes early on. Polaris had created the National Human Trafficking Resource Center (NHTRC) in 2007 as a national hotline for the reporting of suspected human trafficking cases and this project
continued to receive federal support (Polaris 2012). The reauthorization of the TVPA in 2008 saw 90% of ATEST’s recommendations put into the revised law (O’Connor 2012). Their advocacy work on Capitol Hill garnered financial successes as well. ATEST was able to achieve a 12% increase in federal funding for AHT programs for FY2010.

The U.S. government’s 2010 appropriations package demonstrates Congress’ increased attention to and commitment toward combating human trafficking and modern-day slavery in the United States and abroad,” said Humanity United President and CEO Randy Newcomb. “We applaud the bold, bipartisan leadership of Congress on this issue, President Obama’s courage in taking this critical step toward making human trafficking a top priority at the federal level, and the hard work of all ATEST members in helping to secure this historic increase in federal funding (ATEST, December 16, 2009).

Making this victory even more symbolic of the growing importance of the anti-human trafficking movement was the fact that it came on the heels of the 2008 recession and financial crisis. On one hand, the recession’s impact on the U.S. economy caused many “nonessential” federal programs to be put on the back burner while essential programs to help bolster the financial markets, save the U.S. auto industry, and stabilize the housing market were funded. On the other hand, the recession also caused global disruption on a grand scale that directly impacted the human trafficking problem.

As the mortgage bubble collapsed, families around the globe found themselves homeless or holding onto property that had significantly decreased in value. Many millions more lost their jobs or had their pay, hours, or benefits cut as companies scrambled to stay afloat. This perfect storm of conditions increased the probability of human trafficking: “a shrinking global demand for labor and a growing supply of workers willing to take ever greater risks for economic opportunities- seem a recipe for increased forced labor” (DOS TIP 2009). A lack of legitimate work left many around the world looking for jobs in illegal sectors or paying traffickers to get
scarce jobs (Shelley 2010). CAST reported a 200% increase for its shelter requests and served three times the number of trafficking clients just in the first three months of 2009 as opposed to the entire year of 2008 (CAST, May 29, 2009). The increased funding for trafficking programs acknowledged the increase in victims of trafficking, contrary to the tightening of purse strings in other areas of the federal government.

In 2010, the coalition had a major expansion when it welcomed the CIW, ECPAT, Safe Horizon, and World Vision. While the original coalition was more heavily focused on the general topic of human trafficking, the first expansion broadened their expertise and reach. Each of these new organizations has a broader mission in which human trafficking plays a key part. The CIW’s focus on farm workers’ rights in Florida includes attention to both labor abuses and slavery. However, their largest programs are those intended to weed out unfair wages paid by the produce companies used by large grocery chains and creating a Fair Food program that provides for an equitable standard of living for farm workers. ECPAT’s mission is to eradicate child sexual exploitation, including the practice of child sex tourism and child trafficking. Both the CIW and ECPAT offered in depth knowledge of a particular type of trafficking. Safe Horizon is based in New York City and is the largest direct service provider for victims of violence in the U.S. Human trafficking victims are, ultimately, victims of violence and Safe Horizon’s Anti-Trafficking Program attends to the specific needs of trafficking survivors. World Vision’s goal is to reduce poverty and injustice around the world, with a particular focus on children. Its child protection programs include addressing the scourge of child labor.

Not only did the 2010 additions increase the scope of expertise in ATEST’s membership, but also the experience level. Many of the original members of ATEST had been established in the late 1990s and early 2000s as human trafficking became more salient. Safe Horizon was
founded in 1978 and began its work helping victims of crime and abuse; its Anti-Trafficking Program was created in 2001. World Vision, founded in 1950, is active in over 100 countries around the world with over one billion dollars in revenue. A 2015 Forbes article ranked World Vision the eleventh largest charity in the U.S. Both the CIW and ECPAT were founded in the early 1990s. These long-standing NGOs brought decades of expertise fighting human rights abuses to ATEST. As the coalition has long advocated a holistic, human-rights based approach to the problem of human trafficking, these new members and their experience on a broader range of abuses fit nicely into that strategy.

One of the major policy victories in 2010 was the passage of the California Supply Chain Transparency Act. ATEST member, CAST, was a co-sponsor of the legislation; Kay Buck, the executive director of CAST also provided testimony in the California state house during hearings for the bill (CAST, July 1, 2010). ATEST advocated for the passage of the bill with direct appeals to the chair of the California Assembly Judiciary Committee (ATEST, June 23, 2010). The Act requires companies who do business in the state with over $100 million in annual global revenues to report on their company policies regarding eliminating trafficking and slavery in their supply chains. The companies need to disclose their procedures in a public manner, either through company websites or written disclosures. The Act is the only one of its kind in the U.S., although it is not without its flaws. A lack of clear penalties for violators of the law coupled with no requirement to ever update company policies has led to many to question the law’s effectiveness. Compliance with the law is also not at optimum levels, with only 53% of a sample of companies complying with the five outlined requirements of the law (Know the Chain 2015). However, the law is a first step in increasing both awareness of human trafficking in the supply chain and the responsibility of companies to respond to consumer requests for such information.

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The diffusion of tactics and ideas from activists in California are not just being taken up by national organizations in the U.S. Internationally, California SB 657 was used in a report and conference in 2011 on addressing forced labor in Brazil sponsored by the Brazilian Embassy, the ILO, the Business for Social Responsibility, and Global Fairness Institute. The concept of supply chain transparency made also its way into the 2015 United Kingdom Modern Slavery Act and is very much based on the California precedent. The size of the Californian economy and the number of international companies that do business there tend to focus international attention on policy creation within the state (Vogel 1997). The success of the AHT movement in addressing supply chain transparency in California has had ripple effects throughout the globe. The anti-slavery movement in the 19th century was international; transnational advocacy networks are also at work today in the AHT community (Keck and Sikkink 1998).

Despite ATEST members’ concentration on the international scene of human trafficking as evidenced by their mission statements and documents, many within the coalition also fought for a better recognition of domestic trafficking. ATEST and its members regularly commented on the TIP report and made recommendations to increase its effectiveness. An important recommendation was to include the U.S. in the report. Prior to 2010, the TIP report only addressed the human trafficking efforts of foreign countries. This was rectified in the 2010 TIP when then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton ordered the inclusion of a self-assessment on U.S. efforts. The U.S. could not be seen as a credible leader in the fight against human trafficking without assessing its own efforts while judging the efforts of others. While the U.S. has never been rated anything lower than a Tier 1 country, NGOs have pushed for more honest assessments over the years on the need for better service provision for survivors and actual use of the laws passed in the U.S.

Not only were NGOs pushing for a federal self-assessment, ATEST member Polaris began reporting on the issuance of state level laws against human trafficking. Two states passed their first anti-trafficking legislation in 2003, but others were slower to catch on. From 2004 to 2007, an additional 31 states passed an initial statute against human trafficking. During 2008-2010, 14 more states passed their first laws. Of course, many of these laws were introductory at best. Many only created misdemeanor offenses for traffickers, provided little public awareness or training for first responders, and did nothing in terms of offering victims rehabilitation services. Polaris began to grade states annually on the content and effectiveness of these laws, not just whether there was any law on the books. Using a 10-point scale, which included measures for the types of trafficking covered, whether or not training was made available for first responders, and whether or not victims could vacate their criminal convictions made while they were trafficked, Polaris created a tier structure similar to the DOS (Polaris 2014).

State policy diffusion has been examined by both social movement and public policy scholars. Berry and Berry (1990) argued that both internal state characteristics like socioeconomic indicators and external state characteristics like geographic proximity to other policy adopters play a role in how and when states will adopt similar policies. Soule and Earl (2001) found similar evidence when reviewing the enactment of hate crime laws across states. As more and more non-profits focused on human trafficking, they began to target their state legislatures to address the problem, either directly or by mobilizing sympathetic citizens; organizational density promoted the public presence of modern day slavery (Minkoff 1997).

The increased attention paid by state governments to human trafficking is evidenced by their response to the Polaris rankings and their improvements to AHT policy. For example, in Ohio, State Senator Teresa Fedor began her quest to place human trafficking legislation on the
radar in 2007; it was not until 2009 that a Trafficking in Persons Study Commission was created. Polaris Project representative Kathleen Davis attended that 2009 Commission and spoke to the attendees about the domestic human trafficking problem (Provance 2009). In 2010, Fedor acknowledged a specific Polaris report that outlined states with more work to do to address human trafficking; Ohio passed its first stand-alone law later that same year (Hershey 2010). After Massachusetts was listed in that same Polaris report, the state quickly passed legislation and within two years, the state had improved its rankings. Then Massachusetts Attorney General Martha Coakley stated in 2012, “We are proud to be recognized as the most improved state by Polaris Project (Trevelyan 2012).” Direct statements by policymakers referencing Polaris and its work, along with the continued adoption of AHT laws across the nation over time speaks to the impact of the movement.

The external policy environment of 2008-2010, despite the worldwide recession, was a relatively positive one in the AHT movement. Major appropriations battles were fought and won with the help of the ATEST coalition. The 2008 TVPRA is the most comprehensive reauthorization of the original bill on human trafficking and included some very specific policy enhancements, particularly regarding children. U.S. states also began to recognize the need for human trafficking policy at the state level. Social movement scholars have examined why some movements are able to take advantage of political opportunity while others do not. ATEST’s ability to harness the increasing public attention to human trafficking, albeit sometimes misguided and sensationalized, and direct it to more concrete, substantial policy is evidence of Tarrow’s (1996, 2011) hypothesis that social movement activists are rational actors that choose their battles wisely.
Social movement scholarship and organizational studies have long had similar, yet separate theories on collective action. Social movements have been seen as outsiders, using protest and contention to illuminate their struggles while formal organizations have worked within the system; but scholars have called for this artificial wall between the two disciplines to be further examined (McAdam and Scott 2005). The policy environment in 2008-2010 led to political opportunities that the ATEST coalition used to expand both their membership and their expertise on human trafficking. In the next section, data analysis of the coalition’s documents shows how ATEST and its members made strategic choices to garner support for its mission. These choices included both traditional social movement tactics and more insider tactics usually attributed to formal interest groups.

III. Organizational Diversity, Identity, and Learning

The data analysis of the documents for the 2008-2010 time frame bear out the hypothesis that a positive policy environment existed and ATEST made strategic choices that took it out of traditional social movement tactics. These tactics were aided by organizational learning and crafting a shared organizational identity. Data was somewhat more difficult to obtain given the time frame in this section. Many of the organizations’ press release archives online did not contain press releases from these years. Calls to the organizations were also unfruitful as many either did not have earlier press releases archived anywhere or the organizations were just not creating press releases at that time. Free the Slaves and ECPAT have no documents for this time period and are excluded from the document analysis. However, there is nonetheless a sizeable body of data for this period, including 118 documents. A count of the documents for this time period is presented in Table 3.2.
Table 3.2 2008-2010 ATEST Document Count

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member Name</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
<th>Joined ATEST</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ATEST</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW)</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (CAST)</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End Child Prostitution and Trafficking (ECPAT)</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free the Slaves</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not For Sale</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polaris</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe Horizon</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity Center</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vital Voices</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Vision</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>83</strong></td>
<td><strong>118</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data for new members includes from the first year of membership going forward.

The framing study will focus on four of the five thematic areas of codes as outlined in Chapter 2. They are: the geographic and demographic references pertaining to human trafficking and its victims; human trafficking types; the policy focus of the advocacy work of the group; and the specific types of NGO activities. The references pertaining to corresponding issues will not be included because they lie outside of the research question, namely, how did NGOs discuss human trafficking. In addition, due to the high publication of documents by World Vision (nearly half the total for all organizations in 2010), this analysis data is weighted according to the formula in Appendix C. Coding references were made at the paragraph level. Any given paragraph can have as many codes as warranted given the material; however, each paragraph is
only coded once for each individual code. The code occurrence count for this time period is outlined in Figure 3.1.

**Figure 3.1 2008-2010 Code Occurrence by Theme**

![Bar chart showing code occurrences by theme](image)

**Figure 3.1 Analysis based on weighted data. For weights formula, see Appendix D.**

ATEST and its member organizations were fairly consistent in the topics discussed for the years 2008-2010. The messages were clearly centered on the key questions of what (defining human trafficking), where (geographic focus), who (demographic focus), and how (NGO activity and policy and law). The theme for Human Trafficking was the largest. This theme includes messages that defined human trafficking, outlined its root causes, and referenced the different types of trafficking. This theme was closely followed by a focus on what areas of the world and on what types of victims these organizations were concentrating their messages on. The
Geographic/Demographic theme includes both human trafficking specific messaging and messaging that references other work by the organizations. The actual work of the organizations and how they describe themselves is discussed under the NGO Activity and Identity theme. Finally, as advocacy groups, the messaging on international, federal, and U.S. state policy and law is a focus as well. A detailed analysis of the four themes follows below.

Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is an problem that has been readily accepted as a pressing concern in the public eye; yet, the narrow focus on one specific type, sex trafficking, created a unique challenge for the AHT community. Without alienating prior supporters, AHT groups continued to diagnostically frame human trafficking in a more inclusive way (Snow and Benford 1988). ATEST and its member organizations spent a great deal of energy within the documents on defining human trafficking in a holistic way. As shown in Figure 3.2, the most prevalent message by far was the use of the terms “human trafficking and modern day slavery” in tandem. It dwarfed all other frames, none of which were used even half as frequently. Without specifically calling out either labor or sex trafficking, these groups can ensure continued support from those that understand the dominant frame, while drawing new supporters to a more inclusive definition.
ATEST was created with the goal of bringing together a broad set of leading U.S.-based actors to help end modern-day slavery and human trafficking at home and abroad. (ATEST, October 26, 2010).

Holly Burkhalter, IJM’s Vice President for Government Relations, stated, “It seems clear from the 5,000 postcards IJM delivered to Senator Richard Durbin from Willow Creek Community Church that men and women in Illinois care tremendously about modern-day slavery and trafficking. (International Justice Mission, January 7, 2009).

Although the framing of the human trafficking problem remained broad for ATEST’s organizations, members of the organizations acknowledged how difficult this task was.

Regularly reiterating the full definition of human trafficking to a public official eager to jump on
the sex trafficking theme was, and remains, a challenge.

…And it's really, really difficult for them to stick to their guns about "No, human trafficking is this whole thing. We refuse to just talk about women and girls and sex or domestic minor sex trafficking." Both of those things, though, are very sexy. You see how easy it is for politicians to jump on board with that. How they can, you know, they take it, it's a very simple narrative. (Allan, Interview August 15, 2016).

You know sex trafficking has gotten a lot more awareness. People, you know, if you ask them on the street, if they know what trafficking is for the most part, they'll say, “Yeah, you know, it's selling little girls and women for sexual exploitation.”…We want to make sure that issue gets a lot of visibility, but we always talk about both and we tend to talk more about labor because that’s what people don’t know about. (Geri, Interview, March 21, 2016).

This pressure to make sure all forms of trafficking are being addressed is evident in the codes for human trafficking presented in Table 3.3 above. As sex trafficking was already perceived as receiving the most attention in the public eye by many of these organizations, they regularly introduced other forms of trafficking into the policy discussion arena. In fact, ethical sourcing, labor trafficking, and labor rights were discussed far more often than sex trafficking within the documents. CAST and the CIW, in particular, with their histories of combatting sweatshop labor and protecting farm workers’ rights respectively, helped these topics rise to the top.

In addition, despite a large number of published documents for the time frame (41), World Vision did not have any significant references to human trafficking. The only reference to human trafficking came with its coverage of the Haitian earthquake in 2010. World Vision called out the danger to children in the post-earthquake period, particularly those that were already suffering under the restavek system. World Vision’s mission is centered on child protection and the eradication of poverty. Its interest in human trafficking is only as it serves its greater mission to address these problems, which explains the paucity of attention.

Interestingly, the causes of human trafficking received little direct mention by ATEST’s members during this time frame. The messaging during this time relied on broadly defining
trafficking and not on the root causes. Strategically, this move supports the idea that ATEST and its members were still involved in diagnostic framing during 2008-2010. Defining what human trafficking was at this stage was more important than explaining causes in great detail. The public at large was not familiar with labor trafficking, so confusing the issue with very difficult, layered causal mechanisms could have hurt support. Although labor trafficking codes were more prevalent than sex trafficking during this time, the messages were focused on showing people what labor trafficking looks like and asking people to think about from where their products come.

Geographic/Demographic

Human trafficking touches every country around the globe and the ATEST coalition was very vocal about its mission to eradicate the problem worldwide. The boilerplate language for Polaris, for example, states “Polaris Project is the leading organization in the United States combating all forms of human trafficking and serving both U.S. citizens and foreign national victims, including men, women, and children.” The ATEST boilerplate is similar with its emphasis on “acting in unity to end modern-day slavery and human trafficking, both at home and abroad.” IJM emphasizes its holistic approach by describing itself as “a human rights agency that brings rescue to victims of slavery, sexual exploitation and other forms of violent oppression.” Not For Sale states it is a campaign that “equips and mobilizes Smart Activists to deploy innovative solutions to re-abolish slavery — in their own backyards and across the globe.” However, within the documents themselves, the data skews heavily in favor of references to international human trafficking, not U.S. domestic trafficking. The geographic and demographic breakdown of the codes for this time period is presented in Figure 3.3 below.
Figure 3.3 Code Occurrence-Geographic/Demographic Theme 2008-2010

![Bar graph showing code occurrence by theme]

Figure 3.3 Analysis based on weighted data. For weights formula, see Appendix D.

The number of references to international trafficking is more than double the references to domestic trafficking. The majority of the references to domestic trafficking in this time frame come from Polaris, due to its work with the NHTRC hotline. CAST follows, mostly in regards to the 2008 recession’s economic impact on Americans and the increase in trafficking around Los Angeles. The dominance of the international frame would be even higher if the number of documents from other organizations had been available. A number of organizations, including Free the Slaves, Safe Horizon, Solidarity Center, and Vital Voices had very few documents for this time frame; however, all these groups have strong international programs regarding human trafficking and labor abuses.
In the early days of the AHT movement, human trafficking was seen as a problem “over there.” The fact that the main U.S. agency responsible for human trafficking policy is the State Department speaks to this idea. Practically speaking, the U.S. is a destination state in terms of human trafficking flows. Many in the U.S. are slow to see the supply and demand mechanism at work. The U.S. is a destination state because the demand is here. Desire for cheap labor, demand for sex services, and a history of treating undocumented migrants as criminals rather than victims themselves has created a situation where the demand side is not addressed (Free the Slaves 2004). Although many cases of trafficking do involve undocumented migrants, there is also widespread abuse of legal visa programs within the U.S. by American companies (Bowe 2007; GAO 2010). Scholars have pointed out the tendency for white activists to portray human trafficking as a problem that can only be solved by Westerners; the “rescue” of those that “cannot speak for themselves” not only reduces the agency of the people being trafficked but ignores the real pull factors that emanate from rich, Western countries themselves (Kempadoo 2015).

The organizations of ATEST in the 2008-2010 time period were mainly national organizations with specific programs or missions related to international human rights. Free the Slaves, IJM, and World Vision have programs all around the world. This attention to international victims and source countries is understandable. However, the number of references to domestic trafficking does increase throughout the time period. Polaris’ work on the national human trafficking hotline, its ratings of U.S. state law on trafficking, and the membership of the CIW all increased the focus on U.S. domestic trafficking.

As already demonstrated, ATEST and its members embrace a holistic definition of human trafficking including references to the different groups of victims. However, the
document data also show that references to men and boys are comparably very low. In fact, during the 2008-2010 time period, only one organization specifically called out attention to male victims. IJM, in a June 16, 2008 press release, highlights the need for protections for men in the sex industry in Cambodia. This focus on women and children is well documented throughout the literature. International organizations, like the UN, have reported that female victims are the predominant type of human trafficking victims (UNODC 2009). So, it would make sense for organizations and policymakers to direct policy towards female victims. However, the ILO reports that the split is not as large as the attention warrants with slightly over 54% of victims being female and 46% being male (ILO 2014).

Many scholars attribute this focus to the early definitional battles waged by feminist and religious groups tying prostitution to human trafficking, with a particular focus on women and children (Chuang 1998, Peters 2015, Weitzer 2007). A recent content analysis of media reports still show a bias when referencing female trafficking victims versus men (Sanford, Martinez, and Weitzer 2016). The fact that ATEST and its members speak of women and children more than men in public documents can be attributed to a strategy that seeks to solidify the threat faced by these groups and reassure both the public and policymakers that the coalition sees these victims. In addition, ATEST members were savvy enough to know the funding follows the public narrative.

The money for messaging to victims, especially the money recently, has been all around women and girls and sex and domestic trafficking. But I believe that it is our job as advocates and as NGOs, no matter how desperate we are for funding, and all of those kind of things, I believe it is our responsibility to stay true to that bigger narrative. (Allan, Interview, August 15, 2016).
In order to advocate for victims, choosing the battle that leads to funding might be the better choice. Yet, the activists involved with ATEST are very concerned about the importance of including men and boys.

Another area of our work is that people often restrict the narrative to girls without recognizing that boys can also be trafficked. Boys are also victims of trafficking and can be commercially sexually exploited and deserve our attention and awareness as well. (Frances, Interview, August, 9, 2016.)

I feel I should mention that bothers me a lot is the lack of any kind of focus or concern for boys. So, that’s another area that, you know, I’ve heard from human trafficking survivors that a lot of times it’s the most secret and shameful exploitation, boys, especially boys who have been sex trafficked. (Carmen, Interview, August 29, 2016).

The early versions of the TVPA actually privileged sex trafficking victims as victims of “severe” trafficking and created a special class of resources available to those groups (Peters 2015). However, behind the scenes, an important change to the 2008 TVPRA was put in place to recognize labor trafficking victims as victims of “severe trafficking” as well, opening the doors to a more comprehensive victim profile. As labor trafficking victims tend to be men, especially in construction, agriculture, and commercial fishing, a heightened focus on labor trafficking should help balance out the attention to all genders.
NGO Activity and Identity

An important feature of any social movement organization is the work it does on the ground to support their mission. ATEST and its members are no exception. These organizations participated in a number of different activities; the bulk of their documents were dedicated to explaining and promoting the work they do. Nearly every organization devoted documents to the outreach and services they provide to the public. These include direct victims’ services, projects, special reports, investigations, and training. While coding the documents, this category became extremely large and was broken down into further subcategories, including public awareness campaigns, direct advocacy to government officials, conferences, fundraising, humanitarian relief projects and protest activities.

Protest was by far the least used of the activities, speaking to the fact that these organizations were utilizing less confrontational tactics to support their message. Protest, in the face of continued public policy attention, could be seen as distracting from the progress made on the human trafficking problem. Increasing public awareness of human trafficking, continued reauthorizations of the TVPA, and the proliferation of state laws attest to the fact that the message has been getting through. However, this does not mean that protest and other forms of confrontational tactics are not used by anti-slavery advocates. The CIW has had profound success in protests, marches, and pickets of food corporations to highlight their Fair Food program, while, as discussed later in Chapter 5, the National Domestic Workers’ Alliance (NDWA) also implements protest as a form of NGO activity.
The two main tactics these groups used outside of service provision for human trafficking victims were public awareness campaigns and direct advocacy. ATEST’s work on the 2008 reauthorization of the TVPA and the 2010 federal spending bill were crowning achievements during this time. CAST was particularly active in both arenas. Its advocacy work for the 2010 California Supply Chain Transparency Act was a key project for the organization. As a co-sponsor of the bill itself, CAST executive director Kay Buck provided testimony to the California Assembly before its passage (CAST, July 1, 2010). CAST also led a petition drive to request that the DOL publish its list of slave-made goods as mandated by the TVPRA 2005 (CAST, July 30, 2009). Public awareness campaigns for AHT organizations are often launched in January, which is National Slavery and Human Trafficking Prevention Month. ATEST and its
members have purchased ad space in major newspapers, rented billboards in Times Square, and created public Q&A sessions during this month to spur interest in human trafficking.

The creation of mobile apps and web-based activism to help inform consumers of possible slave-made products are other tools that these organizations have developed to increase public awareness and initiate action. Not For Sale was a sponsor of the Free2Work.org online and mobile application, geared to providing the public with a list of ratings for top retail companies on the strength of their anti-slavery efforts (Not For Sale, November 8, 2010). IJM also created an app to inform its followers of its anti-slavery work and possible opportunities to engage at a grassroots level (IJM, October 25, 2010). The use of online tools by social movements to spur activism has been a topic of interest for some time (Earl 2010; Polletta, Chen, Gardner, and Motes 2013). The mix of traditional social movement tactics like grassroots mobilization via the Internet and structured, organization-driven ad campaigns illustrate the impact of organizational population diversity on the public awareness efforts of ATEST.

One of the key components of a social movement is a shared, collective identity (Diani 1992; Della Porta and Diani 2006). ATEST has carefully constructed a shared identity as a bipartisan, non-ideological group focused on the eradication of all forms of human trafficking and modern day slavery. As one member representative put it:

We definitely take the position of being bipartisan. We don't support bills that are just sex or just labor trafficking. We want to see both sex and labor trafficking, we want to see national and international included (Mary, Interview June 13, 2016).

Social movement coalitions are often formed because people with similar social networks and agendas are able to connect groups to the bigger cause. These people or organizations are known as coalition brokers or bridge builders (Van Dyke and McCammon 2010) in the social movement scholarship or policy entrepreneurs in the public policy literature (Kingdon 1984). Often times, a
coalition broker is needed to help organizations move past perceived differences in mission and tactics (Grossman 2001; Obach 2004; Rose 2000). ATEST serves as the bridge builder between several different types of human rights organizations on the issue of human trafficking. Although the founding NGOs were more focused on international human trafficking, ATEST has broadened the group to include organizations focused on domestic trafficking as well, in addition to bringing together groups concerned with labor and sex trafficking. Careful attention to cultivating a holistic and professional reputation has served ATEST well in its advocacy work.

ATEST now is thought of as really a thought leader in the anti-human trafficking field. I think part of the reason it has been able to build and sustain that is the seriousness, thoughtfulness, and careful attention that it pays to every press release that goes out, every statement that’s made, every sponsorship or endorsement of a bill. It’s very thoroughly vetted and people take this work really seriously (Keith, Interview, August 25, 2016).

However, this shared identity of the coalition has not hampered its individual members from expressing their own brands and missions. The way in which these organizations self-identify is a key contribution to the coalition. The top two organizational identities in this time period were Service and Religion. CAST, Safe Horizon, Polaris, and Not For Sale are all long-standing service-oriented organizations. Their missions are to aid trafficking survivors through providing housing, legal services, hotlines to report trafficking, and rehabilitation through job training and counseling. Kay Buck stated, “Now more than ever, CAST must build our coalition of partners and stakeholders as we advocate for more resources for a growing community of trafficking survivors, and create a greater awareness of the existence of trafficking in our communities...Believe in the vision of a slavery free world (CAST, April 21, 2009)." Protection of survivors is paramount to these organizations and their work speaks to this focus.
World Vision and IJM are both Christian-based humanitarian organizations and references to their identity are robust throughout their publications. IJM “educates and mobilizes churches and the Christian community in the United States to respond to violent oppression of the poor around the world (IJM, January 7, 2009).” A group of Christian musicians created a CD in 2010, with a portion of the proceeds going directly to IJM’s work in human trafficking (IJM, October 22, 2010). World Vision’s Gift Catalog, which is published every year at Christmas, is another example of its Christian-based advocacy for the global poor, including those affected by human trafficking (World Vision, December 14, 2009). The different approaches that these organizations take to their human rights missions all inform, but do not overwhelm, the bipartisan, non-ideological message of ATEST itself. ATEST plays a pivotal role in creating collaboration, but also managing any conflicts among members to keep the coalition intact. As Timothy stated,

ATEST gave a kind of an access for those representatives to come, meet, coalesce, and it also bridged a divide that was evident between the faith-based organizations like International Justice Mission and the secular organizations like Free the Slaves or Polaris. Also some of the regional organizations like CAST in Los Angeles and the Immokalee Workers in Florida, ATEST helped bring those voices together when they might not have been a natural fit. Realizing that this is all one, that this is the way to build a movement. (Interview, February 11, 2016).
Policy and Law

The ATEST coalition is “dedicated to developing a specific and time-bound policy agenda for abolishing slavery and human trafficking (ATEST, June 23, 2010).” The Policy and Law theme outlines the attention that the coalition and its members paid to specific policy actions regarding human trafficking, either at the federal or state level. In addition, given the importance of the 3P framework used by the DOS to discuss AHT action, language in the documents were coded to which of the 3Ps were being addressed: protection, prosecution, or prevention. The top five codes are shown below in Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5 Code Occurrence-Policy and Law Theme 2008-2010

Figure 3.5 Analysis based on weighted data. For weights formula, see Appendix D.
The predominance of the human rights framing of the coalition is evident in the code occurrence for protection. These organizations are very survivor-centered and many provide direct services. “CAST focuses on spreading awareness about human trafficking and slavery and providing services to guide survivors toward stabilization, independence, and self-sufficiency (CAST, April 21, 2009).” IJM’s work in India was highlighted after the rescue of three young girls in Kolkata in 2009 from a sex trafficking ring; the IJM local office helped place the girls in aftercare facilities where they received access to schooling and psychological support (IJM, May, 3, 2010). A May, 27, 2009 press release from Polaris contains similar language and focus: “Fighting human trafficking is all about protection for the victims and accountability for those enslaveing them,” said Ambassador Mark Lagon, executive director of Polaris Project. The second pillar of the 3Ps, prosecution, is also represented. The bulk of the code occurrences for this theme comes from IJM as they provide legal advice and actually assist in prosecution of traffickers through their international offices. IJM’s boilerplate self-description from a 2008 press release illustrates this focus: “A multi-national team of law enforcement professionals and legal staff conduct criminal investigations and collect evidence, partnering with local authorities to ensure victim rescue and perpetrators prosecution.”

The main driver behind ATEST’s advocacy is not just the policy, but the critical component that makes the policy possible: federal funding. The dedication to addressing federal funding is illustrated by the nearly two to one ratio of code occurrence for that topic versus the TVPA itself. The TVPA provides the framework for U.S. policy on human trafficking. However, the appropriations piece is the key component to providing vital services to survivors, train first responders, and strengthen human trafficking awareness programs at home and overseas. As one member of a labor trafficking NGO described the TVPA, “It’s not the beef, you know, it’s like..."
the plate, but it’s not the meal (Sam, Interview May 9, 2016).” The prominent role given to federal funding in the work of the coalition is further evidenced by the fact that ATEST provides a thorough Appropriations Briefing Book for each fiscal year to recommend levels of federal spending for each agency on the topic of human trafficking awareness and prevention.

Interestingly, the 2008-2010 time frame included a high focus on U.S. state policy rather than federal policy. This shift is most likely due to the routine reauthorization of the TVPA in 2008 at the beginning of the time period, along with a relative lull in new trafficking bills being introduced at the federal level. CAST was most vocal during this time in the run up to the passage of the California Supply Chain Transparency Act, which ATEST also supported. In addition, attention from Polaris on the development of trafficking laws at the U.S. state level added to the overall prevalence of sub-national laws during this time frame of the study. The state of Ohio, a known hub of human trafficking in the nation, signed its first anti-human trafficking law in 2010 (Polaris, December 29, 2010).

**IV. Conclusion**

The first two years of this study encompass a time of solidifying and building a base of similar, yet distinctive organizations in a coalition to fight human trafficking. Social movement coalitions can be event driven or designed to last through careful organization and nurturing of each individual member’s input into the greater whole. Most social movements address problems that are outside of the public policy arena; social movements champion the outsiders or seek to change the social norms that perpetuate inequality. Human trafficking is unique in that its main premise is readily accepted by both policymakers and the public; human trafficking and slavery are undesirable problems that need to be addressed. However, the devil is in the details. Social movement organizations must continue to press for more nuanced and detailed definitions and
solutions to the broader definition of human trafficking. ATEST and its members approached this problem by recognizing the dominant narrative of sex trafficking of women and children, while also laying the foundation for deeper investigation into all other forms of trafficking and all victims.

The creation of ATEST itself recognizes the fractured way the AHT movement began. Many groups approached modern day slavery from different angles, whether they were focused on abolition of prostitution, fair trade, supply chain transparency, or busting criminal networks. The organizational population diversity of ATEST seeks to ameliorate the roadblocks that can rise up when different groups have conflicting or competing priorities surrounding the same problem.

ATEST has clarified its mission to respond simply to U.S. policy debates. So in that, I think you will find, most people reflecting on that in particular, that's a benefit. So, unlike other national or even regional networks, ATEST does not have an ideology by which all organizations must abide in order to join or to stay active. I actually think that in a movement that began as divisive as it did, and that's an entirely different conversation, bringing diverse groups together to attempt to find middle ground in order to help guide public policy action was a real blessing and a very difficult journey (Kim, Interview March 4, 2016).

The framing analysis of the early years of the coalition illustrates a strategy to embrace the member organizations’ individual missions and identities, while remaining true to the coalition’s work as a non-partisan advocate for broad based human trafficking policy. The external political environment was amenable to coalition formation. As Meyer and Corrigall-Brown (2005) found in their study of the 2002-2003 anti-war coalition, Bush’s march to invade Iraq brought together many different organizations who opposed war. For the AHT community, human trafficking policy was on the rise, yet organizations wanted to ensure that their message
was not getting lost in the shuffle. The ability of ATEST, funded by Humanity United, to provide support and a platform to a broad coalition of organizations was key to its creation and survival.

The ATEST coalition used a variety of tactics to mobilize and advocate for human trafficking policy during 2008-2010, illustrating organizational learning via diffusion (Givan, Roberts, and Soule 2010). ATEST and its members, while not ignoring the topic of sex trafficking, were able to direct attention to labor trafficking and labor rights abuses through its advocacy of the California Supply Chain Transparency Act. The founders of Polaris were motivated to end human trafficking emanating from illegal brothels hiding behind massage parlors; the group quickly broadened its platform to include all forms of trafficking and a drive to harness technology to aid in the fight through its national hotline. The coalition also bridged the divide between policy experts and service providers.

We joined ATEST because we could bring what was important to service providers to groups that mainly just do policy and advocacy or work internationally, not domestically. They could lend their power and support to solve our issues, in the same way that I would lend my power and support to their issues. (Scott, Interview, March 31, 2016).

The international focus on human trafficking policy, while very important, was also beginning to be balanced with recognition that U.S. domestic trafficking needed to be addressed. The inclusion of an analysis of U.S. efforts against human trafficking in the 2010 TIP report was a success for the movement.

ATEST and its members were able to establish their credentials as experts on human trafficking policy during the 2008-2010 time frame. The coalition had many successes, including the 2008 reauthorization, increased funding at the federal level, and increased attention to state level policies on AHT laws. The coalition also welcomed four new members. A new reauthorization and possible expansion of the TVPA was in the works for 2011. However, as will
be discussed in the next chapter, the political environment changed in such a way that the coalition would be tested in its ability to continue their string of successes.
Chapter 4: Addressing Challenges 2011-2012

In 2011, after nearly a decade of easy, bipartisan reauthorizations of the TVPA (2003, 2005, 2008), the TVPRA of 2011 was not passed before the expiration date. The lack of reauthorization in 2011 was not a movement-ending blow to the AHT community. However, the process of reauthorization is important for many reasons. As discussed in Chapter 3, with each passage of a reauthorization, a reassessment of the law itself can be accomplished; new concerns can be addressed and clarifications made to pieces of the bill that might have caused unintended consequences. The reauthorization process also gives ATEST and those in the AHT community a chance to meet new members of Congress who may not be as familiar with their work and human trafficking policy.

The two years analyzed in this chapter, 2011 and 2012, were different in terms of the external political environment. From 2008-2010, the Democrats controlled both the executive and legislative branches. However, in the 2010 mid-term elections, the Republicans were able to gain control of the House of Representatives. Republicans were also able to increase their seats in the Senate to 47, short of an outright majority, but enough to hamper Democrats’ ability to push through legislation without them. The rise of a conservative movement known as the Tea Party is often credited with the success of the Republicans in 2010. Scholars have differed on whether the Tea Party was truly a grassroots movement or just a front for conservative Republican elites to push the party away from the progressive policies of the Obama administration. DiMaggio (2011) found that most of the funding for Tea Party candidates came from well-established political organizations like Freedom Works and discounted the local grassroots efforts as unorganized at best. Skocpol and Williamson (2012), however, found that
citizens that affiliated with the Tea Party on a local level were very influential to the success of the movement along with the right-wing media and Republican elites.

Regardless of its source, the rise of the Tea Party greatly impacted the political environment beginning with the mid-term elections of 2010. The political atmosphere became much more tense and confrontational on all fronts as Republicans in the House looked to stymie President Obama’s agenda, particularly the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (“ACA”), which many in the Tea Party movement saw as an alarming overreach of federal government power. Newly elected representatives affiliated with the Tea Party movement pushed the Republican Party further to the right, with an agenda to cut taxes, reduce spending, and eliminate government regulations on business (Bonica 2010, Gervais and Morris 2012, Skocpol and Williamson 2012).

With increased tension among the major political parties, continued fallout from the fiscal crisis of 2008, and a new Presidential election looming, many policies faced uncertain futures. Human trafficking policy, up to this point a bipartisan issue, was not immune to the new challenges in the political environment. The inability of Congress to pass the reauthorization was a new problem for the AHT community to address. The chapter proceeds as follows: to help explain the impact of the expired reauthorization, it is necessary to review the complicated process of federal appropriations and authorizations. Then, a deeper review of the policy environment of 2011-12 will occur, followed by an analysis of the major themes found from the document dataset for this time.

I. Politics as Usual?

Anderson’s (1997) policy process model contains five distinct phases of policy maturation. AHT groups had already succeeded in getting anti-trafficking policy on the agenda,
participated in its formulation, and oversaw its adoption by the federal government. The time period in this study relates to the implementation and evaluation stages. The TVPA’s periodic reauthorization allows for both implementation and assessment of that process. ATEST and its members advocate for increased appropriations and expanding the reach of the original anti-human trafficking framework to cover all forms of trafficking, all victims, and to try to address root causes of modern day slavery. The reauthorizations of the TVPA were bipartisan and noncontroversial through 2008. However, in 2011, the TVPA was not reauthorized by the expiration date and this caused a moment of recalibration for members of the AHT movement.

Although the lack of reauthorization of the TVPRA in 2011 was not ideal, many of the NGO representatives I spoke with did not remember or characterize the situation as a time of deep concern. In fact, many disagreed with the word “failed” pertaining to the reauthorization expiration and preferred the word “postponed.” As one NGO staffer put it,

“It was frustrating, yes, but ‘failure’ feels very different. There are reauthorizations in other fields that haven't been reauthorized in 20 years, so the fact that it took an extra year to me was not an indication of failure (Kim, Interview March 4, 2016).”

Another NGO representative remembers this time in a similar way,

“It’s not ideal, but it’s also not the end of the world. You can certainly get funding, it does make it harder and you can be subject to certain technical or procedural challenges without having authorized funding, like when you’re having votes, but it happens all the time (Carmen, Interview August 29, 2016).”

As Carmen indicated, receiving funding from federal government sources is much easier with an official (and current) authorization; however, federal funds can still be found without official reauthorizations. Sometimes funds are still available because they were authorized for multiple years at the time they were allocated. Other times, funding approvals are pushed through by members of Congress. Despite the written procedures of both the House of Representatives and the Senate, the true appropriation/authorization process proceeds very differently on the ground.
The federal budget process is designed to include a two-step process for discretionary spending (Heniff 2008). The rules in both the House of Representatives and the Senate require that an authorizing act be passed into law before any funds can be appropriated. An authorizing act, like the 2000 TVPA, is “a law that establishes a program or agency and the terms and conditions under which it operates (Heniff, Lynch, and Tollestrup 2012).” The law is proposed, debated, and, ultimately, reconciled by both chambers, giving it the full weight of democratic approval. Like the TVPA, many of these authorizations are multi-year authorizations that need to be renewed before the expiration of the act itself. All authorized laws are then provided funding during the annual appropriations process.

In practice, these rules are often waived because Congress has not been able to act upon a reauthorization. The reasons behind this failure to reauthorize can be attributed to Congress’ preference to provide oversight via the “fire alarm” concept, rather than the policing of all laws regularly (McCubbins and Schwartz 1984). In other words, Congress only needs to address topics when a crisis occurs, rather than review and revise laws on a regular basis. Alternatively, members of Congress may deliberately not debate a bill’s reauthorization in fear of opening up a partisan fight or make difficult changes to modernize policy. For example, the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) has not been reauthorized since 1981 and many feel its policies and procedures do not address the concerns of a modern democracy, including the explosion of electronic voting machines and the Internet (Vinik 2016).

Lack of reauthorization, however, does not necessarily mean that funding stops. Oftentimes, funds are still appropriated without the necessary authorizations in place. In fact, many scholars have traced the evolution of appropriations bills that shows that the bills are being

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18 House Rule XXI 2(a)(1): “An appropriation may not be reported in a general appropriation bill, and may not be in order as an amendment thereto, for an expenditure not previously authorized by law, except to continue appropriations for public works and objects that are already in progress.” See also Senate Rule XVI 1-8.
written to contain the necessary language to procure funding *without* a separate authorization, contrary to established rules (Champoux and Sullivan 2006, Schick 2000, Wildavsky 1997). The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) produces an annual report of all the expired or expiring laws in need of authorization (Table 4.1).

**Table 4.1 Unauthorized or expiring bills per year, 2008-2014**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Needed Reauthorizations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>250</td>
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<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the years of this study, unauthorized bills ranged from 42 to 270. Some of those bills have languished for years, but have still been receiving funding. The subject of unauthorized spending has become a hot topic for budget hawks and those interested in increased government oversight. In its 2016 report on the topic, the CBO estimated that $310 billion was appropriated for agencies and programs that were not authorized. This process was recognized in the AHT community as well as illustrated by comments during the interviews,

“There is a period of time between the reauthorizations and while we always feel like it’s important to reauthorize because the authorizations themselves expire, but even there, appropriators don’t need to have an authorization to appropriate. So, we didn’t see any of our appropriations suffer as a result of the failure to reauthorize the TVPA (Martin, Interview, April 4, 2016).”

“I think from the NGO perspective there was just the sort of assumption that it was going to be reauthorized at some point (Allan, Interview August 15, 2016).”
Many of the NGO representatives were very proud of the fact that the postponed reauthorization happened in a very short time frame. From the failed passage of the 2011 TVPRA in December of that year to the passage of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) (with the attached TVPRA) in February of 2013 was a little over a year. In comparison, it took over ten years to pass a true reauthorization for transportation funding for the Highway Trust Fund in 2015 (Berman 2015). Several other programs and even entire departments and commissions have been operating without reauthorization including the State Department (2003), The Federal Election Commission (1981) and the National Weather Service (1993) (Vinik 2016).

This well-known practice of funding without authorization no doubt assuaged some of the fears of the AHT community that funding was still being allocated although the official reauthorization had not been passed. However, a lack of official reauthorization can hinder the future appropriations process if a particular member of Congress decides to belabor the point. Prior to 2011, human trafficking had seemed immune to the political, partisan battles that swallowed other issues. The postponed reauthorization signaled, perhaps, a change in the status of human trafficking within the halls of Congress. The next section will explain this idea in more detail.

II. ATEST and the Policy Environment

Several external political events would shape the opportunity structure for the AHT movement in the 2011-2012 time period. First, the TVPRA 2008 was set to expire in September of 2011. This offered the movement a chance to expand the TVPRA and secure appropriations for AHT programs at the federal level. Second, a new Congress, with a new Republican majority in the House of Representatives, was in place. Initially, this change should not have impacted the
movement’s goals, as human trafficking had been a bipartisan issue for some time. However, the change in leadership combined with a federal debt ceiling showdown between the House and the Obama Administration proved significant. Third, the Presidential election campaign in 2012 changed the political landscape due to the culture war hot button topics of religious freedom and reproductive rights. Despite the challenges presented in the political environment, ATEST and the AHT movement were able to frame the human trafficking fight in ways that took advantage of even these seemingly negative developments. As Gamson and Meyer (1996) have argued, “opportunities open the way for political action, but movements also make opportunities.” ATEST was not only able to frame the AHT fight as a good investment in times of financial difficulty, it was able to invoke the idea that the U.S. was the key leader in this fight and could not abdicate its role due to the U.S.’s historical dedication to freedom and liberty. ATEST also took this battle to the public in ways it had not done previously.

The TVPRA reauthorization process in 2011 did not appear, at first glance, to be heading down any different a path as those before it. However, ATEST and its members did recognize the policy goals of the new Congressional leadership, including increased scrutiny of budget outlays, the desire to cut spending across the board, and a distrust of bureaucracy. Although ATEST’s main function is to advocate on Capitol Hill and directly produce policy, the awareness campaign in 2011 added several new approaches directed at the public. Targeting the public in a more direct way became a strategy to shore up any lagging support that the TVPRA might be encountering, particularly with those members concerned with cutting spending and reducing bureaucracy. ATEST drew attention to the upcoming reauthorization of the TVPRA through a multi-pronged awareness campaign targeting both lawmakers and the public.
Beginning in Human Trafficking Awareness Month in January, ATEST published multiple ads in Washington, D.C. newspapers, the Washington Post, Politico, and Roll Call, reminding members of Congress how important the continued support of the TVPRA was to the fight against human trafficking; these ads had the added benefit of being seen by interested members of the public (ATEST, January 10, 2011). The image and text of the ad itself will be analyzed later in section 3 of this chapter. In addition, ATEST and its members launched a public awareness campaign in Times Square to encourage citizens to contact their government leaders and ask them to renew the TVPRA; two short public service announcements (PSAs) were shown on the big screens in Times Square directing viewers to learn more about modern day slavery at slaverylives.org (which directed them back to ATEST’s website) and asking them to call their representatives to reauthorize the TVPRA (ATEST, February 10, 2011). Members of the coalition, including Free the Slaves, published blog posts about the PSAs to their supporters while inviting them to sign petitions to support the legislation (FTS, February 16, 2011). The purchasing of ad space in a highly traveled destination like Times Square was a new tactic for the group; in addition to people physically seeing the ads, many morning news programs often showed live shots of Times Square, potentially increasing the viewership of the PSAs into the millions (FTS, February 11, 2011). Combining the novelty of the large public ads with a direct link to both ATEST’s website and the coalition members’ petitions supporting the TVPRA enabled the coalition to reach more than just their normal supporters.

In addition to full page ads in prominent newspapers and video PSAs in Times Square, ATEST also combined its efforts with a major cable news organization. In June 2011, ATEST partnered with CNN to produce a public forum on human trafficking as a part of CNN International’s Freedom Project. CNN International’s Freedom Project was a campaign designed
to raise awareness of human trafficking around the world by producing documentaries and amplifying the stories of survivors and began in 2011. The public forum gave ATEST an outlet to educate the public about human trafficking and advocate for the passage of the TVPRA. In addition, the program was broadcast nationally around the time the U.S. State Department’s (DOS) Trafficking in Persons report was released (ATEST, June 20, 2011). The timing of the forum to the release of the report gave ATEST the ability to highlight how large the human trafficking problem is, as the TIP report provides an accounting of anti-human trafficking efforts for most countries around the world, including the U.S. as of 2010. The ATEST strategy to directly educate and engage the public through these innovative programs in order to increase support for the TVPRA was a new tactic for the organization at the time. This support would be critical in the budget battles of 2011 and 2012.

Financially, the U.S. economy was still reeling from the 2008 recession. The housing market crash destroyed millions of dollars in equity for most Americans. Unemployment remained high and those that were working were doing so for less due to an increase in demand for the few jobs that remained. State governments were also in a bind, the recession caused drastic cuts in state programs combined with an increase in unemployment claims causing many states to borrow money from the federal government (Grovum 2013). In addition, on the heels of the Tea Party victory in the 2010 mid-term elections, the 112th Congress was the most conservative leaning to date (Bonica 2010). The House Republican platform strongly opposed any budgetary increases and pushed for spending cuts across the board while refusing to entertain the notion of raising taxes (Skocpol and Williamson 2012, 171). The U.S. government was nearing its federal debt ceiling limit and threatening to default on its obligations; President Obama and Congress spent six months negotiating a deal to avoid U.S. default on its debt

19 http://www.cnn.com/specials/world/freedom-project
obligations (CNN 2011). The Budget Control Act of 2011, which increased the federal debt ceiling in exchange for nearly $1 trillion in spending cuts, was passed on July 27, 2011. Fiscal year 2012 saw an immediate $22 billion in cuts.\footnote{U.S. House of Representatives. \url{http://budget.house.gov/budgetcontrolact2011/}. Date last accessed 12/05/16.}

The increase in funding for trafficking programs in 2010 supported by the ATEST coalition was wiped out. The fiscal year 2012 saw a 25% budget decrease in AHT programs (Skinner 2011). Financial cuts to essential anti-trafficking programs were not the only obstacle facing ATEST and its members in this time period. Collective identity is the glue that holds social movement organizations together; their communications and their advocacy help frame that identity to propel their message and attract support (Coy and Woerhle 1996, della Porta and Diani 2006, Diani 2013). The central identity of the ATEST coalition had been one of creating bipartisan solutions to an important human rights issue. Slavery was too important to be caught up in petty partisan battles and ATEST, along with its members, carefully cultivated and defended this identity. Since 2000, the U.S., with help from the AHT community, had crafted legislation to define human trafficking, created processes to address the problem, and worked with the international community to understand the scope of the problem globally. The ATEST coalition worked closely with members of both political parties. However, during this time frame, questions were being raised not only about the importance of human trafficking in terms of scope and scale, but in what ways it should be addressed financially and what victims should benefit from that attention. These questions were also coming from increasingly partisan concerns.

The Tea Party influence on the more budget-conscious Republicans was evident. In some instances, government officials were beginning to question the effectiveness, lack of oversight, and direction of AHT funding. In their minority opinion brief on Senate Bill 1301 (the 2011
reauthorization of the TVPA), Senators Kyl, Sessions, Lee and Coburn commented against the “growing bureaucracy of anti-trafficking programs” that were “wasteful, mismanaged and duplicative.” In addition, they were also concerned about the “imbalance of funds” benefitting foreign victims versus domestic ones (Senate Report 112-096 2011). The success of the Bush Administration’s focus on anti-prostitution themes while defining the human trafficking problem had shifted the fight from an international problem to a local one (Chuang 2014). Hollywood celebrities like Ashton Kutcher created noise and attention with targeted campaigns about how “real men do not buy girls (Cizmar, Conklin, and Hinman 2011).” These targeted efforts caused many in Congress to begin to question why the U.S. wasn’t spending more money at home to combat domestic prostitution.

The quantitative ambiguity of the scale of global human trafficking also began to rear its head as the large, sensationalized numbers of victims were being questioned by many scholars and media outlets (Cizmar, Conklin, and Hinman 2011; Hanes 2012). Despite well-known methodological problems in recognizing and counting victims of human trafficking (Gozdziak and Bump 2008; Gozdziak and Collett 2005; Kelly 2002; Kempadoo 1998; Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005; Tyldum 2010), anti-human trafficking organizations (including members of the ATEST coalition) often cited numbers like Kevin Bales’ claim of twenty-seven million slaves worldwide (Bales and Soodalter 2010). In 2012, the State Department used this figure as well (DOS TIP 2012), while that same year, the ILO estimated almost twenty-one million victims of forced labor (ILO 2012). The UN report for 2012 cites the ILO number, but cautions “a separate estimate on the number of victims of forced labour as a result of trafficking in persons was not derived (68).” Other outlets have claimed close to forty-eight million slaves worldwide (Global Slavery Index 2013).
These contradictions and questions surrounding the size and scope of the trafficking problem affected the prevalent framing of human trafficking in a few different ways. First, many organizations simply chose to focus on the existence of the problem, not relying on any specific number of victims. For example, in Congressional testimony on June 13, 2011, David Abramowitz, Director of Policy and Government Relations at Humanity United, stated, “estimates…range from twelve to twenty-seven million…Mr. Chairman, as you well know, this is not a matter of numbers; each individual story of tremendous suffering and exploitation is a human rights tragedy (Abramowitz 2011).” Second, organizations acknowledged this data problem and sought funding to improve the metrics. IJM, Polaris, and Slavery Footprint partnered with Google to create programs to put numbers to the work AHT organizations and governments do, focusing on counting the rescued, improving prosecution outcomes, and empowering vulnerable populations to avoid trafficking situations (IJM, December 14, 2011). Finally, many organizations highlighted the ambiguity of the numbers, focusing on the fact that the totals were actually underestimates. Polaris’s Human Trafficking Hotline project marked a sixty-four percent increase in calls in 2011; however, the group touted, “we are just beginning to scratch the surface” (Polaris, June 12, 2012). The first major international and U.S. statutes on human trafficking only passed in 2000. The lack of hard data stems from unfamiliarity with new laws leading to them not being used, victims refusing to self-identify, and an inability to properly account for hidden populations (Ferrall, Owens, and McDevit 2014; Parrenas, Hwang, and Lee 2012; Tyldum 2010). ATEST and its members, who work with victims on the ground and help strengthen and train first responders on AHT laws, use their tacit knowledge to bring clarity to these numbers, despite their ambiguity. The AHT community is actively working to improve
metrics, help victims realize what trafficking is, and assist countries around the world to use and improve upon the laws they have.

In addition to questions regarding the validity of the AHT structure at the federal level and the real number of victims, many legislators may have been experiencing “human trafficking fatigue.” While the TVPA is the cornerstone legislation for U.S. human trafficking policy, many other bills regarding the topic are introduced each year. According to govtrack.us, thirty-nine bills referring to human trafficking were introduced in the 111th Congress (2009-2011) and forty-two bills were introduced in the 112th (2011-2013). Gulati (2012) found that despite lip service to human trafficking, most human trafficking bills fail to make it to the floor for vote. Legislators are eager to put their name on bills that claim to address trafficking, but once details of the work that needs done are known with the associated price tag, these many bills tend to die a quiet death, contributing to the conditions leading to human trafficking fatigue in Congress.

ATEST continued to fight for the TVPRA after the budget deal was announced in July 2011. The ability of ATEST to reach out to others within the movement was evidenced by their success in getting organizations to sign on to multiple letters requesting the Senate to protect AHT funding. 110 organizations signed on to letters to the subcommittees involved with appropriations, including Labor, Homeland Security, and Commerce, Justice and Science (ATEST, August 23, 2011). The coalition was careful to both acknowledge the fiscal situation while advocating for the programs that are the “most important and most effective.” ATEST states that “Slavery damages our communities, taints the products and services we consume and the profits we earn, and is one of the most pressing human rights challenges of our time.”

These statements firmly rely on the human rights framing of human trafficking, emphasizing the

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21 Language taken directly from the May 2, 2011 sign on letter from ATEST to the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, Science and Related Agencies.
moral imperative of the movement. The framing had a heavy cultural component as well, signaling the budget-conscious and efficiency themes that the current Republican leadership in the House valued (Brand 1990).

The cuts endured by the AHT office within the State Department were grave, particularly given the very small budget the office started with. The entire annual budget for the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP) was $21.2 million. This amount was “barely equal to the U.S. government’s daily budget to fight the war on drugs (Skinner 2011).” ATEST’s commitment to remain bipartisan despite party rhetoric on the “wasteful bureaucracy” of AHT programs was also evident in its approach to another roadblock created by abortion politics. The Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) had been awarding grants to multiple organizations that funded human trafficking survivor care in the U.S. since the inception of the TVPA in 2000. The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) was one of the organizations that received funding; however, the Obama Administration would not allow the grant funding to go through due to the USCCB’s commitment to not referring its clients to all medical services, such as birth control and abortion. In retaliation, Chris Smith, Representative from New Jersey, issued revised language in the TVPRA version in the House that specifically allowed religious organizations to refuse services that contradicted their beliefs and took away the right of HHS to allocate human trafficking grants (Cadei 2012, Carmon 2013).

The revised language elevated the culture war and ultimately ended up killing the bill. ATEST chose not to support the House version of the bill due to its partisan nature, although it did support the Senate version. Many within the coalition expressed their frustration at the turn of events and criticized both sides of the debate on their short-sightedness. Jesse Eaves, child protection policy advisor for World Vision, commented in his January 30, 2012 blog:
“What makes this especially frustrating is that such a battle need not take place. Language already exists in other laws, most notably, the legislation that created the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, to ensure that religious organizations are not discriminated against or forced to refer victims to abortion services. Both parties are using this issue as a political wedge in an election year. It’s a game in which everyone loses most notably vulnerable children around the world.”

Cory Smith, legal counsel for ATEST at the time also weighed in:

“Things were moving along quickly with the original bill that Chris Smith had introduced. It had reported unanimously out of committee. Once [the conscience clause] happened, things ground to a halt. There was apprehension about getting involved in the politics for everyone else.”(as quoted in Carmon 2013.)

As the deadline came and went, ATEST and its members continued to work with both parties to reimagine the TVPRA. However, it did not bend on many of its 2011 recommendations, including strengthening the provisions to monitor foreign labor recruiters and working with the U.S Department of Labor (DOL) to publish a list of products suspected to be produced by child labor (ATEST, October 10, 2011).

ATEST continued to expand its reach by welcoming a new member to its coalition in 2011. Verité, a non-profit who works with private corporations on labor conditions within the supply chain, joined the coalition in May of that year. Although the ATEST coalition was already focused on an inclusive approach to human trafficking, Verité brought a new level of expertise in labor trafficking and supply chain transparency work. The influence of Verité can be seen in a comparison of labor trafficking issues mentioned in press releases from the coalition and special reports and recommendation published by ATEST after Verité’s membership.

As in any election year, particularly a presidential one, progress was stalled by the uncertainty of the results in 2012. While the TVPRA languished in Congress, ATEST pursued executive actions that strengthened oversight in federal contracts regarding human trafficking. The pressure it applied on the Labor Department to increase reporting on child labor around the
world bore fruit in December of 2012, when Humanity United’s Vice President of Policy and Government Relations, and interim director of ATEST, David Abramowitz, was present at a special forum to introduce a toolkit, *Reducing Child Labor and Forced Labor: A Toolkit for Responsible Businesses*. The DOL toolkit includes a website and guidance for companies that do not have their own internal social compliance programs, so that they may monitor both child and forced labor in their supply chains (ATEST, December 14, 2012).

The uncertainty of the TVPA reauthorization, the budget battle, and the presidential election created new obstacles for the ATEST coalition in 2011 and 2012. In response to a more conservative direction in Congress, both financially and culturally, ATEST adjusted its strategy to include a very public campaign to assert pressure on Congress from voters. By reminding the public of how far the U.S. had come on AHT policy and asking for help to maintain that forward momentum in Congress, ATEST moved from just a policy shop to a more robust advocacy group. The coalition also maintained its bipartisan reputation by supporting the Senate version of the reauthorization and not the House version, which did not have support across party lines. Ultimately, the reauthorization did not pass, but ATEST did not let the political environment stop them from welcoming a new member to the coalition and working on initiatives directly with the executive branch to advance their cause. The next section will provide an analysis of the major themes emanating from the documents of these organizations during this time period.

**III. Organizational Diversity, Identity, and Learning**

The ATEST coalition continued to advocate for anti-human trafficking policy during the more contentious years of 2011 and 2012. The membership of ATEST increased to a total of 12 organizations with the addition of Verité in 2011. The availability of documents was better for the time period and the number of organizations producing documents also rose, increasing the
data available for this time frame. A total of 238 documents were included in the analysis. Table 4.2 provides a breakdown of the documents for this time period.

Table 4.2 2011-2012 ATEST Document Count

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member Name</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
<th>Joined ATEST</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ATEST</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW)</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (CASTLA)</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End Child Prostitution and Trafficking (ECPAT-USA)</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free the Slaves</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Justice Mission</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not For Sale</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polaris</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe Horizon</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity Center</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verite</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vital Voices</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Vision</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>106</strong></td>
<td><strong>132</strong></td>
<td><strong>238</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data for new members includes from the first year of membership going forward.

The analysis will focus on four of the five thematic areas of codes as outlined in Chapter 2. The geographic and demographic references pertaining to human trafficking and its victims, human trafficking types, the policy focus of the advocacy work of the group, and the specific types of NGO activities during this time frame will all be analyzed. In addition, in order to account for the different numbers and lengths of documents across the organizations in the comparative organizational analysis, the data is weighted according to the formula found in Appendix D. Coding references were made at the paragraph level. Any given paragraph can have as many codes as warranted given the material; however, each paragraph is only coded once for each individual code. The code occurrence count for this time period is outlined in Figure 4.1.
The Human Trafficking theme outlines root causes and references the different types of trafficking and is the most referenced theme for the time frame. The Human Trafficking theme also includes any references to root causes of trafficking and the mention of the term modern day slavery. This theme was closely followed by a focus on what areas of the world and on what types of victims these organizations were concentrating their messages on. The actual work of the organizations and how they describe themselves is discussed under the NGO Activity and Identity theme. Finally, as advocacy groups, the messaging on international, federal, and U.S. state policy and law is a focus as well. A detailed analysis of the four themes follows below.
The Human Trafficking theme continued to dominate the messaging of ATEST and its members for the 2011-2012 time period. Interestingly, direct references to sex trafficking jump dramatically from the prior time frame. This is due to the increase in documents from two organizations: ECPAT, whose mission is to eradicate child sex trafficking and child sex tourism, and who only joined the coalition in 2010; and Not For Sale, whose programs include a rehabilitation program designed to give sex trafficking survivors jobs in the food industry, and who joined in 2007. However, when combining the labor-related sub-codes of ethical sourcing, labor rights, and labor trafficking, the main thrust of most of the documents is still labor trafficking. Figure 4.2 shows the sub-codes for the Human Trafficking theme.

**Figure 4.2 Code Occurrence-Human Trafficking Theme 2011-2012**

![Figure 4.2 Code Occurrence-Human Trafficking Theme 2011-2012](image)

*Figure 4.2 Analysis based on weighted data. For weight formula, see Appendix D.*
The overall increase in references to human trafficking and modern day slavery can be traced back to increased activity by ATEST and its members (which will be discussed later in the analysis of the NGO Activity theme). ATEST increasingly found its voice in 2011 and 2012 in its advocacy calls and responses to government policy and action. The impending reauthorization of the TVPRA gave ATEST the opportunity to advocate for increased awareness and funding for anti-human trafficking programs, particularly in light of the negative political climate of the time period. The coalition remained disciplined in its holistic framing of human trafficking and tying it back to the original anti-slavery movement of the 19th century. Carefully reminding people that human trafficking is the modern form of a socially unacceptable practice is one of the ways that the coalition participates in diagnostic framing (Snow and Benford 1988), as in this example.

Often hidden or in plain sight, human trafficking is one of the world’s fastest-growing human rights violations. Tens of millions of people are enslaved around the world in debt bondage, forced labor, child labor, sex trafficking, and other modern manifestations of this ancient scourge. (ATEST, February 10, 2011).

ATEST not only reminds the public that human trafficking is like slavery, it often invokes the idea that human trafficking affects more people today than slavery ever did. This diagnostic framing amplifies the urgency and severity of the problem.

Human trafficking is one of the most pressing human rights challenges of our time—and one of the fastest-growing and most profitable crimes in the world. More men, women, and children are enslaved now than any other time in history. (ATEST, June 20, 2011).

The addition of Verité to the coalition increased the code prevalence for labor trafficking, labor rights, and ethical sourcing. Verité is a non-profit group dedicated to helping companies address possible unfair labor practices throughout the supply chain. While other members of ATEST had worked with or targeted the private sector on different projects, Verité’s more direct
and cooperative relationship with private sector companies is unique. For example, and by contrast, the CIW works with companies through its Fair Food program to promote fair wages and working conditions for farmworkers. However, the cooperative aspect of the relationship usually comes after prolonged campaigns including protests, marches, and boycotts targeting the business and its unfair practices. Verité, on the other hand, is contracted by the companies themselves to provide audit and consulting services to expose weaknesses in the global supply chain that might open the company up to lawsuits.

Verité’s business-focused approach enables factories and farms to be able to meet customers’ and compliance standards in a way that complements the company’s business objectives (Verité, August 31, 2011).

Reaching out to the private sector on labor trafficking and ethical sourcing seems a perfect match given the realities of international production of goods and services. However, the private sector has also been targeted by groups interested in ending sex trafficking. Human trafficking victims are often moved around the world or even trapped in hotels in their city of origin. ECPAT created a tourism Code of Conduct (The Code) for companies involved in international tourism, including hotels, airlines, and travel agents. The Code requires that signors will implement awareness programs and training for employees to recognize the signs of human trafficking and report possible trafficking situations to the authorities. In 2011, Delta became the first major airline to sign on to The Code. Other companies in the travel industry followed, including the Real Hospitality Group, Wyndham Worldwide, and Sabre Holdings, As ECPAT Executive Director Carol Smolenski said,

All travel companies could unwittingly be facilitating the sex trafficking of children. If they do nothing to raise awareness or to prevent child trafficking, they risk becoming an indirect and unintentional conduit for the abuse that takes place (ECPAT, March 10, 2011).
Sex trafficking has always been coupled with criminality given its privileged status as the most “severe” type of trafficking and the familiarity of law enforcement with prostitution and the criminal element surrounding it (Peters 2015). Labor trafficking, on the other hand, is more complicated, encompassing as it does an entire spectrum of labor rights abuses, some obvious and widely-accepted as abuses, others not so. Soule (2009) broke down the tactics of social movement groups into two categories: contentious politics, which targets the state; and private politics, which targets corporations directly. Opponents of sex trafficking have been able to focus their efforts on the state due to the privileged status of their topic in the law, while labor trafficking organizations have usually targeted companies directly in a type of naming and shaming exercise. However, as Soule (2009) argues, companies must be cognizant of both contentious and private politics due to the increasing sophistication of citizen activism. ATEST and its members participate in both contentious and private politics. ECPAT’s use of direct appeals to the private sector on the topic of sex trafficking is one such example of organizational learning. The members of ATEST learn from each other and use multiple tactics to address human trafficking. ECPAT, given its focus on child sex trafficking, could have remained focused on the state’s passage of laws regarding this particular topic and let the laws work. However, ECPAT went beyond the contentious politics model and decided to work with companies directly, not only to partner with them but to go beyond the law itself by focusing on stopping child sex trafficking before it happens through awareness campaigns and training.

Overall, the 2011-2012 period saw an increase in the discussion of both major types of trafficking, sex, and labor. In addition, while ATEST is an advocacy group focused on federal policy, the members of ATEST did not ignore the private sector. In fact, in Congressional testimony, Humanity United explicitly called out its desire to “broaden its engagement to the
business community (Abramowitz, June 13, 2011).” Human trafficking is driven by complex socio-economic pressures, including the never-ending quest for lower costs, higher profits, faster production, and increasing growth. The next section will discuss two important pieces of that puzzle, the types of people caught up in the human trafficking supply chain and their geographic location.

Geographic/Demographic

Tragically, an estimated twenty-seven million men, women and children around the world are still enslaved today—toiling in factories and fields, in mines and in brothels, on ships and on the streets. Illegal everywhere, human trafficking, forced labor, and other forms of modern-day slavery exist worldwide, including here in the United States. (ATEST, December 2012, “The Path to Freedom”)

Although the definition of human trafficking espoused by ATEST continued to include a holistic view of all victims and a recognition of domestic trafficking, the document analysis shows a continued focus on international human trafficking and the trafficking of women and girls for the 2011-2012 period. Direct references of the trafficking of men and boys and the special programs needed to identify and support these types of victims was very small in comparison to women and girls. The geographic and demographic breakdown of the codes for this time period is presented in Figure 4.3.
The number of paragraphs dedicated to the trafficking of women and children dwarfs any direct mention of men and boys. A large portion of these references to the trafficking of women and children come from ECPAT and Not For Sale; however, almost every organization is represented in the data. ECPAT’s documents mainly focused on each new signor to The Code, and their impact on the fight against child sex trafficking in the travel industry. For example, the signing of Sabre Holdings in May of 2012 indicated a major expansion on the number of eyes seeing AHT messages regarding children; Sabre not only committed to training its 10,000 worldwide employees, but to also raise awareness of the traveling public through its online booking tools like Travelocity.com (ECPAT, May 30, 2012). Organizationally, ECPAT was also able to introduce fellow coalition member Polaris to Sabre; Polaris agreed to provide direct
training for travel agents and technology professionals that attend Sabre’s annual conference (ECPAT, May 30, 2012).

While some of these programs were already in place before the fight to reauthorize the TVPA began in 2011, I would argue that the increased attention to the most vulnerable victims of human trafficking, children, was a strategic response. ATEST and its members were using motivational framing to remind the public and policymakers why the TVPA should be reauthorized in 2011 (Snow and Benford 1988). Images of women and children often illicit sympathetic responses from the public in many different policy areas, including poverty alleviation, domestic violence, and refugee crises. Children, in particular, impart a sense of innocence and victimhood. Children should not be toiling away on a cocoa farm or on a shrimping vessel, much less be a sex slave. These images create a clear ethical dilemma for people in ways that adult victims of trafficking cannot elicit.

During the 2011-2012 time period, 8 of the 12 organizations had documents directly referencing the U.S.’s moral obligation to fight child trafficking in all its forms. In addition to ECPAT’s work to fight child sex trafficking in tourism, other members of the coalition called out specific instances of children caught up in human trafficking. For example, IJM hosted a forum on September 19, 2011, weeks after a significant child sex trafficking ring was broken up by Chicago police.

“The American people disagree about all kinds of things, including the federal budget and the best use of our tax dollars,” said Holly Burkhalter, IJM’s vice president of government relations. "But one thing we agree on is that people are not for sale. Not here, and not anywhere, and we want our government to respond effectively and generously to help end modern-day slavery in our lifetime (IJM, September 20, 2011).”
The organizations also repeatedly called out the special vulnerability of children in their documents, like this one in response to the DOL’s report for 2011, *Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor*:

The reports remind us of what happens to the most vulnerable members of society when poverty and labor exploitation unite (Solidarity Center, September 28, 2012).

During the negotiations on the TVPRA 2011, the House version of the bill (HR 2830) dropped language specifically providing for oversight of foreign labor recruiters and failed to authorize the DOS to work on programs with other countries to end child trafficking. ATEST was vocal in its criticism on the weakening of the bill.

The Alliance continues to support a number of provisions that remain in H.R. 2830, but asks that the bill be strengthened at it moves forward for further committee consideration to ensure we have the most effective tools in place to combat human trafficking and modern-day slavery (ATEST, October 10, 2011).

The coalition was very vocal in its attempt to bring awareness to the impact of human trafficking on children. However, specific attention to the trafficking of men and boys continued to be miniscule. Only three organizations mentioned this victim group behind the cursory “men, women, and children” phrasing that permeates the discussion of trafficking. IJM participated in a rescue operation at a brick kiln in India where 143 families were freed (IJM, May 4, 2011). Not For Sale called out the presence of young boys in prostitution rings and street begging in both Romania and Peru (Not For Sale, January 24, 2011; May 18, 2012). Safe Horizon acknowledged the lack of services available for male and transgender victims; it is one of a few organizations that serve this vulnerable population (Safe Horizon, January 7, 2012).

The focus on international trafficking is three times higher than that of domestic (U.S.) trafficking. A majority of the programs, including Not For Sale, IJM, ECPAT, and Verité all focus on the global aspect of the human trafficking problem. Not For Sale and IJM have
extensive programs and partnerships on the ground in many foreign countries as indicated in their documents. Verité’s expertise and relationships with large, multinational corporations also is evident in the coding results. In addition, ATEST’s comments and concerns with the TIP report and the DOL’s list of goods produced by child or forced labor is a continued theme. These topics will be addressed later in the section on Policy and Law. Notably, despite concerns voiced by Senate Republicans in responses to the TVPRA 2011 that the U.S. was not doing enough for domestic trafficking victims, the coalition remained steadfast in its mission to talk about the global implications of trafficking. The decision to continue to focus on international trafficking was a direct result of the connection between domestic sex trafficking and law enforcement. Essentially, by default, sex trafficking of U.S. citizens will be handled because funding for law enforcement is always there. As one NGO staffer put it in an interview, 

We’re going to fight more for victim services, survivor after care, cause we know at the end of the day that, you know, out of the two, law enforcement is always going to get funding (Carmen, Interview, August 29, 2016).

In addition, another interviewed staffer verbalized the feeling that domestically focused trafficking bills had actually begun to overwhelm the movement.

What we've found since 2008, it's (the focus on international trafficking) been getting smaller and smaller...It’s been really overshadowed. It (the focus on international trafficking) has really been taken over by an abundance of the domestic trafficking bills, specifically, the domestic sex trafficking bills. We've had quite a challenge in terms of it almost feeling like much less of a priority to address human trafficking internationally (Jane, Interview, June 13, 2016).

The international focus of the coalition’s work is evident in their service programs. For the service organizations of ATEST, empowerment and restoration of trafficking survivors are key components to their missions and tied directly to their identities. Documents for Not For Sale illustrate its programs for sex trafficking survivors in Amsterdam that offer training for jobs in
the catering industry, economic empowerment training programs in Peru to help at risk communities avoid trafficking, and job training in India. As Not For Sale stated in 2012:

At Not For Sale, we believe that rescue alone does not equal freedom. In order to be truly free, one must have the skills and opportunities needed to overcome the root causes of exploitation. We believe that “success” is more than just shelter or the passing of a law. Success at NFS is creating new futures. This is defined as empowering individuals economically, politically, and culturally in ways that directly prevent vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation (Not For Sale, April 10, 2012).

Free the Slaves’ Community-based Model for Fighting Slavery, with programs in Congo, Ghana, Haiti, India, Nepal and Senegal, also echoes this sentiment by not only focusing on rescue, but changing the behaviors and environment in which slavery can exist; the model includes building assets for communities to lessen their economic vulnerability along with training local legal entities to change the laws to protect their citizens (Free the Slaves 2016). In the next section, a further analysis of NGO Activity and Identity will illustrate how the coalition’s goals played out through direct advocacy and service.

NGO Activity and Identity

The 2011-2012 time frame shows an increase in activity levels for all member organizations and for ATEST itself. The ATEST coalition continued to participate in and lead a number of different types of activities to draw awareness to human trafficking, particularly in the face of the growing realization that the TVPA’s reauthorization was in jeopardy. ATEST ran ads in three major D.C. newspapers, The Washington Post, Roll Call, and Politico, in honor of National Human Trafficking Awareness Day in January 2011, specifically calling out the need to reauthorize the TVPA (see Figure 4.4). ATEST’s use of motivational framing to draw attention to the scope and scale of the human trafficking problem is evident in the ad copy and the images presented. The ad invokes a sense of patriotism while relying on the idealistic image of the U.S.
as a beacon of freedom for the rest of the world. The tactic of appealing to Americans’ sense of leadership and moral authority is one that ATEST uses often and is illustrated in each time period under analysis. The image of the Statue of Liberty and the large printed tagline “Land of the Free” with an asterisk draws attention to the cognitive disconnect between both the presence of modern day slavery in a country that was founded on the principles of liberty and that country’s obligation to end slavery worldwide. ATEST calls attention to both labor and sex trafficking in the U.S. and abroad, while urging supporters to contact their representatives to push the reauthorization of the TVPA through Congress. ATEST also includes the word “bipartisan” in the ad text, signaling to the public that the group works with both sides of the aisle and that the fight against human trafficking is one that both sides agree is a priority.
Today is National Human Trafficking Awareness Day.

Are you aware that there are more slaves on earth than ever before?

In the United States, agricultural workers are enslaved in the nation’s fields, harvesting the food that nourishes our families.

Children at home and abroad are sold for sex on the streets, in brothels, and on the internet.

In South Asia, entire families are bound to work off debts to their slave masters, with little hope of ever gaining freedom.

African children work in horrific conditions on plantations and in factories that supply chocolate, fish, and rubber to the West.

And in Latin America, slaves help to make the iron used to build our cars.

This year, Congress and the Obama administration have the opportunity to make historic, bipartisan progress toward ending slavery at home and abroad.

Ask them to make renewal of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act and resources for other crucial anti-trafficking initiatives a top priority in 2011.

Take action today at EndSlaveryAndTrafficking.org

*Excludes those trafficked into modern day slavery.

ATEST
Alliance To End Slavery & Trafficking
A Project Of Human Rights United
CAST urged its supporters to call their representatives when the Senate passed its version of the bill in July and again with the House version in September of 2011 (CAST, July 26, 2011; September 22, 2011). Polaris amplified the voices of child sex trafficking survivors in its call for the Congress to pass the reauthorization; Polaris’s attention to victims’ services and funding is crucial to their appeal (Polaris September 8, 2011). A breakdown of the code occurrences for these themes follows in Figure 4.5.

**Figure 4.5 Code Occurrence-NGO Activity and Identity Theme 2011-2012**

![Figure 4.5 Code Occurrence-NGO Activity and Identity Theme 2011-2012](image)

*Figure 4.5 Analysis based on weighted data. For weighting formula, see Appendix D.*

Direct advocacy on behalf of the passage of the reauthorization act was high in this time period. However, the daily work of the organizations remained the most important focus of the coalition members. This division of labor is a key benefit to membership in the coalition. ATEST
and its staff, with the input and expertise of its members, was able to concentrate on working
directly with members of Congress to push through legislation while the members were able to
continue day to day activities that furthered their missions. As mentioned above, ECPAT and
Not For Sale continued their awareness programs, ECPAT by recruiting new companies to sign
The Code pledging to train employees to spot child trafficking, while Not For Sale continued on-
the-ground programs designed to rehabilitate victims by giving them job training.

The AHT field is often harangued by critics for the lack of hard data on the number of
traffickers and victims that may be caught up in the system (Gozdziak and Collett 2005; Tyldum
and Brunovskis 2005). Several of the ATEST coalition members took this challenge head on by
creating apps and reports to capture the scope of work of the organizations themselves. Not For
Sale created the Free2Work app, which grades companies on an A-F scale on their efforts to
eradicate child and forced labor from their supply chain; this app then allows consumers to do
their own investigating into the companies they use every day (Not For Sale, February 12, 2011).
Illustrating the effectiveness of organizational learning via coalitions (Soule 2013), two members
of ATEST, Polaris and IJM, partnered together with a third non-profit to create a multi-tiered
technology resource for concerned citizens to learn about and do something about trafficking.
The three organizations received a $1.8 million dollar grant from Google.org (Polaris, December
14, 2011). In addition to its work with IJM, Polaris also continued its reporting of statistics from
the NHTRC hotline. In 2011, calls to the hotline increased 64% from 2010 (Polaris, June 12,
2011).

The use of technology and the Internet’s impact on social movement tactics has been
debated. Some scholars have argued that technology has been able to link like-minded activists
together (Juris 2008; Earl and Kimport 2008; Earl 2011), effectively impacting only the ability of
known activists to come together in more efficient ways. Although this activity helps activists internally, the use of technology does not always increase awareness of the broader public. However, some scholars have argued that new technology has also impacted the demand side for protest by making it easier and cheaper for people (outside the movement) to see relevant problems and do something about them (Polletta, Chen, Gardner, and Motes 2013). IJM’s mobile app is a key example of this type of influence. IJM created an app that alerts its followers immediately following any kind of rescue operation or court case the group is involved in regarding human trafficking around the world. The app allows interested citizens to “see and experience the impact of their support on the front lines, while offering creative ways to stay engaged in the justice movement” and “send words of encouragement to IJM’s investigators, lawyers and aftercare staff (IJM, May 24, 2011).” Both of these tools answer an important criticism of the movement by acknowledging the importance of real metrics. By keeping a physical database of all the work these organizations are doing and making it public, it provides hard evidence outside of anecdotal accounts of the scope of human trafficking.

The use of these interactive tools also speaks to the idea of shared, collective identity (Diani 1992, Della Porta and Diani 2006). The collaborative work of the organizations with each other in the coalition helps cement the organizational identity. Attending coalition meetings to exchange ideas on policy may or may not entail much commitment. However, collaborating with a coalition member on a project that is critical to the work and reputation of both groups, is a deeper commitment. The success of the project elevates both partners and the coalition as a whole. In addition, these groups are actively using technology to bind the greater citizen movement together. For example, IJM’s app is creating a shared experience for supporters, connecting them indirectly and in close to real time with rescues and other events and
interventions even though they are not actively participating in a rescue or other intervention itself. This feeling of inclusion and participation is particularly important as many movement supporters have wanted to become part of the solution, not just a source of money for organizations. As one NGO staffer put it,

> There's been a bit of an evolution in philanthropy. And, a lot of individuals, especially, what we think of grassroots individuals, are thinking of their money not as a gift, but as an investment. And, so they're not as interested in just awareness-raising. They're actually interested in solving the problem. (Timothy, Interview, February 11, 2016)

Even with the increased emphasis on technology and tools and using those tools to connect supporters to the field work, some members of the coalition continued with more traditional tactics of raising awareness, advocating for their cause, and engaging in demonstrations and protests that also connected their members directly to the work. In 2011-2012, for example, the CIW targeted several large supermarket chains and restaurants to be a part of their Fair Food program. Trader Joe’s was the target of rallies by student and community activists (CIW, February 24, 2011); Publix, the largest supermarket chain in Florida, was the target of multiple rallies, protests, and even a dramatic 6-day fast by activists in front of Publix corporate headquarters in Lakeland, FL (CIW, March 3, 2011; February 27, 2012). The use of more confrontational tactics speaks to the split between the easy acceptance of sex trafficking as an concern as opposed to labor trafficking. Labor trafficking and labor rights abuses are not as clear cut for most people; this ambiguity creates a situation in which organizations must grab the attention and imagination of the public. The CIW, and as we will see in the next chapter with the NDWA, has had to fight labor rights abuses in the fields with more confrontational, or traditional outsider tactics that we normally expect to see with social movements that are working more from the margins and still struggling to even gain awareness, to say nothing of acceptance.
Despite its non-ideological stance, Religion continues to be an important identity that organizations within the coalition share. The early definitional battles of human trafficking outlined in Chapter 1 has often led to mistrust between secular and religious groups fighting human trafficking. Secular groups often see the directed focus on anti-prostitution as narrow-minded to the broader problem (Stolz 2007). However, ATEST provides a safe space for both secular and religious AHT groups to work together. IJM and World Vision are Christian organizations and their documents regularly include references to their missions. Not For Sale and the CIW regularly work with religious leaders and churches as well. The other major identity that the ATEST coalition espoused was that of Training providers. Most of the members of the coalition see themselves as training organizations, either through training of first responders to recognize trafficking, training companies to see the possibility of unethical sourcing in their supply chains, or training survivors for a new life after their trafficking experience. As Not For Sale states in its press release boilerplate, “The Not For Sale Campaign equips and mobilizes Smart Activists to deploy innovative solutions to re-abolish slavery, in their own backyards and across the globe.”

The work that these organizations did in 2011-2012 mainly focused on re-energizing the public to support the reauthorization of the TVPA. Concentrated awareness campaigns and education programs were used extensively during this time frame. The coalition did not just provide information in static form; creating interactive online tools was an example of an advancement in advocacy that ATEST and its members really sunk their teeth into during this time. Not only did individual organizations expand their online presence with tools like Polaris’ NHTRC (national human trafficking hotline) and Not For Sale’s Free2Work App, a significant collaboration between Polaris, IJM, and Google to create a human trafficking resource website
was indicative of the increased partnerships within the coalition. Even given the increased levels of collaboration and shared identity as the leading AHT coalition, individual members were able to maintain their programs and solidify their identities within the group. The CIW continued its grassroots, traditional protest campaigns against companies not paying fair wages; IJM and World Vision stayed true to their Christian-based missions and Free the Slaves expanded its training programs in 6 different countries to empower locals to break the cycles that lead to trafficking situations. Given the importance of the TVPA reauthorization during this time frame, the next section will focus on the codes categorized under the Policy and Law theme.

Policy and Law

We understand the tremendous challenges the nation faces in addressing the debt crisis and stimulating the economy. However, during this time, we cannot lose sight of the needless human tragedies that are occurring within and beyond our borders. (ATEST, letter to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, September 12, 2011)

The economic and political situation in 2011-2012 gave ATEST and its members a changed, more hostile environment to deal with in terms of advocating for AHT policy. As mentioned in section 2 of this chapter, the financial crisis and the fiscal crisis that followed there was not only increased pressure to cut current spending but it also impacted the willingness of members of Congress to approve new spending. Despite the prior bipartisanship surrounding the need to address human trafficking, some cracks began to show, particularly surrounding the topic of abortion. The code analysis for the Policy and Law theme is presented in Figure 4.6.
The document analysis shows that with the impending reauthorization of the TVPA in 2011, the TVPA became the most discussed federal policy for the time period. However, this focus on the federal law did not hamper efforts of the ATEST coalition members to impact state-level law as well. Polaris continued its work rating and evaluating state level laws on human trafficking. By 2012, 49 states had passed AHT laws, with Wyoming being the only state without a stand-alone trafficking law on the books (Polaris, August 8, 2012). However, as ECPAT pointed out, most states still had a way to go to protect victims’ rights in regards to arrests and criminal records. One example of this had to do with children caught up in trafficking rings.

Most states’ laws allow children to be arrested for prostitution. Instead of a jail cell we need to give them a safe place to heal. They are not ‘bad’ children, they are abused children,” says Carol Smolenski. (ECPAT, January 11, 2012).
The focus on protection of victims is the most prevalent code throughout the time frame when considering both state and local policy and the federal budget. Of the 3Ps, protection of victims and restoration of their lives is the main goal of human-rights based AHT groups. The advocacy work at the policy level often frames this fight for more resources and better laws in such a way as to put victims first. During the early days of the AHT movement, most groups were focused on getting laws passed, both at the federal and state level. The shift in focus from strict prosecution to protection speaks to the evolution of advocacy on this subject. With many first-round laws already passed, ATEST and its members changed focus to improving laws, not just passing them. For example, in 2011, Illinois passed a law to help sex trafficking victims vacate their prior prostitution convictions (Polaris, August 8, 2011). Known as “Safe Harbor” laws, these statutes aim to help restore the lives of trafficking victims and erase the crimes they were forced to commit while being trafficked. The prospect of going to jail keeps many survivors from coming forward to tell their stories, which hampers the ability to track down traffickers and trafficking rings. The diffusion of ideas related to the restoration of victims was evidenced in the number of states that improved upon existing laws during the time period; Polaris noted that 55% of states had passed new or improved legislation in 2011-12 (Polaris, August 7, 2012).

The increase in codes related to prevention is also an indicator of a change in tactic by ATEST. By 2011-2012, many members of the coalition had been calling for more discussion surrounding the demand side of human trafficking. Most of this is directly related to the global supply chain and the pull factors, including demand for cheap labor to create cheap products for the consumer market. Verité’s membership in the coalition helped bolster the labor trafficking expertise in ATEST and provided some much needed balance in terms of addressing the private sector directly in their role in creating conditions conducive to trafficking. Following the 2010
passage of the California Supply Chain Act, the coalition and its members targeted the federal supply chain and laws regulating foreign labor recruiters. ATEST also consulted on a new toolkit from the DOL entitled “Reducing Child Labor and Forced Labor: A Toolkit for Responsible Businesses.” This toolkit gives companies examples of social responsible monitoring, auditing, and grievance systems that will allow them to address potential items before they become problems (ATEST, December 14, 2012). The close collaboration with the DOL is a testament to ATEST’s expertise and reputation in Washington on human trafficking; ATEST’s interim director at the time even presented at the news conference unveiling the new toolkit.

Despite the valuable cooperation between ATEST and the Labor Department, given the unprecedented obstacles to the TVPA reauthorization, ATEST and its members expressed more critical viewpoints of the government process. In the prior time frame, most references to government programs were supportive and positive in nature. The more positive, cooperative environment between the state and the coalition was evident. However, beginning in 2011, the tone, while still cooperative, did become more negative in regards to evaluating government actions in the AHT field. Obviously, ATEST and its members had many critical things to say about the postponed reauthorization itself. World Vision issued several critical statements regarding the postponed reauthorization:

    Now, if only Congress would stop playing politics with slavery, we could see some real progress on this issue. (World Vision, February 2, 2012)

    Failure to pass this bill threatens U.S. leadership in the fight against modern-day slavery. (World Vision, August 21, 2012)

    Congress must turn the President's words into action and pass the centerpiece of all human trafficking laws - the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. This is not a left or right issue. It's a right or wrong issue, and both houses of Congress must pass a bipartisan Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act as soon as possible. (World Vision, September 25, 2012)
ATEST also weighed in on the inertia in Congress and blamed “partisan confrontation” on tarnishing the legacy of U.S. leadership in the fight against human trafficking (ATEST, January 11, 2012).

In addition, the release of the 2011 TIP report proved to be problematic for the coalition. The 2011 TIP report was targeted by the coalition and the larger AHT community for both its upgrading of India to a Tier 2 state without evidence of improved effort and the failure of the report to automatically downgrade several countries to Tier 3 as required by the TVPA (Dorn 2011). The TVPA requires an automatic downgrade to Tier 3 (the worst category) if a country has been on the Tier 2 Watch List for more than two years; Uzbekistan, Russian, and China were not downgraded despite their being Tier 2 for two years. Members of the coalition lamented the loss of integrity of the report and urged the DOS to keep political considerations out of the assessments.

Honest reporting and firm, robust diplomacy are critical to progress in abolishing these heinous crimes,” said David Abramowitz, Director of Policy & Government relations for Humanity United. “If political tradeoffs and favoritism take the place of candor in the report and tier rankings, the U.S. will have squandered its best tool in the fight against modern-day slavery and human trafficking.” (ATEST, June 27, 2011)

Concerns about the politicization of the report continued into 2012. In testimony before Congress regarding the future fight against trafficking, IJM had this to add regarding the appearance of political goals impeding on the work of the AHT community.

When the Trafficking in Persons Office and the embassy and our regional bureaus all speak from the same song sheet and are amplifying the voices of reformers within the foreign government, then something can happen. We do not get that bang for the buck when our TIP Office is being undermined by our regional bureaus or by an embassy that has lots of other things that are on their minds, quite understandably. (Holly Burkhalter, IJM, Congressional Testimony, July 17, 2012)
The ability of the coalition to honestly critique the work of the U.S. government, while still working with members of Congress and the administration, is a testament to the respect and integrity the social movement coalition had built with key stakeholders. Further evidence of the strength of the working relationship coalition members had forged with the administration is the fact in each report the DOS singles out “TIP heroes,” activists around the globe who have made significant contributions to the AHT movement. In the 2012 TIP report, IJM President Gary Haugen was only the second American singled out for this recognition (DOS TIP 2012, 49).

Overall, the 2011-2012 time frame marked a departure from the previous period in both strategy and tone in regards to policy advocacy. The coalition returned to motivational framing to reenergize their base of support within the public and the government in the face of the failed TVPA renewal. Even while concentrating on the reauthorization of the TVPA, ATEST and its members were able to make significant strides in other areas of AHT policy at the state level and continue programs on the ground to provide services to victims. Despite the precarious position of the major funding source for AHT programs, the members of the coalition were not afraid to call out weaknesses in policy and stand up for their cause. Criticism of the integrity of the TIP report and the ability of the U.S. to maintain its leadership status on human trafficking were important to the independence of the movement. The chapter concludes with a summary of the impact this time period had on the social movement’s tactics.

IV. Conclusion

This study offers an interesting glimpse into the tactical decisions made by social movement organizations and how those decisions change and evolve over time. The actions taken by ATEST and its members during this time period show a careful attention to strategy. ATEST and its members chose their battles based on the political environment, the type of
trafficking, and successful tactics learned from each other. While AHT policy was threatened by the postponed reauthorization, the coalition used motivational framing to reenergize supporters (Snow and Benford 1988). By framing the upcoming reauthorization vote as instrumental to the fight against trafficking, ATEST and its members were reminding supporters of how far the movement had come but also how much further it needed to go. Members of the coalition asked supporters to call their representatives, attend rallies, and give financial support for victims programs. IJM and Not For Sale hosted seminars to inform the public about the financial threat that human trafficking programs were under due to the impending reauthorization. A large public awareness campaign was launched in Times Square in New York City (ATEST, February 10, 2011). The coalition also invoked pride and patriotism as it admonished government officials to not allow the U.S. to lose its leadership position or moral authority in the worldwide fight against trafficking.

The coalition also made use of diagnostic framing as they expanded their message to talk about labor rights abuses and labor trafficking. Sex trafficking’s privileged position as the most “severe” form of trafficking has given it more attention over the years by non-profits and governments alike. The much more ambiguous and controversial topic of labor trafficking has been a considerably harder sell for AHT groups due to its ties to immigration, economic growth, and the global supply chain that supplies the U.S. population with cheap products and high profits. Expanding the conversation to include labor trafficking is important to the coalition because all forms of trafficking need to be addressed. However, labor trafficking does not just involve targeting the state. The private sector drives most of the demand that can lead to trafficking situations. The addition of Verité not only gave the coalition more expertise in ethical
sourcing, it addressed the topic of non-profits working directly with private actors to prevent trafficking outside of the state.

As Soule (2009) examined in her study on corporate social responsibility and contention, social movements approach corporations differently given the environment in which they reside. Sometimes social movements target corporations directly without involving the state (private politics), while some target the state to influence policy first and, ultimately, corporations indirectly, (contentious politics). The ATEST coalition demonstrates a willingness to use both strategies and, importantly, to use them in nontraditional ways. ATEST focuses on federal policy and appropriations to further the work of the AHT community, while individual members can often focus on direct interaction with the private sector to induce cooperation, like the CIW’s campaigns against supermarkets or Verité’s work with clients on supply chain transparency. Earlier, I discussed that sex trafficking is often approached via the contentious politics model, as sex trafficking’s privileged status as a law enforcement problem makes the state the ideal target for action. However, ECPAT has taken a page from the private politics playbook as well by approaching tourism corporations to voluntarily sign The Code, pledging to educate their employees and report suspected cases of child sex trafficking. Finally, the 2011-2012 time period saw an increased attention to both protection and prevention of human trafficking. Although these organizations were always victim-centered, the earlier years of the AHT movement was focused on recognizing human trafficking as a crime on its own merits and monitoring the initial passage of laws. However, as time has progressed, AHT activists have pushed further for recognition of the needs of victims, including the passage of Safe Harbor laws that erase a victim’s criminal record, job training, temporary housing, and immigration services. Addressing the ambiguity of the scope of trafficking is also important to
these organizations as evidenced by the focus on apps and metrics. Polaris’ NHTRC hotline data and IJM’s partnership with Polaris via the Google.org grant to produce a technology resource center for AHT work speak to this commitment.

The AHT movement, which was able to harness political opportunity in positive ways in 2008-2010, began to encounter a more negative environment in the 2011-2012 time period. However, this did not stop the movement from advancing its message. Despite budget concerns, ATEST was able to frame the human trafficking appropriations as good investments in an uncertain time by relying on the efficiency of the programs. Second, the postponement of the reauthorization by nearly 18 months was framed as a victory for the movement. The institutional peculiarities of the authorization/appropriations process in the U.S. allowed ATEST and others to argue the importance of human trafficking policy as evidenced by the relatively short time the Act remained in limbo, as compared to other prominent agencies and programs that operate without formal reauthorization. Finally, ATEST was able to grow and add another prominent AHT non-profit to its repertoire; Verité offered the coalition more expertise in labor trafficking and supply chain transparency.
Chapter 5: Growing by Learning 2013-2014

In the aftermath of the presidential election and victory of Barack Obama in 2012, two bills that had languished during the prior Congressional session saw new life: the reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) and the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). While these two bills moving forward was a positive development, ATEST and its members saw a subtle shift in the political environment when dealing with anti-human trafficking policy. The politicization of AHT policy that became more pronounced in 2011-2012 continued to inform strategy and tactics of the movement in 2013-2014 as the coalition strengthened its focus on labor trafficking and supply chain transparency. During the lull in the reauthorization process from late 2011 to early 2013, ATEST had focused on executive branch initiatives to strengthen policy against human trafficking in the federal supply chain, and worked with the Labor Department to create a toolkit for businesses interested in reducing their exposure to child labor in their procurement programs. Even after the successful passage of the TVPRA, this type of work continued in 2013 and 2014. Evidence of continued organizational learning is present with members using Soule’s (2009) model of contentious politics (targeting the state) and private politics (targeting business) in news ways in 2013-2014. ATEST not only chooses its battles carefully, but uses innovative tactics to challenge both the state and private industry on the question of how to disrupt human trafficking.

ATEST also welcomed three new members to the coalition during this period: the National Domestic Workers’ Alliance (NDWA), the National Network for Youth (NN4Y), and Futures Without Violence (Futures). These organizations broadened the reach of ATEST through their focus on homeless youth, domestic violence, and the rights of domestic workers. Although these organizations only focus on human trafficking as a piece of their larger mission, the issue areas
often intertwine with the push and pull factors impacting human trafficking. The coalition also
lost a founding member when Not For Sale officially dropped its membership, but not its
support. These developments will be further analyzed in section two.

Domestic violence, particularly against women, and the everyday violence of human
trafficking have often been addressed together under a larger, human rights based frame. The
passage of the VAWA and the TVPRA together in 2013 was not the first time these two topics
had been connected in law. The first section of this chapter will examine the intertwined history
of these two bills, followed by a summary of the political environment in which ATEST found
itself in this time frame. Finally, an analysis of the document data and concluding remarks about
the significance of the work conducted during this time frame on the AHT movement will close
out the chapter.

I. Persistence Pays Dividends

We’re delighted that the TVPA and Violence Against Women Act could pass the Senate
together, because gender-based violence and modern-day slavery are often closely related.
— Maurice Middleberg, Executive Director, Free the Slaves (ATEST, February 12, 2013)

“Polaris Project welcomes the passage of both the Trafficking Victims Protection Act and
the Violence Against Women Act. These two critically important laws protect the human
rights of millions of women, girls, men, and boys and hold accountable the perpetrators of
violence, exploitation, and enslavement.— Mary Ellison, Polaris Project (ATEST, February
12, 2013)

The VAWA and the TVPA, and the subjects they represent, have a very similar history. In
terms of social movement analysis, there are many parallels between the two. Those parallels
include: deliberate framing strategies to draw out previously “personal” problems into the public
eye and onto the government agenda; a focus on service provision and aftercare for survivors;
and a campaign to link domestic violence with broader human rights master frames. Many see
the anti-human trafficking movement as being in its early stages and compare it to the domestic violence movement. In fact, an NGO staffer for this interview remarked,

“So it seems like right now, trafficking seems to have a little more traction. The trafficking movement will be interesting in about 20 years from now. Will we become the next DV (domestic violence) movement? The DV movement 30 years ago was hot and everybody was on board with it, it was the new thing. Everybody took a long time for the identification of the issue to the lower ranks, like the local police. But now everyone seems to be on board that domestic violence is an issue and we have to tackle it (Geri, Interview, March 21, 2016).

Domestic violence had to be framed in new ways in the 1970s when activism regarding the topic of battered women began. Scholars have traced the history of social activism in this area by illustrating the acceptance of domestic violence as a pertinent social issue that the state should address in a more robust way, rather than a personal, family matter (Davis 1987, Tierney 1982, Schechter 1982). Similar reframing of prostitution and forced labor as “modern-day slavery” has occurred throughout the anti-human trafficking movement. Although prostitution is not legal in most of the world, the rebranding of prostitution as sex trafficking has been an integral shift in discourse to the anti-human trafficking field. Selling sex is not just a (possibly illegal) economic transaction, it is a symptom of a larger social problem where people are exploited and forced into something against their will. Labor trafficking resides in an even grayer area; most people need to be convinced that the many types of labor abuse (up to and including actually forced labor) are “slavery” rather than just private economic transactions determined by a confusing labyrinth of currency values, local labor markets, and cultural traditions.

Activists in both movements, despite loftier goals to link these subjects to human rights frames and social justice paradigms, needed to start with defining the problems on a legal level. This focus on defining these acts as crimes and providing legal redress are why these issues are still currently linked with crime and law enforcement frames. The international protocols against
trafficking were a supplement to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime; the U.S. TVPA also relies on the criminal aspects of trafficking. In 1994, the VAWA was a piece of a larger anti-crime bill; it addressed the specific topic of violence against women by creating new categories of laws and penalties. Specific changes included the requirement that states honor protective orders issued by other states, allowed for expanded sentencing for repeat sex offenders, and made a victim’s sexual history inadmissible in court (Sacco 2015). Building the legal scaffolding for these crimes is important: however, this often leads to an inordinate amount of focus on prosecution, not prevention or protection. In addition, when these subjects are seen primarily through the criminal lens, law enforcement groups are given more priority in terms of grant money to deal with them.

To combat the focus on the prosecution side of these problems, activists in both social movements have fought for resources to provide services for survivors of both crimes. In the AHT world, this is the protection pillar. These are not just crimes where the perpetrator is arrested, tried, and convicted and the issue goes away. Victims of both domestic violence and human trafficking need years of aftercare due to the trauma inflicted by both situations. In order to convince lawmakers to direct funding towards victims, activists nurture relationships with members of Congress and their staffs. ATEST has worked on building expertise and trust throughout its history in terms of providing balanced advocacy on the topic of human trafficking. The similarities with the domestic violence movement were supported by comments from the NGO staffers interviewed for this research, particularly in terms of strategy and tactics. As one NGO staffer put it, “Domestic violence, I think, they’ve actually developed over decades these types of things (expertise and shared platforms), but for us, we’re so new, we’re still working through those very difficult areas (Kim, Interview, March 4, 2016).
The creation of a fledgling bureaucracy, and the funding to go with it to support these topics, would fuel the growth of philanthropic groups dedicated to both domestic violence and human trafficking. The VAWA legislation created a new office (the Office on Violence Against Women) within the DOJ to address violence against women; this new office was charged with administering grants to NGOs and the states to help combat domestic violence, sexual assault, and other violent crimes against women. Similarly, the TVPA created a responsible office in the State Department, charged with ranking the world’s efforts in combatting human trafficking and providing support to non-profits and states. By 2015, the Office on Violence Against Women had given more than $6 billion in grants to organizations under the auspices of the VAWA (Sacco 2015).

Not only do these two social movements have a long entwined history, the two bills themselves have often been physically linked. When the Violence Against Women Act was first passed in 1994, it was supported by both major political parties and was subsequently reauthorized in 2000 and 2005 with little controversy (Sacco 2015). Interestingly, when the VAWA was reauthorized in 2000, it was done as a section of the original Trafficking Act. Like the TVPA, the VAWA reauthorization was also scheduled for 2011; however, both bills experienced the same delay as the 112th Congress failed to enact the legislation. The culture wars continued to rage as partisan politics impacted both bills in different ways. While the TVPA was deflecting attacks on budgetary and anti-abortion fronts, the support for the VAWA was experiencing attacks based on gender definition, sexual orientation, and immigration status.

In the VAWA reauthorization, Republicans balked at language that expanded protections to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) victims of violence, expansion of visa programs to protect immigrant victims, and a provision that would allow non-Natives accused of abusing
Native women to be brought to tribal courts (Ball 2013; Kapur 2013). The failure of the reauthorization in 2011 was roundly criticized by women’s rights and domestic violence groups (Parker 2013). However, Republicans insisted that not naming specific groups for protection was actually more inclusive, despite evidence of discrimination against LGBT and immigrant violence victims (Cohen 2013).

The 113th Congress convened in early 2013 and advocates in both the human trafficking and violence against women arenas pushed for the renewal of two bills. The reelection of Barack Obama and the poor performance of the Republican Party with female voters in the 2012 election led many Republicans to rethink their opposition to the bills (Henderson 2013). This understanding was reflected in thoughts of the NGO employees as well.

The Republican party was doing a lot of... “post-mortem” was actually the phrase they used. They were looking at the party's inability to reach out to women voters in particular and how they had not performed as well as they need to at a national level with women voters. So that, I believe, is why the VAWA, which had been stalled, and the TVPRA, which had been stalled, got through. (Timothy, Interview, February 11, 2016).

Ultimately, in a reversal of the situation in 2000, the TVPRA of 2013 was added as an amendment to the VAWA reauthorization and both bills passed together. The TVPRA 2013 included many provisions focused on international trafficking like preventing U.S. aid for countries that use child soldiers, offering grant assistance for humanitarian tragedies overseas that tend to increase trafficking risks, and adding the ability of the U.S. government to prosecute U.S. citizens living abroad who may engage in commercial sex trafficking. The TVPRA 2013 also made it illegal to confiscate identity documents. The most insidious tool that traffickers use in their work is to erase the identity of the trafficking victim and take away their ability to move on from their situation. A lack of identity documents, like passports, traps the victim because they cannot prove who they are or where they are from. ATEST and its members were actively
involved in both campaigns. The linking of the VAWA and the TVPRA would mirror the growth of the coalition during this time frame. The broadening of the coalition’s attention to the causes and solutions to trafficking, particularly by expanding its membership to organizations outside the traditional AHT groups, is discussed in the next section.

II. ATEST and the Policy Environment

January 2013 marked the 150th anniversary of President Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation. ATEST and its members seized upon this historic reminder with poignant calls to reauthorize the TVPRA, leaning heavily on the moral imperative that the U.S. not ignore its own history in eradicating state-sanctioned slavery. This linkage to the idea that America is exceptional and a beacon of freedom and hope for others is powerful. It feeds the narrative that only America has the power to keep the good fight against slavery going. The language and imagery are similar to the themes invoked by the advertisement in the prior year using the Statue of Liberty and the call for the U.S. to maintain its leadership role in the world.

Outlawing slavery didn’t end it. We need to finish what Abraham Lincoln started. Reauthorizing the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, and launching the new anti-slavery initiatives proposed by the Obama administration, will allow the U.S. to make historic progress toward ending slavery once and for all. We owe it to those trapped in slavery today, and to those who’ve fought and died to combat slavery in the past, to keep up the fight. It’s a fight we can win if we all work together.” – Terry FitzPatrick, Communications Director, Free the Slaves (ATEST, January 10, 2013)

As we honor the Emancipation Proclamation, the symbolic end to one of America’s darkest times, we urge President Obama and Congress to summon the will to help emancipate the 27 million men, women, and children still enslaved in the United States and around the world, including supporting the reauthorization of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act.” – David Abramowitz, Director of ATEST and Vice President, Policy and Government Relations, Humanity United (ATEST, January 10, 2013)

The Republican “post-mortem” and the quiet reintroduction of both the VAWA and the TVPRA in early 2013 signaled a new path forward for the AHT movement. Despite their past
increased levels of criticism against both the House and Senate for the political environment that caused the delay, members of the coalition were also quick with praise when both bills moved forward. This cycle of careful criticism and support would repeat itself throughout the time frame with other issues pertinent to the movement, including the quality of the TIP reports and certain provisions of the TVPRA addressing the rights of unaccompanied minors.

Foreign governments pay close attention to the U.S. leadership on trafficking and slavery. We needed this legislation to keep the lights on at the Trafficking in Persons Office, which is our country’s greatest asset in fighting slavery. Thank you, Senators Leahy and Rubio for proving that leaders can cross party lines when it comes to protecting the least of these – children and adults in slavery. — Holly J. Burkhalter, Vice President, Government Relations, International Justice Mission (ATEST, February 12, 2013)

This was a time to lead in the fight against modern-day slavery and the US Senate rose to the occasion. At a time when it seems impossible to move important legislation, the Senate vote not only gives hope to millions of exploited men, women, and children around the world, but also to the thousands of advocates around the country who’ve worked tirelessly to push this legislation through. We now implore the House to take notice and follow suit so this life-saving bill can renewed. – Jesse Eaves, Senior Policy for Child Protection, World Vision (ATEST, February 12, 2013)

The reauthorization of the TVPRA was a major policy win for the coalition. ATEST continued to move forward after the reauthorization; major themes that emerged in the work included a focus on labor trafficking, recognizing vulnerable populations, maintaining the integrity of the TIP report, and increasing services to survivors. Beginning in 2013, ATEST’s focus clearly moved more towards supply chain transparency and the many avenues through which labor is exploited, including through federal government contracting. Traditionally, labor trafficking has been approached through Soule’s (2009) private politics model, with most NGOs targeting private firms in an attempt to get them to change policies without the threat of government intervention. However, as outlined in Chapter 4, within the ATEST coalition, we see organizational learning and adoption of tactics normally reserved for different targets. ATEST and its members not only targeted private business through the private politics model but also
targeted the state itself and its procurement practices. Equally notable, they pushed for federal level supply chain transparency laws through the contentious politics model.

Internationally, incidents of labor abuse highlighted the importance of transparency in the supply chain and the impact of cheap, fast fashion on the people hired to make clothes for Western markets. In late 2012, a horrendous fire ripped through a garment factory in Bangladesh, killing 112 workers. The Tazreen Fashion factory supplied clothing for several Western fashion companies; workers were paid extremely low wages, doors were locked preventing escape from the fire and a lack of fire extinguishers and the presence of flammable materials not stored properly all contributed to the high death toll and many injured workers (Solidarity Center, January 29, 2013). In the two years following the fire, another 68 incidents occurred in Bangladesh, killing an additional 30 workers and injuring 844 (Solidarity Center, November 24, 2014). ATEST coalition member, Solidarity Center, has been the main driver in increasing awareness of the horrible working conditions under which these garment factory employees suffer. In response to the Tazreen fire, the U.S. government suspended trade preferences under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) system, which grants products made in Bangladesh duty-free for import (USTR January 2015). This incident, coupled with the publication in 2013 of the DOL’s report, “Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor,” ATEST and its members pushed for increased federal policy action and consumer awareness on the use of forced labor in the supply chain.

Coalition learning is also evident in the ability of ATEST and its members to target multiple levels of policymaking within the U.S.; not only does the coalition target federal policy aimed at international human trafficking, it is able, through the expertise of its members, to target U.S. state policy, thereby creating a larger “policy battleground (Holyoke 2003).” ATEST
released an in-depth report on California’s Transparency in Supply Chains Act (SB657)\textsuperscript{22} in 2013. California SB 657 was important to the AHT movement for many reasons: it was the first state bill that required companies to report on their supply chain transparency programs, and, given the size of the California economy, the bill impacted over 3,000 companies across the nation. However, even at the time of passage, the bill was criticized for not having enough teeth when it came to actually forcing companies to do anything more than report on their efforts. ATEST urged companies to be proactive in auditing their own practices and receiving certification to enhance their supply chain transparency (ATEST 2013). Incidentally, the recommendations of the California law follow closely the actual services that Verité, a member of the coalition, offers. ATEST’s work on labor trafficking encompasses both business practices and consumer education. The coalition also endorsed \textit{Know the Chain}, a web-based resource created by Humanity United, Verité, Sustainalytics, and the Business and Human Rights Resource Centre, which provides information for consumers regarding company compliance with California SB 657.\textsuperscript{23}

To support this increased focus on labor trafficking, the coalition advocated for many new bills, including the Fraudulent Overseas Recruitment and Trafficking Elimination Act (FORTE) and the Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act. Both of these bills focused on the international component of trafficking along with the intersections of immigration policy and the push factors bringing people into the trafficking supply chain. In addition to legislation, the ATEST coalition was integral in supporting

\textsuperscript{22} As of January 1, 2012, retail sellers and manufacturers doing business in California and having $100 million or more in annual worldwide gross receipts must comply with requirements to inform their consumers about what the company is doing to end human trafficking and slavery within their supply chains.

\textsuperscript{23} \url{www.knowthechain.org}
Executive Order 13627, which strengthened protections against trafficking in persons in federal contracts.

At the federal level in 2014, ATEST’s work in supply chain transparency continued with its advocacy of the Business Supply Chain Transparency on Trafficking and Slavery Act. This federal act was patterned after California SB 657 and looked to replicate its standards and apply them at the federal level. Notably, ATEST was careful to frame the policy recommendations as a benefit to business, not only in the arena of public opinion, but also by applying uniform, federal standards that make these recommendations more efficient for business (ATEST, June 12, 2014). Carmen commented, “The way that I would put it (to business) is look, work with us on a federal bill because if you don’t, there will be fifty different state laws (Interview, August 29, 2016).”

However, the AHT movement received pushback from some groups, including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. When NGOs target private industry, there can often be high levels of tension; this is due, in part, to the idea that NGOs are pointing out unethical or immoral business dealings and companies are being shamed into doing the right thing. In addition, business supporters see any new regulations or reporting requirements as potentially cutting into their profits, not to mention the increased cost for those companies caught using slave labor in their supply chains. For example, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce is staunchly opposed to more stringent requirements on U.S. businesses that use the H2B visa program claiming it does harm to business practices. However, the H2B visa program has been used fraudulently by some businesses to bring in cheap or forced labor (Twohey, Rosenberg and McNeill 2016). As Carmen continued, “as the (AHT) movement gets more sophisticated and powerful, they start to encroach
on powerful interests, like business, and I think that’s something you are going to see more of…more butting heads and conflict with business” (Interview, August 29, 2016).

The tactics used by NGOs on labor trafficking usually reside in the private politics model; these tactics are often more confrontational in nature because the social movement is attempting to cajole companies into doing the right thing without the punitive power of the state behind them (Soule 2009). Some members of ATEST, like the CIW, use traditional protest tactics, like marches and hunger strikes, in order to bring labor and sex trafficking conditions to light. However, the use of collaborative partnerships and voluntary compacts are much more common in the coalition. As mentioned in chapter 4, ECPAT-USA’s Code of Conduct, partnering travel companies with the organization to provide guidance and training in recognizing child sex trafficking, and the CIW’s Fair Food program, in which companies agree to pay more per pound of tomatoes to ensure labor rights in the fields, are examples of how ATEST has adjusted the private politics model to better suit their end game of ending human trafficking.

The influence of Verité and its voluntary auditing program is very evident in the direction of ATEST’s work in 2013-2014. ATEST has framed its work as being beneficial to private enterprise and not a regulatory burden; in addition, ATEST and its members have been able to praise and recognize leadership in the private sector in addressing the global problem of modern day slavery. This is due in part to Humanity United founders, the billionaire Omidyar family, founders of Ebay, and their background and connections in private industry. However, some scholars have cautioned that the rise of philanthrocapitalism may not be a panacea for the AHT movement. Billionaires have deep pockets, but also deep connections to the global elite; many organizations financed by this type of money tend to rely on old frames of good vs. evil in the
victim/perpetrator dichotomy and often do not address the systemic causes of human trafficking, i.e. the demand for cheap labor and fast turn-around of product (Chuang 2015).24

In 2014, ATEST continued its membership expansion by welcoming three new members. Futures Without Violence, the National Network for Youth (NN4Y), and the National Domestic Workers’ Alliance (NDWA) all joined the coalition. These organizations were not uniquely focused on human trafficking; however, the concerns addressed by these organizations were intricately linked to modern day slavery. Futures Without Violence is an organization that combats domestic violence against women and children. The NN4Y advocates for runaway and homeless youth, while the NDWA works to defend domestic workers from labor abuse due to their exclusion from the Fair Labor Standards Act. These three groups advocate for populations that are often linked to human trafficking and have provided ATEST with further expertise in survivor profiles. For example, domestic workers are often undocumented immigrants, many brought to the U.S. by traffickers. And homeless and runaway youth, along with those that have experienced domestic abuse at home, are often targeted by traffickers due to their vulnerability.

The topic of undocumented and unaccompanied youth and the connection to the human trafficking problem became abundantly clear in 2014. That year, an almost 100% increase in the number of unaccompanied minors from the prior year flooded the southern border of the U.S.; nearly 53,000 in the first 9 months of 2014 (Rappleye 2014). Republican lawmakers spoke out about the crisis, blaming the influx on lax immigration laws under the Obama Administration and balked at the expanding cost to handle the increasing number of children on the border (McCain 2014). Congressional responses to the surge in unaccompanied children fleeing violence from Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador included sending the children back to their

24 In the same article, Chuang does reference the Omidyar’s transparency on funding failures (their investment in a company that was later found to have engaged in labor exploitation) as a positive sign that these groups, particularly Humanity United, recognizes the challenges of philanthrocapitalism.
home countries without a review of their individual circumstances. This approach was in direct violation of the 2008 TVPRA that included a provision that required any unaccompanied minor arriving at the border be screened for the possibility that they were a victim of human trafficking. ATEST and its members strongly condemned any attempt to weaken the protections for children in the 2008 TVPRA.

Congress continues to propose legislation that would weaken the country's cornerstone trafficking law. These changes would have a detrimental impact on our ability to identify and aid children who are victims of sex and labor trafficking and who might have valid asylum claims. Turning away these children sends them back into harm's way where they risk further exploitation. The thousands of unaccompanied children crossing our border to escape untold violence and poverty deserve the rights and support afforded to them under the TVPRA. (Polaris, July 25, 2014).

Some members of the coalition were even more strident in their criticism of Congress’s attempt to change the TVPRA law.

“This legislation places already vulnerable children in even more danger,” said Jesse Eaves, the Senior Policy Advisor for Child Protection at World Vision. “They might as well have changed the name of the law to the “Trafficking Victims ‘As long as they don’t touch our soil’ Protection Act. It takes out nearly every safeguard that both parties clearly thought were essential in their vote six years ago. (World Vision, August 1, 2014).

ATEST and its allies in several advocacy areas (including immigration rights and children’s rights groups) succeeded in protecting the TVPRA 2008 provision in 2014; however, the subject of unaccompanied minors is one that ATEST continues to fight for as bills are introduced to weaken the protection for this class of human trafficking victims (ATEST, July 7, 2015; February 3, 2016; June 13, 2017).

Increasing attention to vulnerable populations that are targeted by human traffickers and protecting existing law marked the 2013-2014 period for the coalition. The expansion of the coalition to three new members directly impacted its mission. The coalition did lose an official member as well in late 2014; however, Not For Sale continued to support the coalition in sign-on letters. Not For Sale’s defection had more to do with the fact that its focus changed to incubating
grassroots AHT groups and less on advocacy on the federal level (Timothy, Interview, February 11, 2016). ATEST’s ability to attract new groups to the coalition is a testament to its successes and reach within the broader human rights community. The coalition and its members were also receiving increased attention in the AHT community. For example, in April 2014, CAST was honored with the Presidential Award for Extraordinary Efforts to Combat Trafficking in Persons for its work on victim services and for California’s SB657. The work of the coalition and its individual members will be reviewed in more detail in the next section.

III. Organizational Diversity, Identity, and Learning

The ATEST coalition focused on anti-human trafficking policy during 2013 and 2014 by expanding its membership and substantially increasing its efforts to address labor trafficking. The membership of ATEST rose to a total of 15 organizations in 2014. A total of 255 documents were included in the analysis of this period. Every organization in the coalition is represented through documents, unlike in past periods analyzed. In addition, World Vision, usually the most prolific publisher of documents, fell to second as Solidarity Center produced 61 documents for the time frame. Table 5.1 provides a breakdown of the documents for this time period.
Table 5.1 2013-2014 ATEST Document Count

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member Name</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
<th>Joined ATEST</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alliance to End Slavery and Trafficking (ATEST)</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition of Immokolee Workers (CIW)</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (CASTLA)</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End Child Prostitution and Trafficking (ECPAT-USA)</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free the Slaves</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Futures without Violence</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Domestic Workers’ Alliance (NDWA)</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Network for Youth (NN4Y)</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not For Sale</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polaris</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe Horizon</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity Center</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verite</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vital Voices</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Vision</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>111</strong></td>
<td><strong>110</strong></td>
<td><strong>255</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data for new members includes from the first year of membership going forward.

The analysis will focus on four of the five thematic areas of codes as outlined in Chapter 2. Those four are: the geographic and demographic references pertaining to human trafficking and its victims; human trafficking types; the policy focus of the advocacy work of the group; and the specific types of NGO activities during this time frame will all be analyzed. In addition, in order to account for the different numbers and lengths of documents across the organizations in the comparative organizational analysis, the data is weighted according to the formula found in Appendix D. Coding references were made at the paragraph level. Any given paragraph can have as many codes as warranted given the material; however, each paragraph is only coded
once for each individual code. The code occurrence count for this time period is outlined in Figure 5.1.

**Figure 5.1 2013-2014 Code Occurrence by Theme**

![Bar chart showing code occurrence by theme for 2013-2014]

Figure 5.1 Analysis based on weighted data. For weights formula, see Appendix D.

The Human Trafficking theme outlines root causes and references the different types of trafficking and is the second most referenced theme for the time frame. The Human Trafficking theme also includes any references to root causes of trafficking and the mention of the term modern day slavery. This theme was closely followed by a focus on what areas of the world and on what types of victims these organizations were concentrating their messages on. The actual work of the organizations and how they describe themselves is discussed under the NGO Activity and Identity theme which was the most referenced code for these years. Finally, as
advocacy groups, the messaging on international, federal, and U.S. state policy and law is a focus as well. A detailed analysis of the four themes follows below.

NGO Activity and Identity

Coding for this time frame illustrates a focus on the work of the NGOs themselves. The top theme for 2013-2014 was NGO Activity and Identity. The fact that the NGO Activity theme was greater than the Human Trafficking theme of both prior time periods speaks to the importance of the actual work that these organizations do. The NGOs are spotlighting their programs and their advocacy more than just defining human trafficking. The maturation of both the organizations and the coalition itself is proven by their ability to concentrate on the work, or the prognostic framing, of offering solutions to human trafficking, not just diagnostic framing. A detailed analysis of the NGO Activity and Identity theme follows.
The organizations that make up ATEST see themselves first as service providers. This is indicative in the number of outreach programs and direct services for survivors that are referenced in the body of the documents. In addition, the way in which these organizations self-identify is as service organizations. Polaris, Free the Slaves, and Verité were increasingly active in their level of programming and service provision. In addition, ECPAT-USA added three new major corporate partners, Maritz, Orbitz, and EmpireCLS Worldwide Chauffeured Services to its Code of Conduct while the CIW scored a major coup by adding food retailing giant Wal-Mart to its Fair Food Program.

Polaris’s work in creating the NHTRC hotline is one of the main service programs it offers to help survivors and bystanders report indices of trafficking in the U.S. The hotline
provides real-time statistics for those in the U.S. to pinpoint trafficking activity. In 2013, they created a project to share their expertise managing a hotline and reporting the findings by partnering with Liberty Asia and La Strada International to make these practices work in other regions of the world (Polaris, April 9, 2013). In addition, the ability to text to the hotline was initiated in the U.S. with the help of technology partners, Thorn, Twilio, and salesforce.com. In many cases, trafficking survivors may not have the ability to call and speak out, but may be able to send a more discreet message via text (Polaris, March 28, 2013). Polaris was also a member of a partnership that received a $1.17 million grant to create a safe shelter plan in New Jersey, leveraging technology by using crowdsource funding to allow individuals to fund hotel rooms for human trafficking survivors if no shelter space is available (Polaris, April 30, 2014.) Polaris’ continued dedication to technology solutions for the AHT movement, along with its annual reporting on U.S. states’ progress regarding human trafficking policy remain its strongest avenues to provide services to human trafficking survivors. The lack of hard data on the size and scope of human trafficking is an obstacle for the AHT movement and can hamper their ability to maintain buy-in for their cause. These programs and initiatives not only show growth in the organizations’ ability to provide that data, but also shows an increasing level of sophistication with their partnerships.

Free the Slaves’ approach targets the source countries of human trafficking victims with programs on the ground in six countries: Congo, Ghana, Haiti, India, Nepal and Senegal. Their community-based model for fighting slavery includes detailed educational programs for villagers on the risks of human trafficking, training for law enforcement and those in the legal professions, and in depth research and program evaluation (www.freetheslaves.net). The community-based model identifies the structural causes of human trafficking, including economic and cultural
impediments to its eradication and strives to eliminate those roadblocks (Free the Slaves, Q2 2014). Free the Slaves also engages in teaching students in the U.S. about modern day slavery with the creation of downloadable teaching guides (Free the Slaves, Q3 2014). Verité also continued its auditing and reporting on labor abuses in Malaysia and the Dominican Republic, while also sponsoring a web-based assessment tool that allows companies to review policies dedicated to promote gender equality in the workplace (Verité, April 5, 2013).

Cross-coalitional learning and partnering continued during this time frame as well. CAST and Polaris partnered with Clear Channel Communications to launch a series of outdoor advertisements that promoted the NHTRC hotline in the Los Angeles area (CAST, September 22, 2014). IJM and Polaris partnered together to help Wyoming become the last state in the nation to pass AHT laws (Polaris, February 27, 2013). The coalition’s ability to harness technology, provide in-depth training and services to survivors of trafficking, and its partnerships in increasing public awareness was evident in the 2013-2014 time frame. The maturation of the coalition and the AHT movement itself is illustrated by the direction these projects have taken. Organizations are not just defining human trafficking (diagnostic framing), these NGOs are now providing solutions and hard data to pinpoint the where, who, and why people are being trafficked in the first place (prognostic framing). The ability to provide statistics lends credibility to the claim that human trafficking is a pertinent public policy problem.

Human Trafficking

References to human trafficking and modern day slavery in a broad sense were the single biggest category for this theme for this time period as in the prior time frames. However, for the first time, the sex trafficking code did not make it in the list of the top 5 coding references.
Throughout this study, the focus on labor trafficking has always been higher than other forms, mostly due to the makeup of the coalition members and the feeling that the groups needed to lift up labor trafficking because of the lopsided attention that sex trafficking receives. Labor trafficking, when combining the four major sub-codes, outweighs references to human trafficking in general. The coding analysis, along with the increased advocacy on supply chain transparency bills for the time frame, supports the idea that ATEST strengthens its strategy in 2013-2014 to focus holistically on trafficking while still lifting up labor trafficking and similar problems. This focus is illustrated in the coding analysis for the Human Trafficking theme in Figure 5.3.

**Figure 5.3 Code Occurrence-Human Trafficking Theme 2013-2014**

![Figure 5.3 Analysis based on weighted data. For weights formula, see Appendix D.](image-url)
The use of the terms human trafficking and modern day slavery as an overarching message was strongly present throughout the documents. Only five organizations, the CIW, Futures Without Violence, the National Domestic Workers’ Alliance, Verité, and Vital Voices, have no occurrences of this particular code in their documents. With the exception of Vital Voices and Futures Without Violence, this is due to the fact that these other organizations target a specific type of trafficking, namely labor. Futures Without Violence and Vital Voices both have missions that do not address human trafficking in a direct way, but link to the topic through either a recognition that domestic violence victims are a vulnerable population (Futures) or that women are often the main demographic group caught up in human trafficking (Vital Voices). Vital Voices’ work providing leadership workshops and business training for women around the world impacts the economic and cultural vulnerabilities that might put women in a trafficker’s path. Likewise, Futures’ advocacy work with domestic violence victims, both male and female, adults and children, gives that group a deeper knowledge of how people are forced from their homes, or seek out opportunities that directly lead them to potentially dangerous situations where traffickers recruit. These two organizations in particular are not as vocal about human trafficking within their documentation, but offer other groups within the coalition information regarding the causes and vulnerabilities of human trafficking victims.

Polaris was by far the most prolific of the groups when referencing human trafficking and slavery with 202 paragraphs dedicated to the subject, almost three times the number of paragraphs for the next group, Free the Slaves at 68. This is probably due, in part, to the fact that the nature of Polaris’ work with the national hotline, awareness billboards, and its reporting on state efforts on AHT policy and law all necessitate a broader approach to modern day slavery. Similarly, Free the Slaves works to free slaves from all forms of trafficking by educating people.
in source countries about the mechanisms through which people are exploited, regardless of the type of trafficking. Other uses of the broader phrases human trafficking and modern day slavery are found in coalition documents supporting the passage of the TVPRA in 2013, comments on the TIP reports for both years, and the concern for the health of TVPRA 2008 provision on undocumented children in 2014.

As mentioned in prior sections, this time period shows a clear pivot to concerns regarding labor trafficking and its nuances. In particular, the addition of the NDWA catapulted the concern for the plight of domestic workers in the human trafficking supply chain. Nannies, elder care providers, aides, and housekeepers are often excluded from some protections under federal law (including overtime and sick pay), particularly those that “live-in” the private homes they serve. The NDWA was founded in 2007, but its program specifically relating to human trafficking was started in 2013, called Beyond Survival (www.domesticworkers.org). Domestic workers are a particularly vulnerable group as their work often occurs in private and labor abuse can go unchecked for years. This is especially true for human trafficking victims, many of whom who came here under the impression that they would be entering a different job or were offered a domestic position, but were lied to about the living conditions, wages, or had their travel/identity documents stolen from them. The NDWA is also a coalition, constituting local chapters around the country that work to pass domestic workers’ rights bills in state legislatures, while also working on a national level to push for federal labor protections. The documents for this time frame illustrate their commitment to moving policy at both levels, with the NDWA scoring policy victories in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Labor rights and ethical sourcing were also prevalent for the time period. Solidarity Center continued its advocacy work on unionization and worker protections around the world,
with a special emphasis on the deadly factory fire in Bangladesh. The CIW marked a major victory with Wal-Mart agreeing to become a part of its Fair Food program. Wal-Mart’s sheer size and market power will expand the program’s impact as other buyers may be forced to follow Wal-Mart’s lead in paying more per pound for tomatoes to help support worker wages (CIW, January 16, 2014). The CIW also created an official Fair Food label to be placed on products purchased by its partners to elevate consumer awareness of the program (CIW, October 24, 2014).

ATEST and its members are committed to a holistic approach to human trafficking, supporting legislation and programs that impact all types and all victim populations. However, the focus on labor trafficking by the group speaks to a common thread among the AHT community in that sex trafficking already receives the most attention and will receive needed money regardless of their advocacy. Historically, sex trafficking has been intricately tied to law enforcement initiatives; grants for programs tied to law enforcement issues, particularly in the security-focused policy arena after the terrorist attacks in 2001, are much easier to get. Many of the interviewees in this study alluded to the fact that money would always be available for sex trafficking due to this relationship, so there was little need to advocate for it as strongly. In addition, the coalition recognized the trend of increased attention to domestic (U.S.) victims of human trafficking, necessitating a dedication to lifting up the plight of international victims. The work done by the coalition on the geography and gender of victims will be explored in the next section.

Geographic/Demographic

Many members of the ATEST coalition have deep seated beliefs that human trafficking is a global scourge that disproportionately impacts international victims. After all, the U.S. is
largely a destination state in the global human trafficking supply chain. The documents for the time period illustrate a continued focus on international trafficking victims. The analysis also shows an almost complete focus on women and children, with the direct mention of men and boys as victims of human trafficking practically non-existent. Figure 5.4 shows the analysis of the Geographic/Demographic theme for 2013-2014.

**Figure 5.4 Code Occurrence—Geographic/Demographic Theme 2013-2014**

The focus on women and children in the AHT field is well-noted throughout the literature and throughout the analysis of the prior two time frames in this research. For 2013-2014, the members of ATEST actually commented on the human trafficking of children much more so than even women. The code occurrence for children constituted 188.13 of the 204.11 for the analysis period. This was largely driven by ECPAT and Free the Slaves, whose codes total nearly 64% of the total codes for the period. Given the work and missions of these two
organizations, it is not surprising that the code occurrences for children would be so high. ECPAT is an organization dedicated to the eradication of child sex trafficking, while Free the Slaves works on the ground to inform and education populations on the dangers of child labor and child trafficking.

While continued programming of some groups naturally leads to a dominance of one victim group over another, several outside events during the time frame also led to an increased presence of messaging regarding the impact the human trafficking on children. The release of the DOL report on the worst forms of child labor along with the 2014 surge of undocumented minors at the southern border dominated the concern and published remarks of the coalition. In addition, ATEST’s focus on supply chain transparency absolutely encompasses a moralistic imperative that businesses do more to address child labor in their products. The coalition’s dedication to raising the child labor problem is illustrated in a June 12, 2014 press release from ATEST regarding the Business Supply Chain Transparency on Trafficking and Slavery Act of 2014 (H.R. 4842):

Free the Slaves and its partners in Ghana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Brazil, and India are daily witness to slavery and child labor embedded in global supply chains.
- Karen Strauss, Free the Slaves

At ECPAT-USA, believe this bill represents a tremendous step forward for the protection of children from sexual exploitation. We look forward to a day when all companies have policies against sexual exploitation of children.
- Carol Smolenski, ECPAT-USA

Businesses are in a unique position to address modern slavery at the scale at which it exists by eliminating forced or child labor from their supply chains.
- Chris Ann Keehner, Polaris

As mentioned in section two of this chapter, the undocumented minor crisis at the southern border of the US and the threat of Congress to eliminate protections for these children granted under the TVPRA 2008 led to much criticism from the coalition. Other areas around the
world subjected to war or ongoing violence were also cause for concern among the members of ATEST. World Vision released a report on the children of South Sudan where they found that more children were in the labor market than in the classroom (World Vision, December 8, 2014). The inability of children to attend class further limits their opportunities in the future and continues the cycle of poverty and vulnerability to trafficking. The DOL report released in 2013 specifically called out thirteen countries that had made no progress on eliminating child labor, including three (The Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, and Uzbekistan) where the state was actually complicit in child labor schemes (Solidarity Center, October 6, 2013).

While a majority of the codes were focused on the international trafficking of children, Polaris, CAST, and the NN4Y also attended to the plight of domestic youth. Polaris’ work on rating U.S. state efforts on trafficking often calls out the extra protections needed for young victims. Minors that have been picked up on prostitution charges are often viewed as criminals themselves. ATEST members worked to change this perception and provide minors and adults who were recruited as minors to be able to clean their records in order to be able to move on with their lives.

What is most disconcerting is that a majority of states still lack laws that protect victims of human trafficking and help survivors rebuild their lives. Only 15 states have full "safe harbor" laws that protect child victims of sexual exploitation, and another 7 have passed partial versions of the law. (Polaris, September 17, 2014)

While both adults and children are still being misidentified, large numbers of children are still being arrested for prostitution. These children are victims of commercial sexual exploitation. Arresting them creates a negative mindset that has the potential to follow them into adulthood. One of CAST’s priorities is to find ways in which we can provide other options for vulnerable children besides juvenile detention. (CAST, June 27, 2014)

While children received the lion’s share of attention in the documents for the time frame, Polaris was the only organization to specifically comment on the victimization of men in human trafficking. Their 2013 report released based on data from the NHTRC hotline from 2007-2012
pointed out that 40% of labor trafficking victims are men, yet there are very few options for men in terms of services and aftercare, specifically calling out a lack of shelters that can house male victims (Polaris, November 21, 2013). Historically, women and children have been seen as the most “sympathetic” of trafficking victims. The troubling trend of not including men in that picture is seen in the documentation in this research as well.

The need for a sympathetic image of the innocent trafficking victim has been discussed in many scholarly works in the AHT literature (Denton 2010; Austin and Farrell 2017). What is troubling about this is that the perfect victim picture often leads to a lack of agency for those involved. This includes leaving those people out of policy discussions about the very problem that they suffered and how to best to provide remedies (Kempadoo 2015). Victims may best know what the broader situation calls for; they certainly know best what they individually need. Thankfully, many organizations have begun to reference people caught up in the human trafficking supply chain as survivors, not victims. While ATEST and its members often use both terms, the use of the term survivor took on more meaning in the 2013-2014 time period as these organizations began calling for more survivor-centered programs and asking for survivor voices to be a part of the policy creation process. Notably, some coalition members were even critically self-reflexive about this subject. For example, when CAST was awarded the Presidential Award for Extraordinary Efforts to Combat Human Trafficking, the group specifically called out the importance of survivors’ experiences and noted their own learning curve in this regard:

Survivors have always been at the center of CAST’s mission. Our approach is grounded in the belief that survivors are key leaders in the fight against modern slavery - who better to inform our work than the people who are directly impacted. Survivors inspire us and teach us. This award signals that as a movement, we are willing to learn,” said CAST’s Executive Director Kay Buck. (CAST, April 8, 2014).

Free the Slaves has also used the unique experiences of survivors as a part of their education platforms. Survivors have intimate details about how they fell into their trafficking
situations; in addition, they know what services or help might have directed them away from their situations. Many survivors who have been restored have also begun to “pay it forward” by helping human trafficking victims get out of slavery and becoming activists themselves (Free the Slaves, Q1 2013). Amplifying survivor voices has benefits for survivors, through the psychological impact of regaining their voice after a period of exploitation. In addition, the groups fighting human trafficking also benefit as their missions are supported with eyewitness accounts of the trauma these people suffered. Bringing survivors to key legislative hearings, and organizing roundtables, protest events, and educational seminars that feature survivor voices amplifies their agency; it also provides emotional weight to the events and to the arguments for AHT policy recommendations.

The centering of survivor voices in the AHT movement is indicative of a larger theme in both the nonprofit and community building arenas. Successful nonprofits do not just rely on good internal management, members, or resources; research has found that successful nonprofits are those that bring in outsiders, preferably from the population they wish to serve (Grant and Crutchfield 2007). This also strongly echoes the idea behind the New Public Service (NPS) paradigm in the community building literature (Denhardt and Denhardt 2000). While the NPS references government response to citizens’ needs and participation, both theories rely on the democratic inclusion of all affected groups when it comes to policy creation and the benefits on both the acceptance and longevity of the policy (Fung 2007; King and Zanetti 2005; Sandel 1996). In the AHT community, this naturally falls to the idea of incorporating survivors directly into advocacy. Incorporating survivors into advocacy strategy directly impacts the work of the group on policy and law, which will be examined in the next section.
Policy and Law

Even with the reauthorization of the TVPRA and the VAWA in early 2013, ATEST was not resting on the passage of these two bills as the only pertinent policy work for 2013-2014. As mentioned in prior section in this chapter, the coalition and its members advocated on many different pieces of legislation, commented on executive orders, made recommendations on agency policies, and testified on various aspects of the human trafficking policy agenda. Figure 5.5 shows the code occurrence for the Policy and Law theme for this time period.

**Figure 5.5 Code Occurrence-Policy and Law Theme 2013-2014**

![Figure 5.5 Analysis based on weighted data. For weights formula, see Appendix D.]

Although ATEST was created to advocate on the federal policy level, the numbers for this time frame seem to indicate that U.S. state policy and local law received the most attention from the coalition. This is a direct illustration of the ability of the organization and its members to target multiple levels of governance in attacking the human trafficking problem. Work at the
federal level is somewhat hidden when comparing each code reference on their own. For example, references to the annual TIP report, the TVPA, and the federal budget, are not as robust as the code for U.S. state and local policy when separated. However, when combining the many different types of federal policy, advocacy by the group is still slightly tilted towards the federal level overall.

The work on U.S. state and local law stems mostly from concentrated advocacy by 3 of the 15 organizations: NDWA, Polaris, and CAST. For example, out of 245.25 occurrences, 182.52 (74.4%) were from the NDWA and their work on state policy regarding domestic workers’ rights. The NDWA worked extensively on both a Massachusetts and Connecticut law recognizing domestic workers’ rights. Polaris’ work on state rankings followed, and finally, CAST’s advocacy on a California law requiring transportation companies, emergency rooms, bars, and other businesses that might be frequented by trafficking victims to post the NHTRC hotline number and CAST’s contact information rounded out the codes on local law (CAST, February 10, 2014).

ATEST also provided guidance in aiding the Uniform Law Commission (ULC) to create a standard human trafficking act that all U.S. states could use. As awareness of human trafficking as a policy issue grew through the early 2000s, each state came up with its own set of laws, creating different definitions and levels of punishments. Similarly to the argument that businesses might be best served by a federal supply chain law patterned off of the California law, the ULC’s attempt to create a uniform law would enable states to not reinvent the wheel in each state in terms of trafficking policy. ATEST took advantage of this political opportunity to create a more inclusive, standard law that states would be able to apply across the country, ensuring that victims would not receive inadequate care solely based on geography. In addition, spotty human
trafficking laws across different states have the ability to create pockets of abuse as traffickers move their operations to locales with less stringent laws on the books. The American Bar Association approved the Uniform Act to Combat Human Trafficking in August 2013 and moved to introduce the Act to state legislatures across the country.\textsuperscript{25}

ATEST and its members continued to place protection of survivors as the most important “P” of the 3Ps framework. In the last section, the use of the term survivor and the amplification of survivor voices in the policy creation process are directly related to the protection of those caught up in human trafficking. In addition to an emphasis on survivor voices, the coalition advocated for budget increases for services. ATEST applauded President Obama’s FY2014 budget request that included an increase in funding for AHT programs, but put pressure on Congress to pass the appropriations bill to include his recommendations.

To help direct service providers, like CAST, support new clients, the president and the U.S. Congress must now follow through with leadership required to pass the appropriations bill that fund anti-trafficking programs—this bill will be considered this summer. – Kay Buck, CAST (ATEST, June 18, 2013).

Not only did the coalition advocate directly to Congress, Free the Slaves reminded its supporters that the passage of the TVPRA was only the first step in supporting the AHT agenda.

TVPA is a blueprint for change, but it’s not a budget. Federal appropriations battles are ahead. Please keep an eye out for more Action Alerts from Free the Slaves. – (Free the Slaves, Q1 2013).

The FY2014 federal budget did include an increase in funding for anti-trafficking programs, including a 40% increase for HHS, a 6% increase for the Justice Department, and the budget continued to fund the J/TIP office in the State Department, which produces the TIP report and


176
provides funding for other nonprofits; although seen as a victory for the movement, particularly following the partisan battles of the prior time period, Free the Slaves stated, “The 2014 federal budget is proof that combatting slavery transcends partisanship. But the struggle isn’t over (Free the Slaves, Q1 2014).” ATEST’s work in advocating for federal dollars towards fighting human trafficking would not cease.

While the ATEST coalition supported the J/TIP office and the TIP reporting, many members spoke out about maintaining the integrity of the report. The TIP reports for both 2013 and 2014 were well received by the AHT community. In 2013, the DOS was required by law to automatically downgrade countries that had been at a Tier 2 Watch List status for more than two years; both the 2013 and 2014 reports included the necessary downgrades for countries like Russia, Uzbekistan, China, Malaysia, and Thailand (ATEST, June 18, 2013, and June 20, 2014). However, the coalition was not afraid to critique the report as well. One area that the coalition targeted is the U.S. self-ranking. The U.S. started measuring its own AHT efforts in 2010; however, the U.S. has always received a Tier 1 score. Members of the coalition took the U.S. to task for that ranking in a number of ways, including admonishing the government for not funding AHT programs and not gathering good data on the problem.

ATEST believes there are still serious gaps in the U.S. response to human trafficking. The United States must lead by example but unfortunately we don’t see an aggressive, well-funded effort that is on par with the scope of the human trafficking problem within our own borders. –(ATEST, June 20, 2014).

The TIP report is one step, but if the U.S. is going to do everything it can to stop human trafficking, it has to start with basic data about the problem. We still don’t have a good baseline study measuring the number of children who are victims of sex trafficking. Nor are there numbers for labor trafficked victims. - Carol Smolenski, ECPAT (as quoted in ATEST, June 20, 2014)

In the United States, the TIP Report describes numerous ways state and federal entities have made efforts to establish a foundational response to sex and labor trafficking. However, considerable work remains to fill serious gaps in victim services and other key
areas. Furthermore, while the states and federal government have demonstrated a strong commitment to ending human trafficking, significant hurdles remain in implementing this legislation and allocating the real funds needed to support survivors. – Polaris (as quoted in ATEST, June 20, 2014).

The TIP report has also been criticized as being too easily manipulated for political purposes. In addition to the U.S. self-ranking, the ability of DOS diplomats on the ground in the foreign country to change the ranking to better suit the diplomatic goals or not embarrass the country being ranked has been called out by the AHT movement as not being sufficiently objective. This interference often led to countries being ranked higher than they should be or being placed in the ever increasing Tier 2 category where countries were parked for lack of a better place to put them, essentially negating the efforts of real Tier 2 countries striving to make change in their AHT policy (Abramowitz, April 18, 2013). The Solidarity Center also called out this politicization of the rankings in Congressional testimony on labor exploitation in Thailand, Malaysia and Cambodia (Misra, July 8, 2014). In order to combat the turf battles between regional DOS employees and those in Washington, ATEST and its members sponsored House Bill 2283, which would elevate the J/TIP office to a bureau within the State Department, giving it more power to maintain the integrity of the TIP report and the independence of the rankings (IJM, July 29, 2014). However, the Senate failed to move their bill forward and the J/TIP remains an office.

ATEST had many policy related successes for 2013-2014, including the reauthorization of the TVPRA and the VAWA, an increase in federal funding for several departments that fight human trafficking, all 50 states passing anti-trafficking laws, and the creation of the DOL toolkit for businesses to fight forced labor in the supply chain. Although this research concludes at the end of 2014, several initiatives on federal policy regarding supply chain transparency,
regulations on labor recruitment in federal contracting, and elevating the J/TIP office to a bureau were not acted upon by the Congress. Another piece of legislation for which the group advocated for was the reauthorization of the Runaway and Homeless Youth and Trafficking Protection Act, which at the end of the research period, had also not passed the Congress. Yet despite the number of initiatives outstanding at the end of 2014, the volume and strength of ATEST’s advocacy work grew during this two year period. Not only did the coalition support more legislative bills than ever before, the members themselves embarked on many projects that would propel the AHT community forward, including advanced public awareness campaigns, efforts to capture better data through partnerships with technology firms, and expanding the understanding of vulnerability by including new organizations focused on homeless youth, domestic workers, and domestic abuse survivors.

IV. Conclusion

The 2013-2014 time period proved an eventful one for the ATEST coalition and its members. The political environment took a more positive turn for the passage of two key bills supported by the party. The installation of the second Obama Administration coupled with a somewhat chastised Republican Party (at least in terms of recognizing their weakness in reaching out to women during the 2012 presidential election) gave ATEST an opening to push their agenda. ATEST moved quickly to solidify the reauthorization of both the Trafficking Victims Protection Act and the Violence Against Women Act. Although ATEST focuses on human trafficking in a holistic way, the coalition continued to speak more about labor trafficking and similar labor abuses, even expanding their work by advocating for business supply chain transparency at the federal level.
In addition, ATEST added three new members to its coalition, each adding an innovative facet to the fight against human trafficking. The new organizations each represented a population vulnerable to human traffickers and their added expertise enabled ATEST to expand their recommendations to other areas of policy, including adding anti-human trafficking language to the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act and Trafficking Prevention Act of 2014. Funding for human rights projects and victims services could easily become a competition among groups as they jockey to help their narrow constituency. ATEST’s ability to recruit and attract those with marginal exposure to human trafficking is a testament to its organizing skill. ATEST is able to make recommendations to support human trafficking services in a uniform, efficient way to multiple agencies within the state because of its members’ expertise.

The coalition is able to both speak with one voice, yet honor the individual members’ work. Coalition identity is important, but does not hamper the ability of the members to express their own individual missions. ATEST’s coalition structure plays an important role in the synergy of the group; monthly face-to-face meetings and follow-up phone conferences allow for collaboration. This collaboration is facilitated by the fact that the coalition (through Humanity United) grants funding to its member organizations to travel to these meetings. Many coalitions, despite best intentions, are not able to survive long term due to practical considerations like fiscal constraints. The ability of NGOs, some operating on shoestring budgets aided only by donations and the occasional grant receipt, to send experts to larger conferences or coalition meetings is important to the diffusion of social movement ideas and expertise. In addition, ATEST, based on its work and organizational structure, has cultivated a positive reputation within the larger movement. Even when members leave, they remain supportive of the coalition. Not For Sale, left
the coalition in late 2014 to pursue local advocacy, but still supports the coalition’s larger sign-on letters to Congress and other campaigns.

ATEST’s ability to use both the contentious and private politics models to address the AHT movement echoes Soule’s (2009) call that movements can level multi-faceted campaigns depending on the target (147). While Soule’s book was referencing anti-corporate activism, the theory is easily applied to the AHT movement. Sex trafficking has long been approached through a private politics model because of its privileged status and historical link to previously outlawed acts, like prostitution. Yet, even here, we see groups like ECPAT applying lessons learned from the private politics model and going directly to corporations and asking them to police themselves on the issue of child sex trafficking. Labor trafficking has never received much traction at the government level, mostly due to the state’s reluctance to incur the wrath of private business. However, we see ATEST and its members both partnering with corporations in voluntary relationships to increase supply chain transparency while also fighting for federal level regulations to provide a stick to force businesses to comply with AHT policy.

The coalition’s ability to harness technology, provide in-depth training and services to survivors of trafficking, and its partnerships in increasing public awareness was evident in the 2013-2014 time frame. The maturation of both ATEST and the larger anti-trafficking movement is outlined in the commitment to quantify its findings and provide hard data to support continued funding of AHT projects. In addition, the capacity of the coalition to amplify survivor voices brings more gravitas to the movement’s goals. While hard numbers are compelling, the stories and faces behind those numbers are even more so. The AHT movement, as outlined by the discourse of ATEST and its coalition, has chosen its battles with increasing nuance and strategic growth.
Chapter 6: Diffusion, Identity, and Movement Success

Human trafficking has enjoyed a resurgence of attention since the late 1990s. Countries around the world have begun to address this public policy problem through both legal and cultural channels. By 2014, 134 countries had passed laws referencing human trafficking as a crime (UNODC TIP 2014); in the United States, by 2013, all 50 states had passed stand-alone trafficking laws. Human trafficking has been the topic of numerous Congressional hearings, celebrity-endorsed public awareness campaigns, major motion pictures (Taken), and an entire season of an American television drama (American Crime). The number of NGOs addressing trafficking has increased over the past two decades, including groups solely dedicated to the issue and others addressing the topic through its linkages to other human rights concerns. The success of the AHT movement in bringing human trafficking to the public policy agenda is without question.

This paper has sought the answers to several questions related to the growth of attention to human trafficking and the work that anti-human trafficking groups do by examining the discourses used by certain NGOs in the field. The success of these groups in getting the issue of human trafficking on the policy agenda is well-documented through the passage of federal, state, and local statutes. However, human trafficking is a well-recognized, but not well understood topic. As NGOs are the most prolific source of information on human trafficking, examining their words and the messages behind them are important to answering the puzzle of why this disconnect exists. How do NGOs define human trafficking in their framing? Have those messages changed over time due to external political events? Many NGOs in the field have also
sought to pool resources and share expertise by joining coalitions. How have these coalition structures impacted individual NGO messaging?

As this study looked to compare NGO framing and changes over time, the research was broken up into three distinct time frames. Originally, the postponed reauthorization of the TVPA in 2011 served as a key focusing event in analyzing the possible changes in framing. The study was divided into time periods to capture the pre-postponement work of the coalition from 2008-2010, the work of the coalition as it prepared for the reauthorization and the fallout after its postponement in 2011-2012 and, finally, the impact on the work of the coalition after the reauthorization was ultimately pushed through in 2013-2014. However, as evidenced in the study, the postponement of the reauthorization, while alarming, did not change the overall messaging of the group or its members. The coalition remained focused on raising labor trafficking awareness and advocating for more service provision and protection for international victims. The postponement did signal to the ATEST coalition that the issue of human trafficking had the potential to be caught up in partisan battles; they adjusted their message accordingly by reminding both the public and Congress that the issue of human trafficking should be above politics, relying on the bipartisan appeal of fighting slavery.

Although the original thought in capturing pre- and post-TVPA reauthorization postponement work of the coalition was not as significant as originally thought, the three time periods enabled the comparison of data across the growth of the coalition and the changes in the political environment quite well. The time periods of the study followed the growth of the coalition from 7 members to 15 over the course of 7 years. The coalition was created in 2007, with much of its major work starting in 2008 with the passage of the TVPA reauthorization that year. Each time period captured a different subset of new members and their impact on the
framing strategies of the coalition. In addition, several major political events were also present during each time frame, providing rich data for comparative analysis.

This research has found evidence that the unique position of the human trafficking issue on the policy agenda has created a situation where NGOs must choose their battles carefully when addressing modern day slavery. NGOs must not alienate current supporters, while also expanding the depth and breadth of knowledge about all types of trafficking. This requires careful thought into the diagnostic framing of what human trafficking really is. NGOs have joined coalitions, like ATEST, to increase their advocacy reach and broaden their expertise level. ATEST members, even those with a particular niche or expertise in the AHT arena, are dedicated to fighting all forms of trafficking and assisting all types of victims. Their approach is holistic and disciplined. The formal structure of the social movement coalition helps facilitate this shared identity and provides ample opportunities for the groups to share strategy, speak in one voice, and adopt each other’s tactics (Soule 2013).

Overall, the messaging of the coalition remained focused on labor trafficking and international victims across all three time periods. While the evidence in this study did not show a substantial change in the content of messaging for these groups over the time periods, the tactics they used to advance their message did change over time. This research illuminates how the coalition structure enabled learning and tactical diffusion between the groups, including innovative use of the contentious and private politics models of social movement action. The AHT movement has targeted both the state and private industry to address human trafficking. The motivational framing that the movement has undertaken regularly seeks to expand not only awareness of the problem, but true responsibility for preventing trafficking in each target’s purview. Sex trafficking has almost always been handled by approaching the state, either by
strengthening current law or creating new ones; labor trafficking has historically been handled by “naming and shaming” private business into investigating their supply chains on their own. This study clearly demonstrates that the ATEST coalition has used both strategies against both targets with some success. This concluding chapter will review the main findings and illustrate how other social movement coalitions can address social change for issues that are well recognized, but not well understood, while achieving movement growth through organizational learning and shared identity.

I. Viewing Human Trafficking Holistically

Worldwide, there are more people caught up in labor trafficking than any other type of human trafficking (ILO 2017). Labor trafficking affects almost every industry from construction to domestic work to agriculture. Despite years of active advocacy work by NGOs, the bulk of awareness of human trafficking still privileges the issue of sex trafficking over labor trafficking. In the U.S., this attention usually centers on the trafficking of domestic (white) minor females. Sex trafficking is a horrible abuse and should be addressed; all NGOs working on trafficking do not dispute this claim. However, NGOs have also had to combat the perception that this is the only type or even the most important type of trafficking. This interesting problem has affected the messaging of AHT NGOs.

The analysis of the public documents shows that the members of the ATEST coalition use their messaging and voice to elevate the issue of labor trafficking over sex trafficking. The ATEST coalition is adamant that they only support legislation that addresses all types of trafficking. In addition, the coalition and its members support a holistic view of trafficking, meaning that they do not favor one type over the other or privilege any set of victims over the other. This dedication is illustrated in the document analyses. The most prolific theme for each
time period is the general human trafficking and modern day slavery code. This code captures when the coalition or its members speak of human trafficking in a general way, not calling out a specific type or specific victim. If these groups are dedicated to a holistic view of trafficking, we would expect to see equal attention paid to both of the major categories. However, the code occurrences for labor trafficking and similar labor abuses are higher than sex trafficking in each of the three time periods.

Due to the inordinate amount of attention that sex trafficking receives in the media and even among members of Congress, many members of the anti-human trafficking movement feel the need to balance out the coverage by focusing on labor trafficking. ATEST and its members, many of whom focus on labor trafficking specifically, follow this trend. Several of the interviewees supported this idea by expressing their frustration that labor trafficking does not get the attention or funding that it needs. As one NGO member put it,

> When we talk about trafficking, we are intentional and we are working to prevent all forms of human trafficking, and that includes both sex and labor trafficking. So, I think you’ll see in our materials that we are very intentional about the language we use so that we are communicating that this is not just about sex trafficking of white girls in the United States (Keith, Interview, August 25, 2016).

In addition, sex trafficking gets more attention due to the fact that not everyone engages in it. It is often seen as a problem that someone else is creating. The average person is not buying sex from prostitutes, forced or otherwise. It is easier to support a group that is fighting something that does not impact a person’s daily habits. However, labor trafficking is a stickier subject. All human trafficking occurs in the shadows, even when it’s happening in front of people. Yet, brothels, seedy motels, internet sites like Backpage, and other locations for sex trafficking are often known by law enforcement. People can find it much more easily. Labor trafficking and labor abuses are things that occur deep into the supply chains of companies, often overseas and
through multiple layers of contractors and sub-contractors. Slavery in the product supply chain is something a person needs to look for and, often, something that many people do not want to find; such awareness may complicate one’s daily life choices, imbuing them with political and ethical import. If a favorite product is being made with slave labor, how does one react? Are people willing to research the many branches of the supply chain and find its endpoint in the companies who market the products that are purchased? How many products? Are people willing to pay more for clothing, food, coffee, or cell phones to ensure fair labor standards are upheld? The nature of labor trafficking and its impact on the daily behavior of people creates a high hurdle that NGOs need to overcome in order to get more attention paid to the subject.

As labor trafficking tends to snare men and boys at equal levels as women, references to the specific plight of male victims in human trafficking should be comparable in this dataset. However, even the ATEST coalition and its members, with their increased focus on labor trafficking, do not discuss the topic of male victims of trafficking and the special services these victims require. Many of the interviewees mentioned this problem and their recognition of the lack of programs for male victims. Yet, the public documents do not show the same level of attention. What are the obstacles in addressing the problem of male victims of human trafficking? Perhaps as the work of the coalition to raise awareness of labor trafficking grows, the ability to address male victims and their needs will rise accordingly. In addition, as the AHT movement continues to shine light on survivor voices, male survivors of human trafficking can help guide policy to include this forgotten demographic. This subject would be worthwhile to pursue further in future research.

Perhaps even more interesting than the fact that labor trafficking does not get the same amount of attention as sex trafficking is the idea that many survivors themselves do not see a
difference between the two when it comes to their exploitation. As one NGO member recalled, “And victims have said to me, when we asked, a lot of the questionnaires that people had to ask on intake ask about the type of trafficking. And I've had victims say to me, ‘What difference does it make?’” (Allen, Interview, August 15, 2016). The fact that victims were threatened with abuse if they did not comply with their traffickers, the fact that their freedom was taken away, or the fact that their families were threatened at home all were the worst part of their situation—no matter if they were being sold for sex or for labor in a factory. So, as many of the NGO staffers agreed, once the constructed victim hierarchy that was created during the definitional stages of the early protocols in the late 1990s is broken down, the whole idea of a type of trafficking is moot. The movement hopes to move past the idea that some types of trafficking are worse than others or that some victims need to be helped more than others. The issue at hand is not the type, but the exploitation itself. However, given the current situation, the NGOs in this study still feel the need to balance out the attention by talking about the labor trafficking piece, particularly in the U.S.

II. Diffusion of Tactics through Coalition Learning

ATEST was created by Humanity United to bring together different anti-human trafficking groups and leverage the expertise of multiple organizations to address all the forms of human trafficking and be able to present an informed opinion on human trafficking policy. The coalition provided funding to alleviate travel concerns for its members and provided a support network in Washington D.C. to aid the coalition in its work. This structure of the coalition has led to positive outcomes for the work of both the coalition and its members by fostering open dialogue and cooperation to address human trafficking issues across different areas of concern. No coalition or group is perfectly in harmony, but the overall theme from the interviews was one
of a positive experience. This affirming environment ultimately led to organizational learning and the diffusion across the coalition of social movement tactics from the contentious and private politics models.

That organizational learning and shared strategy was an outcome is based on both the positive interview comments regarding other members and the various projects that these groups partnered on over the study time frame. For example, the following comments were made regarding the members of the coalition by other members:

People take this work really seriously and there are honest disagreements within ATEST. They work them out and then they move forward on them, and I haven’t seen this level of honest discourse in other coalitions. – (Keith, Interview, August 25, 2016)

Being part of ATEST was beautiful. I have to say. And, just, I mean it's just really smart, smart, smart, thoughtful people who were engaged and committed to the work. – (Allen, Interview, August 15, 2016).

We don't try to replicate each other's expertise, we try to trust each other's expertise and know that we don't have to become everything. We can simply ask our partners for their research or their experience related to a certain issue and that that's valid. – (Kim, Interview, March 4, 2016).

The respect that the coalition members have for each other’s work is evident in many of the comments. In addition, many of the staff members in various coalition members have worked in the other organizations of the coalition. For example, the current director of ATEST was a former employee of Vital Voices, a few of the interviewees had started their careers at Free the Slaves before joining other organizations, and, in 2015, the CEO of Verité left to join Humanity United. The personal networks created by the members of the NGOs would serve to further their expertise and guide their work in their new organizations.

Obviously, any group will also experience times in which all members do not agree, whether it’s on questions of timing, message, or tactics. Individuals have their own experiences and styles; many of the interviewees talked about differences of opinion among the members or
times when one message was promoted over another. Kim stated, “I don't think it's just simply that we have a shared voice, because we don't always have a shared voice. In fact, we've definitely parted ways (Interview, March 4, 2016).” In addition, there were some members who were not as comfortable with extending membership to new groups. Coalitions are a delicate balancing act. Once people get used to working in a certain way, the processes put in place can become unstable when adding new members to the group. Expanding the coalition was at times a point of contention within the coalition. This is put metaphorically yet pointedly by Carmen who noted,

I didn’t agree at the time, didn’t think it was smart to expand the coalition because they weren’t realizing the potential of the current members. You can have subtraction by addition by adding folks that may stretch out the areas of vulnerable populations of policy and making yourself a thousand miles wide and an inch deep (Interview, August 29, 2016).”

On the whole, however, the data analysis of publicly available documents, testimony, and reports clearly shows a generally cooperative and supportive atmosphere among the coalition members. Although interviewees pointed out the fault lines running through the AHT movement, they also noted how the coalition was able to bridge those very gaps. Service providers who work on the front lines with victims often have very different perceptions of the trafficking problem than those only working on legislation and issue advocacy in a broad sense. The ability of ATEST to bring together both types of members is critical to the success of the coalition. This research demonstrates that not only did ATEST provide a platform for different types of AHT groups, the groups began to work with each other, borrowing messaging tactics, and framing strategies. Even single-focus groups like Polaris, who started by concentrating on ending illegal brothels in Washington, D.C., began to talk about other types of trafficking. As Allan stated, “The End Demand (for prostitution) narrative sort of took off. You know Polaris Project, when
Polaris started, that’s what Polaris’ entire narrative was. But it has evolved (Interview, August 15, 2016).”

Not only did the groups’ individual missions evolve through the time frame, the diffusion of social movement tactics was evident and is a major finding of this study. Sex trafficking has historically been tied to prostitution, a well-known and (mostly illegal) activity around the world. Victims of sex trafficking are swept up into the criminal system along with traffickers. Path dependency theory tells us that most reactions to or solutions for the issue of sex trafficking involve the state and the current legal system. NGOs involved with stopping sex trafficking are usually working with the state to pass laws to criminalize sex trafficking, establish more advanced laws to address victim services, apprehend more perpetrators and create harsher punishments. This advocacy firmly anchors their work in the contentious politics model, where groups target the state for solutions to their issue (Soule 2009).

Labor trafficking, on the other hand, has been less addressed due to two issues: its position on the continuum of labor abuses, which may or may not be illegal; and to its complicated relationship with capitalism and business. Groups fighting for the eradication of labor trafficking must wage an uphill battle to first define it as a pertinent societal issue and not just a dispute between workers and employers. Many government officials, particularly in the Western neoliberal capitalist system, are hesitant to introduce regulations on campaign donors, particularly those that impact the profits and expansion plans of businesses. This historical legacy has anchored the work of AHT NGOs focused on labor trafficking to the private politics model, where groups target private industry in an attempt to change behavior without the threat of government intervention (Soule 2009).
Yet, the work of the coalition and the members show a definite attempt to use private politics tactics in the sex trafficking arena and contentious politics strategies in the labor trafficking arena. As mentioned in previous chapters, ECPAT’s Code of Conduct for companies in the travel industry is an example of the private politics model at work to eradicate sex trafficking. The ability of ECPAT to open the eyes of the corporate travel industry to the role they play in the movement of trafficking victims is vital to the prevention of trafficking. The Code of Conduct partners ECPAT with these companies to create training programs for travel industry employees to spot potential trafficking situations. Another project that uses the private politics tactic is the job training program created by Not For Sale to provide sex trafficking survivors in the Netherlands a safe transition back into the working world. This attempt to provide aftercare without government involvement is another example of using the private sector to address the sex trafficking arena. Free the Slaves has also worked to prevent sex trafficking by creating its community building platform. Instead of only focusing on catching sex traffickers after the fact and punishing them, Free the Slaves looks to change the community from the ground up and prevent citizens from becoming vulnerable to trafficking in the first place. The state is a small piece of a larger puzzle in combatting sex trafficking in the target countries in which Free the Slaves works. Private companies, local NGOs, and international organizations all play a role, outside of just passing legislation, in changing the situation on the ground that leads to sex trafficking. This research demonstrates that the targeting of private enterprise via the private politics model is an innovation for anti-sex trafficking work.

Notably, this research shows that the same innovative use of tactics can be seen in the strategy to confront labor trafficking. Starting with the California Supply Chain Act in 2010, the coalition has actively engaged all levels of government to pass legislation that would compel
private business to look at the possibility of slavery in their supply chains. The contentious politics model targets the state in an effort to make social change. Many traditional models of social movement action against labor trafficking include traditional “name and shame” techniques against private businesses. In fact, the CIW still engages in active protest and consumer boycotts against its private industry targets. Current campaigns against Wendy’s and Publix are ongoing as the CIW fights for fair wages in the Florida tomato fields. Yet, we also see a change in tactics coming from the coalition and its members.

For example, CAST began its work in response to the sweatshop scandals of the 1990s. It provided safe housing for trafficking victims and legal services for both citizens and the undocumented to claim their place back in society. However, the group’s major policy accomplishment is the California Supply Chain Act. The legislation redirects the focus of fighting labor trafficking back onto the state by using the state’s power to compel businesses to report on their anti-slavery initiatives. The National Domestic Workers’ Alliance has also turned its eye towards the state by targeting state governments to pass legislation providing domestic workers’ with the same legal protections as other classes of workers. The NDWA has achieved success in California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York and Oregon (2017). In addition, the NDWA has created a program, Beyond Survival, specifically dedicated to linking human trafficking to worker and immigrant rights frames; these broader problems can only be addressed by changing and advancing state policy on both these topics as current law creates situations in which people are exploited. These campaigns illuminate the state’s role in creating pockets of vulnerability for certain populations to human trafficking.

The ATEST coalition has also supported many bills dedicated to supply chain transparency both in the federal procurement process and in private corporations. The Business
Supply Chain Transparency on Trafficking and Slavery Act aimed to mimic the California law by requiring public companies with over $100 million in revenue to report on their anti-slavery activities to the Securities and Exchange Commission. ATEST did not only focus on public companies. The federal government spends billions of dollars a year in procuring both goods and services around the world. ATEST, calling on the federal government to follow the same moral path as private industry, supported several executive orders to reduce slavery in the federal procurement process, including clamping down on the fraud perpetrated by foreign labor recruiters in the contractor community. Recognizing the unique role that the state plays in the global supply chain, whether through its own purchases and contracts or prohibiting illegal activity in the private sector, is an innovative way to approach labor trafficking. Organizational learning through the coalition is evident in the diffusion of tactics in both major trafficking types.

Another area where coalition structure enabled collaboration and learning across the groups is in the use of technology to address human trafficking. Data collection is a well-known problem in the AHT field. Statistics are often hard to come by as both perpetrators and victims are parts of hidden populations that are difficult to track (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005). In addition, many victims of trafficking do not self-identify and generally do not know who to contact if they did (Ferrall, Owens, and McDevit 2014; Parrenas, Hwang, and Lee 2012; Tyldum 2010). The ATEST coalition members, through their individual work and partnerships created during the study time period, focused on collecting and sharing data not just on the number of victims touched by the problem, but also the avenues through which these victims are exploited. Apps like Free2Work (Not For Sale), the national human trafficking hotline (Polaris), and the human trafficking resource center (Polaris and IJM) via Google all give the public concrete and up to date data on the size and scope of the human trafficking problem. Paired with projects like
the Department of Labor’s report on products tainted with child and forced labor around the world, and the requirement in California that companies post their anti-slavery efforts online, these technology solutions bring more awareness to the larger human trafficking issue. The member organizations of ATEST have been able to learn and partner with each other to provide more support for each other’s work and their missions to eradicate slavery.

III. Weathering Political Change

The long, bipartisan history of human trafficking policy has somewhat shielded the work of the AHT community from political changes. The original TVPA was introduced in a Democratic administration and reauthorized by both Republican and Democratic leaders from both parties over the last 17 years. The ability of the ATEST coalition to work with members of Congress from both major parties and their success in getting legislation through committees and even passed has been a testament to the bipartisan appeal of the movement. The coalition bills itself as non-ideological and will not support legislation that does not address human trafficking holistically or is not supported by both major political parties. External political events were the least impactful element on message framing in this study. However, this does not mean that these impacts were non-existent. Several political incidents during the study time frame did affect message framing. The 2008 recession, the federal fiscal crisis that followed, and the rise of the Tea Party in 2010 caused the coalition to rethink its approach in framing the funding requests needed to keep vital human trafficking programs going.

Overall, the coalition sought to elevate the issue of human trafficking to a point where it would transcend petty, partisan politics. The fight against human trafficking should be too important to become a victim of political games or held hostage to partisan squabbles that had
little to do with the issue at hand. Statements from the organizations throughout the study time period show the careful attention to this strategy.

Now, if only Congress would stop playing politics with slavery, we could see some real progress on this issue. (World Vision, February 2, 2012)

We urge you to act now to put partisan differences aside in the interest of the protection of trafficking survivors. (ATEST, January 11, 2011)

Victims of violence should not be vulnerable to further abuse and even death because of political differences in Washington. (Safe Horizon, January 4, 2013)

Congress has passed and President Obama has signed reauthorization of America’s most important anti-trafficking law, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). It’s a remarkable achievement in polarized political times. Renewal of the TVPA proves that the anti-slavery movement has successfully built a resilient base of political support. (Free the Slaves, 2013).

In addition to appealing directly to the bipartisan history of support for the TVPA, the coalition relied on the fiscal prudence of funding preventative and victims’ services work on human trafficking. After the recession of 2008-2009 and fiscal battles of 2010-2011, the AHT movement was met with resistance to funding “non-essential” programs. The coalition was able to fight this by concentrating on the value created by AHT programs despite their low funding amounts and to call upon the moral leadership needed to protect the most vulnerable in society.

The upwards of 17,500 people who are trafficked into the United States, plus the tens of thousands of Americans trafficked internally each year, are in desperate need of services like medical care, counseling, legal assistance, shelter, education, and employment in order to recover from horrific abuses and rebuild their lives. Without adequate funds those services in the U.S. will be underfunded and inaccessible for many survivors. (CAST, October 6, 2009)

An important recommendation we’ve made, especially in the current economic climate, is that funds we are already spending on international development be leveraged to fight slavery and poverty at the same time — many of the same countries are highly vulnerable to both. (Karen Strauss- Free the Slaves as quoted in ATEST, December 12, 2012)

President Obama and Congress must ensure that final 2014 funding bills reflect the Administration’s call for additional anti-trafficking funding that allows for new
protections for human trafficking victims and better tools to help prosecutors go after traffickers who exploit the most vulnerable members of society. (ATEST, June 18, 2013)

The ATEST coalition specifically targeted a wide range of U.S. Departments and sub-committee groups within those departments to ensure that smaller amounts of funding would be available and distributed widely to fight human trafficking. As outlined in Chapter 3, the AHT bureaucracy in the U.S. government only begins with the Department of State; there are multiple Cabinet level departments and agencies that are tasked with addressing the human trafficking problem in their own programs, like the Justice Department, Health and Human Services, and even the Defense Department. Many of the smaller agencies or agencies that may not appear at first glance to be concerned with human trafficking are a ripe target that many other AHT groups do not see.

We always prioritize appropriations to ensure that the anti-trafficking field itself and all the agencies that work on it are well-funded and that their goals around trafficking are prioritized by Congress, through the appropriations process. That is unique to ATEST. No other network does it this way. It's a gap that ATEST… most specifically navigating those waters and why we do target Armed Services and why do we target Financial Services Group committee and, you know, these aren't obvious to everyone who works on trafficking cause it's not in their daily wheelhouse, but we try to fix all of those systems and help us make requests through them. (Kim, Interview, March 4, 2016).

It remains to be seen if the AHT movement can continue to rely on the moral imperative and fiscal efficiency frames that dominated this study time frame. The installation of the Trump administration in 2016 will likely impact the ability of the coalition to play on these themes in the future. Although the TVPA’s reauthorization for 2017 has passed both the House of Representatives and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, it has not yet been signed into law (ATEST, September 20, 2017). In addition, given the pro-business, anti-regulation themes coming from the Trump Administration, the AHT movement could see backlash against the labor trafficking policy suggestions it has made.
IV. Implications for Future Research

In this dissertation, I find that the within the anti-human trafficking movement, we see that organizational population diversity, diffusion of tactics, organizational learning within a coalition, and shared identity can impact the strategies that social movements use to reach their goals. This study not only addresses a gap in the literature linking organizational theory and social movement action (Soule 2013), it contributes to the growing body of theoretical work on coalitional structures and their effect on social movement growth and longevity. The ATEST coalition provides a formal outlet for different organizations fighting modern day slavery to cooperate with each other, and to learn from each other’s failures and successes. The coalition crafted effective policy responses and shared ideas about how to best promote awareness about human trafficking. ATEST also provided hard statistics about the number of victims, identified what industries they are being exploited within, and taught each other, policy makers, and the general public how to best serve the interests of survivors.

Social movements are often thought of as small, grassroots, and, perhaps, temporary movements that use protest and other forms of confrontational tactics to bring unknown issues to light. However, the ability of social movements to organize in formal coalitions and reach out to others, even across borders, is a growing area of research (see Van Dyke and McCammon 2010). The ATEST members are examples of formal social movement organizations that happen to also work within a formal social movement coalition. This study provides further evidence of coalition building and uncovers the dynamics associated with coalition success within a particular social movement, the anti-human trafficking movement.

The unique characteristics of both the human trafficking problem and the structure of the ATEST coalition has enabled these groups to learn from each other and adopt innovative strategies for addressing different types of human trafficking. The human trafficking problem is
well-recognized but not well-understood; this disconnect between the concept and its manifestation on the ground has created a situation where AHT groups must carefully work on expanding knowledge about human trafficking while not alienating supporters. This has led to less confrontational work that leans heavily on the bipartisan history of addressing the topic. The ways in which the coalition and its members address the two major types of trafficking is also unique. This research revealed the use of new social movement strategies targeting sex trafficking by addressing private industry’s role in it, while also demonstrating that these groups targeted the state to offer solutions and oversight in fighting labor trafficking. The ATEST coalition has marked many successes in its short history.

This study offers a way to compare and contrast coalition building success in other movements. The ability of ATEST to provide resources, like travel funding and a small staff, in addition to weekly phone conferences and face-to-face monthly meetings may serve as a guide for other movements interested in maintaining a formal coalition. Interestingly, during the interviews for this research, several interviewees stated that Humanity United was considering the idea of ending formal financial support of the ATEST coalition. If this came to pass, a comparative study could be done on the ATEST coalition itself regarding the ramifications of resource availability in the longevity of social movement coalitions.

Perhaps the most important finding is the structure and mission of the coalition itself. The ATEST coalition is deliberately non-ideological. It welcomes both religious and secular groups, organizations that focus on either sex or labor trafficking and those that only focus on human trafficking as a smaller piece of their missions. This ability to gather many different viewpoints and experiences on the human trafficking problem has led to robust policy discussions and recommendations that cover many different facets of the problem. As the interviewees stated not
every decision was supported by all the members all the time, but everyone within the coalition respected the expertise of the others enough to support those decisions in a public way. The creation of a larger “policy battleground” is evident in this data; the ATEST coalition was able to target the state at multiple levels and private industry (Holyoke 2003).

This study illuminates how coalition learning in social movements can help in tactical diffusion and provide new action repertoires for coalition members. The author knows of no other study on the anti-human trafficking movement that has analyzed the public statements and framing strategies of NGOs in this manner. Future studies can focus on the continuing appeal of human trafficking as a policy issue, particularly in the wake of a change in presidential administrations. In addition, scholars can review these findings to compare the success of the ATEST coalition to other attempts at coalition building in other social movement areas.
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Agenda: Interest Groups and the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Act of 2000.”


APPENDIX A- Acronyms and Websites

List of Acronyms

AHT- Anti-Human Trafficking
ATEST- Alliance to End Slavery and Trafficking
CAST- Coalition Against Slavery and Trafficking
CBO- Congressional Budget Office
CIW- Coalition of Immokalee Workers
DOJ- Department of Justice
DOL- Department of Labor
DOS- Department of State
ECPAT- End Child Prostitution and Trafficking (USA office)
HHS- Department of Health and Human Services
IJM- International Justice Mission
NDWA- National Domestic Workers’ Alliance
NN4Y- National Network for Youth
NHTRC – National Human Trafficking Resource Center (Polaris hotline)
NGO- Non-Governmental Organization
TIP- Trafficking in Persons
TVPA-Trafficking Victims Protection Act, also TVPRA, Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act
VAWA- Violence Against Women Act

Organization websites
ATEST, www.endslaveryandtrafficking.org

CAST, www.castla.org

CIW, www.ciw-online.org

ECPAT, www.ecpatusa.org

Free the Slaves, www.freetheslaves.net

Futures Without Violence, www.futureswithoutviolence.org

IJM, www.ijm.org

NDWA, www.domesticworkers.org

NN4Y, www.nn4youth.org

Not For Sale, www.notforsalecampaign.org

Polaris, www.polarisproject.org

Safe Horizon, www.safehorizon.org

Solidarity Center, www.solidaritycenter.org


APPENDIX B- Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol Form

Topic: This dissertation examines frames used by anti-human trafficking NGOs, particularly during 2008-2014. This time frame includes the 2008 reauthorization of the Victims of Trafficking Protection Act, a failed reauthorization in 2011, and a reauthorization in 2013.

Questions about interviewee’s background

1. What is your name and position with the organization?
2. How long have you been with the organization?
3. Tell me about your background. How did you get involved with the organization or with the AHT movement?
4. Have you worked with other anti-human trafficking NGOs? If so, how did your experiences differ?

4b. The groups I am focusing on for my research are all members of the Alliance to End Slavery and Trafficking (ATEST). If you have any insights on that relationship, what do you think was the motivating factor for joining ATEST? What does membership bring to your organization?

Questions about the organization

1. Tell me about the work that the organization does. What type of trafficking does your organization focus on or do you focus on multiple types? OR
2. When you think about your organization, what adjectives come to mind? What is the organization’s main identity?
3b. Do you see your organization as a member driven organization or a professional advocacy group?

3. What are some of the key projects in which you have participated? What role did you play?

4. Tell me about some of the major accomplishments your organization has achieved.

Questions about human trafficking

1. What are the major challenges in raising awareness of human trafficking?

2. Tell me about how your organization talks to the public about human trafficking.

2a. Does your group rely mainly on social media, press releases, or other forms of outreach?

2b. What forms of outreach do you find most effective?

3. Does your organization use different strategies when dealing with policymakers, service providers, or the general public?

3a. Do you see a difference in the messages intended for policymakers vs. the general public?

3b. What types of messages seem to resonate with both groups?

3c. Do you feel that a particular type of trafficking gets more attention than others?

3d. Why is that?

4. I am particularly interested in the time period before, during and after the TVPA was not reauthorized in 2011. If you were with the organization at that time, what is your recollection of how the failed reauthorization impacted your organization?

4a. Did your organization change its strategy at all in regards to outreach and messaging?

4b. Since the TVPA has been reauthorized under the Violence Against Women Act in 2013, what changes, if any, do you see within your organization about messaging?
4c. Is your group focused on any new anti-trafficking bills?

5. Do you feel that the issue of human trafficking is gaining more attention in the U.S.?

5a. What leads you to that conclusion?
APPENDIX C- Interviewee List

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<th>NGO Group</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Kim</td>
<td>Social Justice</td>
</tr>
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<td>04/04/16</td>
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<td>ATEST</td>
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<tr>
<td>05/09/16</td>
<td>Sam</td>
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<td>Carmen</td>
<td>Social Justice</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX D- Weighting Formula

As some organizations average more documents than others or may produce longer documents, a weighting protocol was developed that accounts for both the difference in volume and/or length of each document among the organizations for the three time frames. Some organizations released verbose documents with over a thousand words, while others were small with less than 400 words. A formula has been created to take into account the number of words per document divided by a mean for all organizations (see Woehrle, Coy, and Maney 2008). The formula used is:

\[
\text{Mean-based formula for weights} = \frac{\text{Mean # of Words for all NGOs}}{\text{Total Words for Individual NGO}} \times \frac{\text{Mean # of Words per Paragraph for Individual NGO}}{\text{Mean of NGO Means}}
\]