

COMBATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING—THE U.S. GOVERNMENT’S RESPONSE: A PANEL AND A PERSPECTIVE ON COUNTER-TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS

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I. OVERVIEW OF THE EVENT.....	50
II. THE PROGRAM PANELISTS AND COMMITTEE.....	54
A. <i>Introductory Remarks—Norman L. Greene</i>	54

* Copyright © 2014 Norman L. Greene and Eric Beinhart. Norman Greene (moderator and program co-chair) is an attorney in private practice in New York, New York. He has been engaged in various anti-trafficking activities, including through the Uniform Law Commission (www.uniformlaws.org) as a New York Uniform Law Commissioner and member of the drafting committee on the Prevention of and Remedies for Human Trafficking (preparing a proposed uniform state law on the subject), and through the New York City Mayor’s Office Working Group on Human Exploitation. See *What is Human Trafficking?*, NYC LET’S END HUMAN TRAFFICKING (2013), <http://www.nyc.gov/html/endht/html/home/home.shtml> (last visited Oct. 28, 2013). The Mayor’s Office Working Group was under the auspices of Norma Abbene, Chief of Staff for Legal Affairs and Deputy Counsel to Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg, and Carol Robles-Roman, Deputy Mayor for Legal Affairs and Counsel to the Mayor. For the latest draft of the uniform legislation, see UNIF. ACT ON PREVENTION OF AND REMEDIES FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING, *infra* note 13. Mr. Greene is a member of the American Bar Association Section of International Law Africa Committee and American Society for International Law, which, along with host George Washington University Law School, were the sponsoring organizations for the program which is the subject of this article. Since the program, he has been appointed as the ABA Section of International Law’s liaison to the ABA’s Human Trafficking Task Force, now within the ABA’s Center for Human Rights. Mr. Greene has written and spoken on the rule of law and human rights, particularly anti-death penalty, law and development, and judicial independence and reform, in both the international and domestic contexts, including *Perspectives from the Study of International Development and the Rule of Law: Are There Lessons for the Reform of Judicial Selection in the United States?*, 86 DENV. U. L. REV. 53 (2008); and *Rule of Law in Morocco: A Journey Towards a Better Judiciary Through the Implementation of the 2011 Constitutional Reforms*, 18 ILSA J. INT’L & COMP. L. 455 (2012).

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B. *Veronica Zeitlin—USAID—Counter-Trafficking in Persons and Development*..... 56

C. *Marisa Ferri—U.S. Department of State—The TIP Report and Other Initiatives* 60

D. *Leyla Strotkamp—U.S. Department of Labor—Fighting Child Labor Exploitation* 62

E. *Wade Channell—USAID—Eliminating Economic Incentives for Trafficking* 64

F. *Holly Burkhalter—International Justice Mission—Law Enforcement and Deterrence of Traffickers*..... 66

G. *Eric Beinhart—U.S. Department of Justice—Institutional Law Enforcement Development and Counter-Trafficking* 67

H. *Eric Beinhart—Epilogue: Using Community Policing to Combat Trafficking in Persons* 69

III. CONCLUSION 70

A. *Evaluation* 71

B. *Legislative Framework and Implementation*..... 79

C. *Interagency Cooperation* 81

D. *Addressing Demand* 82

E. *Continuing Engagement*..... 83

F. *Programming and Publishing*..... 84

I. OVERVIEW OF THE EVENT***

Combating Human Trafficking—The U.S. Government’s Response was a multi-agency, multi-disciplinary webinar held at the George Washington University Law School before a live audience at the Law School and on the internet on March 20, 2012, sponsored by the Law School and the American Bar Association Section of International Law¹ as well as by The

*** The authors first acknowledge and thank their fellow panelists Veronica Zeitlin, Marisa Ferri, Leyla Strotkamp, Wade Channell, and Holly Burkhalter for their contributions to this program, this article, and counter-trafficking overall; George Washington University Law School and Dean Susan Karamanian, for her and their assistance in and support for the program and making available their excellent facilities; and to Curry Wilson of the ABA Section of International Law for her outstanding administrative assistance.

The authors further acknowledge the editorial assistance of the *ILSA Journal of International & Comparative Law* for this article and overall support for and dedication to this project. Additional thanks go to Loren Wissner Greene, M.D., M.A. for her editorial assistance on the article, attendance at the program, and interest in counter-trafficking overall. See 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *infra* note 8, at 92 (“Health care providers can play a vital role in helping to ensure that trafficked individuals receive health care in a safe and confidential environment. Moreover, health care providers can play a vital role in victim identification.”).

This article contains selective updating and other supplementation following the event based on the literature of counter-trafficking. The introduction, conclusion, footnoting and other documentation

American Society of International Law.² The conference discussed new developments in counter-trafficking in persons (C-TIP), highlighting both past and present governmental and non-governmental initiatives, and considered creative and effective C-TIP approaches along with challenges faced in the effort.³ This article reviews, documents, updates, and otherwise supplements the event and provides extensive source material for research context and further review of program themes.⁴

The program described through U.S. Government counter-trafficking experts and other presenters what trafficking is; how extensive it is; what is the counter-trafficking legislative and policy framework; what are current and emerging counter-trafficking strategies of the selected agencies at the program; what are some of the overall challenges facing counter-trafficking, including the need for improved evaluation of the effectiveness of counter-trafficking programs, a subject especially considered in this article;⁵ and what is the role of non-governmental entities in counter-trafficking efforts, including representative non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as the International Justice Mission (IJM). IJM's founder, Gary Haugen, was recognized by the U.S. Department of State in its 2012 *Trafficking in Persons Report (2012 TIP Report)* as a 2012 Trafficking in Persons hero.⁶ Of the multiple federal agencies and state governments

for this article are the responsibility of the authors and editors, not the panelists; and they were added after the program by the authors and editors. None of the panelists bears any such responsibility even if footnotes were placed in such panelist's section.

In addition, this article does not represent or reflect the approval of the U.S. Government or any of its entities; and no such approval has been sought from them or obtained by the authors. Mr. Greene's remarks are likewise his personal remarks and not those of any entity with which he is or has been affiliated.

1. *Calendar of Int'l Law Events*, AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INT'L LAW (2013), <http://www.asil.org/events-il-calendar.cfm?mode=archive&Item=3304> (last visited Sept. 27, 2013).

2. *Id.*

3. *Id.*

4. Counter-trafficking sources are not limited to literature or other "written" documentation but rather the arts are involved as well. See Robert Bilheimer's NOT MY LIFE (Worldwide Documentaries 2011) referenced at NOT MY LIFE, <http://notmylife.org> (last visited Nov. 10, 2013); TAKEN (EuropaCorp Distribution 2009); ROADKILL (Screen Australia 2010) referenced at *Roadkill*, CHICAGO SHAKESPEARE, http://www.chicagoshakes.com/plays_and_events/roadkill (last visited Nov. 10, 2013); *Roadkill*, CORABISSETT.CO.UK, <http://www.corabissett.co.uk/roadkill/> (last visited Nov. 10, 2013) ("Cora Bissett's critically acclaimed and urgent production exposing the hidden world of sex trafficking is based on the experiences of a young woman trafficked to Scotland.").

5. See *infra* Part III.A.

6. U.S. DEP'T OF STATE, 2012 TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS REPORT 49 (2012), available at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192587.pdf> (last visited Sept. 27, 2013) [hereinafter 2012 TIP REPORT] (according to the 2012 TIP REPORT, IJM's founder Gary Haugen "has built a global team

involved in anti-trafficking work, the program focused on the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) (particularly in light of its then newly announced 2012 counter-trafficking policy), the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Department of Labor, and the U.S. Department of Justice.⁷

The role of government in combating trafficking is paramount⁸ in terms of prosecution, although prosecution is not a complete remedy. Undoubtedly, “[l]ike perpetrators of any crime, such as assault or murder, traffickers must be brought to justice. Governments are the only entities that can pass and enforce domestic laws. But just punishing the offender is

of hundreds of lawyers, investigators, and social workers” and “partner[s] with local governments to rescue and provide aftercare for victims and to hold traffickers accountable under local law.”); *see also* GARY A. HAUGEN AND VICTOR BOUTROS, *THE LOCUST EFFECT: WHY THE END OF POVERTY REQUIRES THE END OF VIOLENCE* 13 (2014) (“[D]ata is now emerging to confirm the common-sense understanding that violence has a devastating impact on a poor person’s struggle out of poverty, seriously undermines economic development in poor countries, and directly reduces the effectiveness of poverty alleviation efforts.”). The authors also state:

[W]here global poverty is center stage, the problem of violence deserves equal time with hunger, dirty water, disease, illiteracy, unemployment, gender discrimination, housing, or sanitation because for the poor, violence is every bit as devastating and is frequently the hidden force undermining solutions to these other needs The locusts of violence are devastating the poor in the developing world

Id. at 300. In focusing on IJM as its representative NGO, out of the many others involved in counter-trafficking work, the program acted without foreknowledge of the award, only of IJM’s good work that led to the award. The 2012 TIP REPORT further notes, “IJM has assisted nearly 4000 victims of sex trafficking and forced labor since 2006 alone, leading to more than 220 criminal convictions and hundreds of ongoing trials.” *Id.* The 2012 TIP REPORT was issued in June 2012 after the program but shall be referenced throughout this article as the more updated version of the Report issued in 2011, together with its still later 2013 version. Space limitations prevent the authors from acknowledging the many NGOs engaged in counter-trafficking (including advocacy, victims services, and more), both domestically and internationally, with which they have been in communication or of which they are otherwise aware, without which the fight against human trafficking would be drastically diminished.

7. *See Obama Administration Accomplishments on Combating Trafficking in Persons as of February 2012*, U.S. DEP’T OF STATE (Mar. 15, 2012), <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/reports/2012/184881.htm> (last visited Sept. 27, 2013); *U.S. Government Response to Human Trafficking*, UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS (2013), <http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/human-trafficking/> (last visited Feb. 24, 2014) (noting that “[m]any federal agencies have established programs or projects to combat trafficking in persons, both domestically and internationally”). The site also provides a useful listing of federal agencies and offices within federal agencies involved in counter-trafficking.

8. *See* UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INT’L DEV., *COUNTER-TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS FIELD GUIDE 7* (Center of Excellence on Democracy, et al. eds., 2013), available at http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/C-TIP_Field_Guide_Final_April%205%202013.pdf (last visited Sept. 27, 2013) [hereinafter 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE] (“The primary responsibility for C-TIP, however, rests with government.”).

not enough.”⁹ “C-TIP is not something that can be done within the vacuum of legislation and court proceedings. Robust C-TIP efforts require a wide variety of partners coming together around a common purpose.”¹⁰ Thus, according to the *2012 TIP Report*, the goal is not merely law enforcement: “[P]rotection services must be considered just as important as investigating and prosecuting the offenders If governments fail to provide comprehensive protection as a complement to prevention and prosecution efforts, they risk deepening, rather than alleviating, the original harm.”¹¹

Counter-trafficking is therefore a collaborative effort. As the *2012 TIP Report* notes, “[g]overnments, civil society, the private sector, and the public at large [work] together” in an effort to achieve “the most effective response to modern slavery.”¹² The role of the business community in responding to trafficking is specifically emphasized in the *2012 TIP Report* under the caption “Ending Human Trafficking is Smart Business.”¹³ Also, “[p]artnerships between public and private entities allow for a wider audience to be reached in efforts to raise awareness about TIP.”¹⁴

9. 2012 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 6, at 9.

10. 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 90.

11. 2012 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 6, at 9–10 (“Protection efforts seek to provide appropriate services to the survivors, maximizing their opportunity for a comprehensive recovery.”).

12. *Id.* at 9.

13. *Id.* at 26, stating that:

A growing number of companies are integrating “corporate social responsibility” into their business models and embracing the responsibility to protect human rights, promote economic and social development, and look after the environment. Many have learned through experience that ethical practices contribute to sustainable profits and economic advantage, and benefit both investors and employees. Globalization has led to increasingly complex supply chains. While challenging, supply chain monitoring enables companies to manage risk while protecting both their reputation and workers. Supply chain traceability is becoming a business necessity and initiatives like California’s Transparency in Supply Chains Act mean companies can no longer afford not to incorporate anti-trafficking measures into their corporate policies.

Section 8 of the uniform legislation on “Business Entity Liability” specifies circumstances in which a business entity may be prosecuted for human trafficking. See UNIF. ACT ON PREVENTION OF AND REMEDIES FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING, NAT’L CONFERENCE OF COMM’RS ON UNIFORM STATE LAWS (2013), *available at* http://www.uniformlaws.org/shared/docs/Prevention%20of%20and%20Remedies%20for%20Human%20Trafficking/2013AM_UPRHT_As%20approved.pdf (last visited Mar. 13, 2014).

14. 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 90.

II. THE PROGRAM PANELISTS AND COMMITTEE

Following introductory remarks, the participating panelists, in order of presentation, were Veronica Zeitlin (USAID's Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA)); Marisa Ferri (U.S. Department of State, Office to Combat and Monitor Trafficking in Persons); Leyla Strotkamp (U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor and Human Trafficking, Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB)); Wade Channell (USAID, then Bureau of Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade (EGAT), now Senior Economic Growth Advisor, Office of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment); Holly Burkhalter (International Justice Mission),¹⁵ and Eric Beinhart (then Associate Director, International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP), U.S. Department of Justice, serving as liaison to USAID, now Senior Training Advisor, ICITAP).¹⁶ Norman Greene was the moderator and made introductory remarks.¹⁷ Soumya Kantamneni, then Rule of Law and Human Rights Advisor (PMF) at USAID, and member of the event's planning committee, now with the Department of State's Office to Combat and Monitor Trafficking in Persons, provided substantial program assistance. Norman L. Greene and Eric Beinhart were co-chairs of the event.

A. *Introductory Remarks—Norman L. Greene*

Mr. Greene began by defining the extent of the trafficking problem and the legislative and policy counter-trafficking framework. Principally, the U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA) was discussed with its then three reauthorizations (and now four since March 2013), and selected United Nations (U.N.) instruments, such as the U.N. Palermo Protocol.¹⁸ He observed that a conference such as this is always timely

15. See *Who We Are*, INT'L JUSTICE MISSION (2012), <http://www.ijm.org/who-we-are> (last visited Nov. 10, 2013) [hereinafter *Who We Are*] (IJM is "a human rights agency that brings rescue to victims of slavery, sexual exploitation and other forms of violent oppression.").

16. See *Calendar of Int'l Law Events*, *supra* note 1.

17. *Id.*

18. See *U.S. Laws on Trafficking in Persons*, U.S. DEP'T OF STATE (2013), <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/laws/> (last visited Sept. 27, 2013). For the fourth reauthorization of the TVPA, see Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013, Pub. L. No. 113-4, 127 Stat. 54 (2013) (to be codified in scattered sections of the U.S. Code), available at <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-113publ4/html/PLAW-113publ4.htm> (last visited Oct. 30, 2013); see also *Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act*, ALLIANCE TO END SLAVERY & TRAFFICKING (2012), <http://www.endslaveryandtrafficking.org/trafficking-victims-protection-reauthorization-act> (last visited Oct. 30, 2013), stating that:

On March 7, 2013, President Obama signed the reauthorization of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), restoring this country's most important tool to

because trafficking is an ongoing worldwide crisis, with an estimated twenty-seven million people enslaved through a \$32 billion industry.¹⁹ It is particularly timely because of USAID's February 2012 issuance of its forward-looking anti-trafficking policy just a month before the program.²⁰ Mr. Greene generally defined trafficking as the acquisition, harboring or recruitment of a person for forced labor or sexual practices through force, fraud or coercion, although he recognized the existence of more extensive or detailed definitions.²¹ The victim need not be physically transported from one location to another for trafficking to occur.²²

combat human trafficking. This reauthorization reasserts the U.S. Government's leadership role in the fight against modern-day slavery and was passed as an amendment to the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act (VAWA), which strengthens protections for women threatened by domestic violence.

19. UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INT'L DEVELOPMENT, COUNTER-TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS POLICY 4 (2012), available at http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACT111.pdf (last visited Sept. 27, 2013) [hereinafter 2012 USAID POLICY]. Making accurate estimates of trafficking victims is difficult. See *id.* at 1 ("Quantifying the scale of human trafficking around the world is challenging, in part, due to the difficulty of collecting accurate data on this clandestine trade. Recent estimates of the number of people enslaved in sex or labor exploitation range from 12 to 27 million."); see also 2012 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 6, at 31 ("Every country is affected by trafficking in persons, and while some countries in this Report have met the minimum standards, such an assessment does not mean a government has succeeded in eradicating modern slavery. Indeed, no country is doing enough to end it."). Higher rates of trafficking have been detected in conflict and post-conflict areas. See 2012 USAID POLICY, *supra* note 19, at 6 ("Often separated from parents and caretakers during conflict or crisis, children are also at an increased risk of being trafficked."); SARAH E. MENDELSON, BARRACKS AND BROTHELS—PEACEKEEPERS AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN THE BALKANS (Center for Strategic & Int'l Studies, 2005), available at http://csis.org/files/media/isis/pubs/0502_barracksbrothels.pdf (last visited Nov. 16, 2013); see also ROBERT GRAVES, GOOD-BYE TO ALL THAT 122 (Anchor, 2nd ed. 1929) (1998) (referencing British Army brothel in France in World War I; and mentioning three women, each of whom "served nearly a battalion of men every week for as long as she lasted;" Graves' perspective unclear on whether or not these are in the nature of trafficking victims, although he did not have the benefit of modern scholarship in the field).

20. See generally 2012 USAID POLICY, *supra* note 19; see also 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 4 (The 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE "is designed as a practical resource for USAID officers to help implement the C-TIP Policy."). Among other things, the 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE provides the basics on human trafficking and counter-trafficking efforts, including the USAID Policy and legal framework, and "emphasizes the importance of uniting all stakeholders and consolidating efforts into a comprehensive C-TIP movement." 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 5. It also references the many other federal actors involved in counter-trafficking, including the President's Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking and the multiple federal agencies involved in the effort, including State, Justice, Defense, Health and Human Services, Homeland Security, Labor, Agriculture, Education, and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. See *id.* at 34-37 ("Annex B. Roles and Responsibilities of USG Entities in Combatting Trafficking," listing and describing work of agencies, noted in the USAID FIELD GUIDE as being taken from the U.S. Department of State's website.).

21. See 2012 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 6, at 33, stating that:
"Trafficking in persons" and "human trafficking" have been used as umbrella terms for the act of recruiting, harboring, transporting, providing or obtaining a

He then introduced the speakers who highlighted the work and ongoing and evolving strategies of their particular agencies and program themes. These included strategies for the prosecution of perpetrators, prevention of trafficking, protection and care of victims and survivors, and enhanced monitoring and evaluation of counter-trafficking programs. The program started with the work of USAID.

*B. Veronica Zeitlin—USAID—Counter-Trafficking in Persons and Development*²³

Veronica Zeitlin presented the new USAID policy issued in February 2012; it was designed to modernize, update, streamline, enhance, and integrate USAID's approach to counter-trafficking with its core development functions. Ms. Zeitlin noted that the USAID policy was conceived and supported at the highest levels of the U.S. Department of State and USAID, through former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, and USAID Administrator Rajiv Shah, adhering to TVPA and Palermo Protocol standards. In developing the policy, USAID consulted numerous experts

person for compelled labor or commercial sex acts through the use of force, fraud, or coercion. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000 (Pub. L. 106–386), as amended, and the Palermo Protocol describe this compelled service using a number of different terms, including involuntary servitude, slavery or practices similar to slavery, debt bondage, and forced labor At the heart of this phenomenon is the traffickers' goal of exploiting and enslaving their victims and the myriad coercive and deceptive practices they use to do so.

For a quick overview of the millions of people involved in historical slavery, see DARON ACEMOGLU & JAMES A. ROBINSON, *WHY NATIONS FAIL: THE ORIGINS OF POWER, PROSPERITY, AND POVERTY* 250 (Crown Edition, 1st ed. 2011).

22. See 2012 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 6, at 8, 33; 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 10 (“Trafficking can occur inside a country or even within a single town. Movement, whether transnational or otherwise, while often a component of trafficking, is not a necessary element.”).

23. Veronica Zeitlin is a human trafficking and gender advisor in USAID's Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance (DRG Center) in the Bureau of Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA). She coordinates counter-trafficking activities for DCHA, which is the bureau responsible for coordinating USAID's agency-wide efforts to combat trafficking. Most recently, Ms. Zeitlin has been involved in the development of USAID's new Counter-Trafficking in Persons Policy, which was launched in February 2012. Before transitioning to the DRG Center, she managed trafficking and gender programs in USAID's Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture, and Trade. Prior to USAID, she worked at the U.S. Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, where she covered Africa on the Trafficking in Persons Report, monitoring the issue in twenty-five countries through frequent in-country assessments and working with foreign government officials and NGOs. Before the Department of State, Ms. Zeitlin managed women's political participation projects in West Africa at the National Democratic Institute and was a consultant for USAID, UNICEF, and Refugees International on a broad range of human rights issues. She holds a B.A. in Anthropology from Columbia University and a J.D. from the University of Virginia.

within the agency (including mission agents in the field), the State Department, and USAID's external partners, by conducting "listening sessions."

The policy capitalizes on USAID's comparative advantage in the U.S. Government in anti-trafficking, including its strong in-country presence and unique expertise in addressing the root conditions in which trafficking thrives, namely, weak rule of law, gender discrimination, lack of education and jobs, and lack of a social welfare safety net.²⁴ United States policy, sometimes referred to as the "Four Ps," is directed at the prevention of trafficking, prosecution of traffickers, protection of victims of trafficking, and the establishment of partnerships with others in counter-trafficking.²⁵ USAID intends to increase its efforts in areas of "global strategic importance" with particular trafficking problems (such as those rated by the State Department as Tier 2 Watch List and Tier 3 for consecutive years in its annual TIP report), and poor host government responses.²⁶ As an example, Ms. Zeitlin referenced a USAID program in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that prevents child trafficking in mineral mines.²⁷ USAID has funded nearly \$164 million in C-TIP activities in sixty-eight countries and regional missions between 2001 and 2010.²⁸

Ms. Zeitlin also addressed USAID's strict C-TIP Code of Conduct for its own employees, contractors, and grantees, barring them from "engaging in behaviors that facilitate or support" trafficking in persons as well as trafficking itself.²⁹ USAID's Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and

24. See 2012 USAID POLICY, *supra* note 19, at 1 ("The 2012 Counter-Trafficking in Persons Policy is a direct response to the fact that trafficking in persons [] is a massive development problem affecting millions of men, women, and children around the globe.").

25. *Id.* at 3.

26. *Id.* at 9.

27. *Id.* at 8.

28. *Id.* at 4.

29. 2012 USAID POLICY, *supra* note 19, at 7; 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 30-31. The United States Government has adopted a zero tolerance policy regarding trafficking in persons. Contractors and contractor employees shall not:

- 1) Engage in severe forms of trafficking in persons during the period of performance of the contract;
 - 2) Procure commercial sex acts during the period of performance of the contract;
- or
- 3) Use forced labor in the performance of the contract.

Id.; see UNITED STATES AGENCY INT'L DEV., COUNTER-TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS ANNUAL REVIEW—PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE USAID C-TIP POLICY 3 (2012), available at <http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/CTIP%20Annual%20Review%202012%209-11-13.pdf> (last visited Oct. 31, 2013) [hereinafter USAID ANNUAL REVIEW], stating that:

Humanitarian Assistance leads the implementation of USAID's counter-trafficking effort in collaboration with all USAID missions and bureaus,³⁰ and in full cooperation with other U.S. Government agencies and partners, including the Department of State.³¹ Ms. Zeitlin noted that USAID is seeking to increase its partnerships in C-TIP activities, including public and private partnerships, and local in-country partnerships.³² She also addressed the need for rigorous monitoring and evaluation to determine which counter-trafficking programs were successful and which were not. Finally, USAID is initiating a Counter-Trafficking Annual Plan, which will make specific program commitments to translate its new policy into meaningful action.³³ Subsequent to the program, USAID also established campus-based competitions and research grants to universities and research institutes to generate innovative ideas, including using technology in counter-trafficking and increasing anti-trafficking awareness.³⁴

To further this effort, DCHA formed an intra-agency working group that met monthly from January–June of 2012 to specifically address combatting contractor and recipient TIP abuses. The working group consisted of DCHA, the office of the Inspector General (OIG), the Office of General Counsel (GC), the Management Bureau's Office of Acquisitions and Assistance . . . and TIP advisors from regional and pillar bureaus. In June of 2012, USAID formally adopted the Counter-Trafficking in Persons Contractor/Recipient Compliance Agency-Wide Standard Operation Procedure . . . developed by the working group.

30. *Id.* at 9 (“USAID, led by DCHA, together with the Office of the [USAID] General Counsel and the relevant Regional Bureaus and other Offices, will take a number of steps to increase accountability for this [USAID C-TIP] policy.”). An interesting topic for further research is determining the roles played by each specific entity within the agency in counter-trafficking. For example, what does the General Counsel's Office and each of the other “Regional Bureaus” and “Offices” do?

31. *See* 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 23 (USAID focuses its mission on the prevention and protection aspects of counter-trafficking although other agencies such as the Departments of State and Justice place a greater emphasis on prosecution.).

32. *See id.* at 6–7 (“Successful efforts to combat TIP require effective and efficient coordination across a broad range of stakeholders. Partnerships and coordinating bodies need to focus on bringing together local, national, regional, and global networks, and representatives of civil society, government, the private sector, labor unions, media, universities and faith-based organizations.”).

33. *See* USAID ANNUAL REVIEW, *supra* note 29; *see also* 2012 USAID POLICY, *supra* note 19, at 11.

34. The “campus challenge” initiative sought to raise anti-trafficking awareness on college campuses and provide incentives through grants and other recognition to students to engage in the anti-trafficking effort. *See e.g.*, Sarah Mendelson, *Accountability and Action: USAID's Counter-Trafficking Policy*, USAID IMPACT BLOG (Mar. 23, 2012), <http://blog.usaid.gov/2012/03/accountability-and-action-usaids-counter-trafficking-policy/> (last visited Apr. 20, 2013), stating that:

[A]dministrator Shah also announced the launch of a campus challenge to combat trafficking in persons, an exciting partnership to engage new, innovative ideas on prevention and protection. Stay tuned for more details on this collaborative

effort, which we hope will be a real opportunity to not only raise awareness about trafficking in persons on U.S. college and university campuses, but work with them to combat it.

The program was launched from Pepperdine University. See *USAID Launches Anti-Human Trafficking Initiative from Pepperdine*, PEPPERDINE UNIVERSITY (2013), <http://www.pepperdine.edu/pr/events/2012/october/usaaid-launches-initiative-from-pepperdine.htm> (last visited Nov. 3, 2013), stating that:

In its fight against human trafficking, USAID is encouraging college students and faith-based groups from throughout the country to play a critical role in how the United States government addresses the complexities surrounding this modern day slavery. The challenge, coordinated by USAID's Office of Faith-Based Initiatives, will award prizes to student teams from colleges across the country that present innovative solutions to the problem.

The winning program was for an "Abolishop" proposal, namely "a web browser application that helps online shoppers make smart choices by alerting them to products that may have forced or exploited labor in their supply chains." USAID ANNUAL REVIEW, *supra* note 29, at 5. For the selection of winning proposals in March 2013, see *USAID Announces Winners of the Campus Challenge to Combat Human Trafficking*, USAID (Mar. 22, 2013), <http://www.usaid.gov/news-information/press-releases/usaaid-announces-winners-campus-challenge-combat-human-trafficking> (last visited Apr. 20, 2013); see also *Challenging Slavery Winners*, CHALLENGE SLAVERY (2012), <https://www.challengeslavery.org/innovation/winners> (last visited Oct. 14, 2013) (specifying winning projects). Part of the campus challenge initiative included research grants to scholars at universities and research institutes worldwide for Counter-Trafficking in Persons Research Challenge Grants. See *Theories of Change in Democratization*, INSTITUTE OF INT'L EDUCATION (2013), <http://www.iie.org/Programs/USAID-Democracy-Fellows-and-Grants-Program/Grant/Current-Opportunities> (last visited May 11, 2013), stating that:

Applicants are invited to submit proposals in response to three questions:
 Question 1: What have been the impacts of USAID C-TIP programs?
 Question 2: How can we use public opinion surveys to design and implement effective C-TIP prevention and awareness-raising activities/programs?
 Question 3: Respond to your own C-TIP research question.

See also *USAID Democracy Fellows and Grants Program*, INSTITUTE OF INT'L EDUCATION (2013), <http://www.iie.org/Programs/USAID-Democracy-Fellows-and-Grants-Program/Grant/C-TIP> (last visited Nov. 12, 2013). Research grants were awarded to three universities. See *USAID Announces Grants to Three Universities to Combat Human Trafficking*, USAID (2013), <http://www.usaid.gov/news-information/press-releases/usaaid-announces-grants-three-universities-combat-human-trafficking> (last visited Nov. 14, 2013) ("Today, USAID announces three new research grants awarded to the University of Southern California, Vanderbilt University and Texas Christian University to study human trafficking and produce evidence that could help USAID and other international development organizations combat human trafficking more effectively."); see generally U.S. DEP'T OF STATE, 2013 TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS REPORT (2013), available at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/210737.pdf> (last visited Oct. 24, 2013) [hereinafter 2013 TIP REPORT]. The 2013 TIP REPORT acknowledges the importance of technology in counter-trafficking as follows:

In the fight against modern slavery, technology can be a double-edged sword. Traffickers use technology to advertise their services widely and develop new methods to recruit, manipulate, and lure potential victims. Meanwhile, governments, anti-trafficking advocates, and technology companies are collaborating to leverage technological tools to turn the tables on the traffickers.

Id. at 14. The 2013 TIP REPORT "focuses on victim identification as a top priority in the global movement to combat trafficking in persons." *Id.* at 8.

C. *Marisa Ferri—U.S. Department of State—The TIP Report and Other Initiatives*³⁵

Marisa Ferri discussed the efforts of the U.S. Department of State in making anti-trafficking a top priority for the U.S. Government and a critical part of the United States' foreign policy agenda. She also discussed the Department of State's annual report on Trafficking in Persons, noted above, which categorizes some 180 countries according to their anti-trafficking efforts by Tier 1 through Tier 3, with Tier 1 having the best efforts, Tier 3 having the worst.³⁶ Ms. Ferri described the sources from which the report is compiled and observed that it is not intended to indict past failures but rather to guide future progress.³⁷ Measurements are made against the minimum standards as set forth in the TVPA, which are also consistent with the country's obligations under the U.N.'s Palermo Protocol.³⁸

In recent years, the TIP Report has also rated the United States to show that the U.S. Government holds itself up to the same standards as other countries.³⁹ Among other things, this helps address trafficking in the

35. Marisa Ferri is the Deputy Senior Coordinator for International Programs in the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons at the U.S. Department of State and is responsible for coordinating the TIP Office's foreign assistance to prevent trafficking, protect trafficking victims, and prosecute traffickers throughout the world. Prior to joining U.S. Department of State in 2008, Ms. Ferri served as a Program Officer for the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Division in the Office of Refugee Resettlement, part of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), as well as in the Office of Refugee Resettlement's Division of Unaccompanied Children's Services. She also conducted field research in refugee camps in Tanzania, was an advocate with the International Human Rights Law Group in Washington, D.C., was an immigration advisor for the Spanish Catholic Center, also in Washington, D.C., and has worked with marginalized youth in one of the autonomous regions of Nicaragua. Ms. Ferri has a B.A. in Political Science from Xavier University, an M.S. in Foreign Service from Georgetown University, and a Certificate in Refugees and Humanitarian Emergencies from the Georgetown University Institute for the Study of International Migration. Her remarks as related in this article do not reflect the approval of the U.S. Government or the Department of State.

36. 2012 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 6, at 40–44, 51; *see also id.* at 37 (“The Department [of State] places each country in the 2012 TIP Report onto one of four tiers, as mandated by the TVPA. This placement is based more on the extent of government action to combat trafficking than on the size of the problem.”).

37. *See id.* at 37, stating that:

The Department of State prepared this Report using information from U.S. embassies, government officials, nongovernmental and international organizations, published reports, news articles, academic studies, research trips to every region of the world, and information submitted to tipreport@state.gov. This email address provides a means by which organizations and individuals can share information with the Department of State on government progress in addressing trafficking.

38. *Id.*

39. *Id.* at 36.

United States and aids in conducting anti-trafficking discussions with other nations. The report also references TIP heroes throughout the world who have committed their lives to ending trafficking and have inspired others.⁴⁰ In addition, Ms. Ferri described the Department of State's funding of anti-trafficking programs worldwide, including the types of programs being funded, as well as the need for rigorous program evaluation to determine best practices in C-TIP activities.

Ms. Ferri elaborated on the meaning of the four P's: 1) Prosecution: strong C-TIP laws, with penalties, and implementation of laws; 2) Protection: victim awareness, providing victim services, and not treating victims as criminals for acts while trafficked; 3) Prevention: raising public awareness of trafficking and discouraging demand for commercial sex and forced labor;⁴¹ and 4) Partnerships: between government and many others in the anti-trafficking effort.⁴² The strong U.S. Government interagency cooperation on C-TIP activities was also emphasized.

According to the *2012 TIP Report*, low tier rankings may have financial consequences.⁴³ For example, countries in the lowest tier may be at risk of losing certain foreign assistance funds.⁴⁴ Specifically, to quote from the *2012 TIP Report*, the "U.S. government may withhold or withdraw non-humanitarian, non-trade related foreign assistance" to such countries.⁴⁵ Also, according to the *2012 TIP Report*, such countries may "lose funding for government employees' participation in educational and cultural exchange programs," and "face U.S. opposition to [certain] assistance from international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank," with the exception of "humanitarian, trade-related and certain development-related assistance."⁴⁶

40. See *id.* at 46–49; see also 2013 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 34, at 48–52.

41. 2012 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 6, at 9.

42. *Id.* at 9.

43. *Id.* at 44.

44. *Id.*

45. *Id.*

46. See 2012 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 6, at 44, stating that:

Under certain circumstances, all or part of the TVPA's sanctions can be waived if the President determines that the provision of such assistance to the government would promote the purposes of the statute or is otherwise in the United States' national interest. The TVPA also provides for a waiver of sanctions if necessary to avoid significant adverse effects on vulnerable populations, including women and children.

The above quotes in the text from the 2012 TIP REPORT are directly taken from the 2012 TIP REPORT and are not quotes from Ms. Ferri's presentation.

*D. Leyla Strotkamp—U.S. Department of Labor—Fighting Child Labor Exploitation*⁴⁷

Leyla Strotkamp discussed in detail, through a series of principles and examples, the legal framework under which the U.S. Department of Labor, through its Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB), addresses child trafficking and other forms of child labor exploitation. She also described its experience funding grants for direct action social programs to engage and rescue children from trafficking, including investigation, detection, and law enforcement efforts with victim's services; this includes training and employment and work with other nations in addressing the "worst forms of child labor."⁴⁸ The Department of Labor's specific programming directive is to address the worst forms of child labor, and the Department approaches child trafficking as one of those forms. Ms. Strotkamp also mentioned ILAB's technical cooperation with other nations (transnational engagement) through the negotiation of Memoranda of Understanding with foreign governments to ensure that workers coming from countries outside the United States—including some who may have been trafficked—are fully aware of their rights under United States law against exploitative labor practices.

Ms. Strotkamp made special mention of the International Labour Organization (ILO),⁴⁹ a tri-partite, standard-setting organization comprised of governments, companies, and employee associations and its various

47. Leyla Strotkamp serves as an International Relations Officer at the Research and Policy Division of the Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking at the Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB) of the U.S. Department of Labor. Ms. Strotkamp represents the Bureau on matters of trafficking policy and coordinates reporting on anti-trafficking mandates. She has held research positions with a variety of public and private institutions including the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, Macro International, the Associated Press, the Smithsonian, and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Ms. Strotkamp holds an M.A. in International Communication from American University.

48. See *Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor*, U.S. DEP'T OF LABOR (2012), <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/reports/child-labor/findings/> (last visited Oct. 27, 2013) ("The Department of Labor's annual *Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor* focuses on the efforts of certain U.S. trade beneficiary countries and territories to eliminate the worst forms of child labor through legislation, enforcement mechanisms, policies and social programs.").

49. See *ILO, RESIDENT COORDINATOR ONLINE* (Mar. 23, 2013), http://rconline.undg.org/?page_id=666 (last visited Oct. 12, 2013), stating that:

The ILO is the international organization responsible for drawing up and overseeing international labour standards. It is the only "tripartite" United Nations agency that brings together representatives of governments, employers and workers to jointly shape policies and programmes promoting Decent Work for all. This unique arrangement gives the ILO an edge in incorporating "real world" knowledge about employment and work.

conventions, including ILO 29 (forced labor convention),⁵⁰ 138 (minimum age for workers convention),⁵¹ and 182 (convention on the worst forms of child labor).⁵² The United States is a member of the ILO.⁵³ Ms. Strotkamp referenced mandated reports on the prevalence and nature of child labor exploitation, including a list of goods for which there is reason to believe that they were produced by child or forced labor, in order to depict the scope of the problem and to improve the underlying conditions and causes. There are long-standing gaps in the collection and availability of information on the extent of the child labor and forced labor exploitation around the world.

Since 1995, ILAB has funded over 250 projects in eighty-five countries to remove children from exploitative labor conditions and provide education and other services, with funding at around \$740 million.⁵⁴ It currently has forty-five active projects in fifty-eight countries.⁵⁵ The Agency also publishes an annual report on the worst forms of child labor describing government efforts in 144 countries and territories benefiting

50. Convention Concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour, June 28, 1930, 39 U.N.T.S. 55, available at http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C029 (last visited Oct. 12, 2013).

51. Convention Concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment, June 26, 1973, 1015 U.N.T.S. 297, available at http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312283:NO (last visited Oct. 12, 2013).

52. See Convention Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, June 17, 1999, 2133 U.N.T.S. 161, available at <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc87/com-chic.htm> (last visited Oct. 12, 2013), stating that:

For the purposes of this Convention, the term the worst forms of child labour comprises (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; and (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

53. *The U.S.: A Leading Role in the ILO*, INT'L LABOUR ORG. (2013), <http://www.ilo.org/washington/ilo-and-the-united-states/the-usa-leading-role-in-the-ilo/lang-en/index.htm> (last visited Apr. 12, 2014).

54. Hilda L. Solis, *Remarks at the Child Labor Report & Grant Roll-Out*, U.S. DEP'T OF LABOR (Oct. 3, 2011), http://www.dol.gov/_sec/media/speeches/20111003_ILAB.htm (last visited Sept. 29, 2013).

55. *Id.*

from certain trade programs with the United States.⁵⁶ The U.S. Department of Labor presents an annual award established by Congress to an individual, company, organization, or national government honoring their work in ending child labor.⁵⁷ Much more needs to be done in the areas of research, technical assistance in drafting laws, policies, law enforcement, and interventions. The goals are to identify the scope of the problem, rescue children from exploitative labor conditions, and work toward identifying and eradicating the circumstances that lead to their placement in them in the first place.

*E. Wade Channell—USAID—Eliminating Economic Incentives for Trafficking*⁵⁸

Wade Channell stressed the need for thought and research on how to eliminate the economic incentives for trafficking by increasing the risks and costs at every point in the business. Mr. Channell observed that he was not so much seeking to inform, but recruit the audience into anti-trafficking work. The goal is not merely to engage in prevention and prosecution, which are both important initiatives, but to destroy the business itself. An

56. See generally U.S. DEP'T OF LABOR'S BUREAU OF INT'L LABOR AFFAIRS, 2011 FINDINGS ON THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOR, (2011), available at <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/programs/ocft/2011TDA.pdf> (last visited Oct. 8, 2013).

57. See generally 2013 *Iqbal Masih Award*, U.S. DEP'T. OF LABOR (2013), <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/programs/ocft/iqbal/> (last visited Oct. 8, 2013), stating that:

The Iqbal Masih Award is a non-monetary award presented annually by the United States Secretary of Labor and administered by ILAB's Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor and Human Trafficking The Iqbal Masih Award was named after a Pakistani child who was sold into slavery as a carpet weaver at age four, escaped at ten and became an outspoken public advocate against child exploitation. In 1994 he received the Reebok Human Rights Award. He was tragically killed a year later at the age of thirteen in his native Pakistan. The purpose of the award is to recognize exceptional efforts to reduce the worst forms of child labor—in view of inspiring and motivating others working toward this end.

58. Wade Channell, at the time of the program and as noted above, was Senior Legal Reform Advisor in the Economic Growth Office at USAID. His work centered on the enabling environment for business, an effort that involves, among other things, identifying constraints to business that raise costs and risks or reduce revenue potential. He has worked in more than fifty countries on five continents. With regard to trafficking, he has reversed the constraints analysis to look at the business of trafficking in order to identify points at which costs and risks in the system can be increased beyond revenue capacity—that is, how to put traffickers out of business. He now serves as Senior Economic Growth Advisor at USAID's Office of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment. He is the author of *Grammar Lessons Learned: Dependent Clauses, False Cognates, and Other Problems in Rule of Law Programming*, 72 U. PITT. L. REV. 171 (2010) and *Lessons Not Learned About Legal Reform*, in *PROMOTING THE RULE OF LAW ABROAD: IN SEARCH OF KNOWLEDGE* 39 (Thomas Carothers ed., Carnegie Endowment for Int'l Peace 2006).

increase in risk will increase costs until the business is priced out of the market and becomes unprofitable.

To attack the business of trafficking effectively, it is often necessary to temporarily put aside appropriate rage and revulsion, and temporarily use a cold, dispassionate analysis to understand the business model and its potential weaknesses. For example, every business needs the “inputs;” for traffickers, this includes an “inventory” of women and sometimes children. Economic thinking shows that these inputs are part of the supply chain needed to meet the demand for trafficking products and services. To reduce the availability of these inputs, it is necessary to understand how they are obtained, such as through recruitment by employment or travel services, or in the worst case, through people in their own community. Trafficking victims need to be transported to the market through taxis, buses, trains, and boats. They also need documents to get them over state or national lines. As “inventory,” they need to be kept “compliant,” and therefore brutalized and broken down, so they will not fight customers.⁵⁹ They must also be “stored.” Each of these points in the value chain is an opening to put the business out of operation. Traditional prosecution and prevention are important, but according to Mr. Channell, they apparently are not enough.⁶⁰ This business model increases opportunity for impact.

Mr. Channell also considered whether the larger system of trafficking is encouraged by our society’s use and tolerance of pornography. He observed that pornography sometimes uses trafficked victims, filming them for almost nothing, or for made-to-order child pornography. It is probable that such images both satisfy and stimulate the demand for trafficking services while reducing enforcement motivation by advancing a culture of denigration. Mr. Channell argued that pornography is not about lifting up and respecting women or the celebration of the human form. To the contrary, pornography denigrates user and used by substituting for vibrant relationships a false sense of intimacy and affirmation through the misuse of women.

He asked the audience to consider, in light of the constitutional protections for pornography (virtually unassailable, “sacred right” to pornography, which is ineffectively regulated in areas that it is permissible to regulate), what could be done about pornography. The multi-billion dollar industry would be sure to resist any link with trafficking; but although raising a connection between pornography and trafficking would not earn one friend in the pornography industry, “that’s OK,” said Mr.

59. See 2012 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 6, at 12.

60. See *id.* at 9.

Channell, “we need some good enemies, and we hope you [the audience] will cultivate some with us.”

*F. Holly Burkhalter—International Justice Mission—Law Enforcement and Deterrence of Traffickers*⁶¹

Holly Burkhalter provided an overview of the work of International Justice Mission (IJM). IJM is one of a number of prominent NGOs engaged in counter-trafficking, some of which attended the event.⁶² IJM maintains eighteen international offices in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and engages with law enforcement and prosecutors’ offices to assist them in investigating and prosecuting wrongdoers, among other things, through training law enforcement and obtaining testimony from victims.⁶³ It also identifies, rescues, and provides aftercare for victims.⁶⁴ Ms. Burkhalter stressed prosecution difficulties in certain contexts abroad, including low conviction rates and the need for much more government and other funding for counter-trafficking efforts—a need in which all panelists concurred. The issue is how to increase funding, especially at a time of budgetary pressures. Ms. Burkhalter noted that citizens must demand that their government spend more on these efforts.

61. Holly Burkhalter serves as Vice President of Government Relations for International Justice Mission (IJM). IJM is a human rights agency that secures justice for victims of slavery, sexual exploitation, and other forms of violent oppression. IJM lawyers, investigators, and aftercare professionals work with local governments to ensure victim rescue, prosecution of perpetrators, and strengthening the community to promote a functioning public justice system. Before joining IJM, Ms. Burkhalter served as U.S. Policy Director of Physicians for Human Rights, a Boston-based human rights organization specializing in medical, scientific, and forensic investigations of violations of internationally recognized human rights. Prior to joining Physicians for Human Rights, Ms. Burkhalter worked with Human Rights Watch for fourteen years as advocacy director and director of its Washington office. Previously, Ms. Burkhalter staffed the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations from 1981 to 1983. From 1977 to 1981, she worked for Representative, now Senator, Tom Harkin (D-IA). As Vice President for government relations, Ms. Burkhalter serves as IJM’s liaison with Congress and the executive branch of the U.S. Government. She is a source of expertise about human rights abuses suffered by IJM’s clients in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Ms. Burkhalter advises policymakers about strategies to bring United States influence to bear on behalf of victims of these crimes.

62. See INT’L JUSTICE MISSION, PROJECT LANTERN RESULTS SUMMARY 1 (2007), available at <http://www.ijm.org/files/project-lantern/Project-Lantern-Results-Summary.pdf> (last visited Oct. 12, 2013) [hereinafter PROJECT LANTERN RESULTS SUMMARY]. For a detailed description of IJM’s counter-trafficking efforts in the Philippines referenced in this article, see HAUGEN & BOUTROS, *supra* note 6, at 266 *et seq.*

63. See *Who We Are*, *supra* note 15.

64. See *id.*

Ms. Burkhalter's presentation focused on her agency's efforts in Cebu, the second largest city in the Philippines, which included successful efforts at prosecution, law enforcement, and the resulting deterrent effect.⁶⁵ She also emphasized the importance of data collection to establish the effectiveness of anti-trafficking techniques.⁶⁶ Working with an independent expert data collection agency comprised of a team of criminologists, IJM attempted to quantify the amount of reduction in the number of minor girls available for sex trafficking as a result of increased prosecutions and other improvements in law enforcement.⁶⁷ After several years, the reduction was 79%.⁶⁸ She observed that one does not need to prosecute every trafficker and pimp to have a deterrent effect.⁶⁹

G. Eric Beinhart—U.S. Department of Justice—Institutional Law Enforcement Development and Counter-Trafficking

Eric Beinhart described the work and challenges facing the U.S. Department of Justice's International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP), created in 1986, which, despite the word "training" in its title, principally promotes sustainable institutional law enforcement development throughout the world.⁷⁰ Mr. Beinhart noted that his remarks would take a broader look at the "institutional development piece" of combating trafficking, as well as focusing on the role of the police in fighting trafficking. He began by emphasizing the importance police have in shaping a citizen's view of government, whether it is positive or negative, specifically because of the frequency of citizen interaction with police.

Police are the largest representative of government in many countries in the world, not merely "actors in the criminal justice system," said Mr. Beinhart. He observed, in particular, the key role of police in counter-trafficking, since they are uniquely situated to address all four P's, namely by playing a critical role in the prevention, protection, prosecution, and partnership building around C-TIP. Training police is and should be but one element in an overarching institutional development model that is

65. See HAUGEN & BOUTROS, *supra* note 6, at 266–67.

66. See generally *id.*

67. See generally *id.*

68. PROJECT LANTERN RESULTS SUMMARY, *supra* note 62, at 1.

69. See *Project Lantern: Game-Changing Results in the Fight Against Trafficking*, INT'L JUSTICE MISSION (Oct. 8, 2013), <http://www.ijm.org/projectlantern> (last visited Apr. 13, 2014).

70. See *About ICITAP*, U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, at 1 (June 30, 2013), available at <http://www.justice.gov/criminal/icitap/fact-sheets/2012/about-icitap-fact-sheet.pdf> (last visited Oct. 12 2013).

needed for police agencies to effectively address trafficking in persons and other forms of transnational crime. Indeed, training a police force in counter-trafficking, where the institutional framework is lacking, is akin to “buying chandeliers for a mansion whose foundation has not been built.”

Mr. Beinhart stressed the need to create good criminal justice institutions. That means looking at the entire criminal justice system as a whole, not only at training police. The first step in creating a successful criminal justice institution is a good assessment. The assessment is critical to determining the needs of the criminal justice system and making good policy choices.⁷¹ To determine how the police interact with the prosecutors and the courts, conversations should include police, prosecutors, and judges alike; indeed, if one speaks to them alone, they may only blame each other. If one gets them all in the same room, however, one might at least play a facilitator’s role and understand what the real problems are in the criminal justice system.

As an example of a success story, Mr. Beinhart explored ICITAP’s counter-trafficking efforts in Indonesia, and more specifically, the remote areas of East Java and North Sumatra, which later expanded into Kalimantan, South Sumatra, and Nusa Tenggara. Trafficking in persons in Indonesia did not develop in a vacuum, but had its roots in other crimes, including trafficking in drugs, illegal timber, and exotic or endangered species.⁷² ICITAP developed a Point of Origin strategy in which ICITAP staff trained and collated working groups and co-training techniques (training stakeholders together) with police, NGOs, and others to address trafficking in persons issues before vulnerable populations became susceptible to trafficking organizations. Subsequently, following efforts by the police and NGOs for a period of time after the three-year initiative, as many as five trafficking organizations were dismantled and approximately 300 women were rescued and reintegrated back into their communities.

Mr. Beinhart lastly identified various questions that need to be answered in order to effectively develop a criminal justice system. For example, relevant questions would include the following: What does the crime threat analysis say? What is the perception of crime within the country among various groups? Are police properly deployed, or are their efforts diluted because police are doing other jobs having nothing to do with police work (a “job task analysis”)? In some cases, sworn police officers have unrelated jobs, such as a cook, driver, electrician, or coffee

71. As an example of bad policy, Mr. Beinhart referenced the doubling of an already then corrupt national police department (a “predator against its citizens”) on the theory that they ideally needed one police officer for every 400 citizens, which just magnified the corruption problem and made it worse as a result of what turned out to be bad donor advice.

72. *About ICITAP*, *supra* note 70, at 1.

and tea server, all perpetuating colonial models. Is there a culture of accountability for police, including a police internal affairs unit to weed out corruption? What are the performance indicators for the system? Is leadership being promoted at every level? How is police training being done? For example, how adequate are the instructors and the curricula? Are the existing policies and procedures, such as the rules of the institution governing training, investigations, recruitment, vetting, integrity, and use of force, etc. adequate? How do police interact with the public and civil society organizations? What work force is needed to combat trafficking?

H. Eric Beinhart—Epilogue: Using Community Policing to Combat Trafficking in Persons

Community policing is a philosophy that should permeate every level of a police organization. It holds that police and citizens should build a partnership based on trust to prevent, reduce, and solve crime and other problems in communities. Community policing strategies are dictated by the cultures, religions, demographics, norms, and crime rates of different communities. A community policing strategy that is effective in one neighborhood of a city may be ineffective in another neighborhood of the same city. In this type of framework, officers at the lowest end of a police organization have power and responsibility because they are able to work directly with citizens to prevent, reduce, and solve crime.

Community policing provides a model to combat trafficking in persons because it takes a holistic approach that encompasses prevention, protection, prosecution, and partnership building.⁷³ Police should make presentations in schools, at civil society and faith-based gatherings, and on radio and television programs to explain some of the common ruses used to trap people in the human trafficking web and ways to avoid them, and they should discuss ways that trafficking victims can be reintegrated into communities. The presentations should also include information about how to communicate with police if people believe they have been targeted for human trafficking.

Police can work closely with both international and local counter-trafficking NGOs. This will help ensure that police and NGOs that provide food, shelter, and psychosocial services to trafficking victims, for instance, know how to communicate with one another and coordinate the handover of victims. Such NGOs should be included in the development of police training on counter-trafficking so that police better understand the

73. Eric Beinhart, *The Multiple Roles of Police in Combating Trafficking in Persons*, USAID IMPACT BLOG (Aug. 3, 2011), <http://blog.usaid.gov/2011/08/the-multiple-roles-of-police-in-combating-trafficking-in-persons/> (last visited Nov. 5, 2013).

importance of victim support and NGOs better understand how police operate.

The role of police in the investigation of trafficking crimes is obvious, but efforts are needed to improve the coordination between police and prosecutors as well. One way this can be done is through joint training that includes both police and prosecutors and a final scenario that culminates in a mock trial. This will foster a more integrated approach toward the investigation and prosecution of trafficking cases and help police and prosecutors better understand the obstacles that each faces.⁷⁴

Strong partnerships also can be achieved between police, other government agencies, chambers of commerce, community, and faith-based organizations that focus on hosting musical festivals, carnivals, and other events to raise money for counter-trafficking awareness and trafficking victims. With the extraordinary advances in cell phone technology, police and counter-trafficking NGOs can also work with telephone companies to produce simple public service announcements that will be played on cellphones warning of the dangers of trafficking and providing contact information for the police and counter-trafficking NGOs. Police and NGOs can also form partnerships with local musical artists to create musical ring tones for cell phones with positive messages about police in counter-trafficking.

In summary, community policing provides an organizing philosophy around which the government, including the Department of State, USAID, the Department of Labor, the Department of Justice, and counter-trafficking NGOs can coordinate their counter-trafficking activities and should be considered wherever possible as counter-trafficking policies are devised.

III. CONCLUSION

Our fight against human trafficking is one of the great human rights causes of our time, and the United States will continue to lead it—in partnership with you. The change we seek will not come easy, but we can draw strength from the movements of the past. For we know that every life saved—in the words of that great Proclamation—is “an act of justice,” worthy of “the

74. Eric Beinhart, *Piloting an Integrated Criminal Justice Development Project in Lira, Uganda*, in CIVIL POWER IN IRREGULAR CONFLICT 88 (Franklin D. Kramer, et al., eds., 2010), available at <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?sessionid=2771C55AF40F2FCE004255A15FC3DB56?doi=10.1.1.165.6364&rep=rep1&type=pdf> (last visited Nov. 5, 2013).

considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."⁷⁵

* * *

*At its essence, TIP is about people being bought and sold as chattel.*⁷⁶

This conclusion expands on some of the themes and observations at the program, including the evaluation of counter-trafficking practices and the challenge of proceeding with insufficient data; the counter-trafficking legislative framework and implementation; interagency cooperation and approaches in counter-trafficking; curbing demand for human trafficking; and the opportunity to get involved in counter-trafficking, including through programming and publishing.

A. Evaluation

*Evaluation is the systematic collection and analysis of information . . . about the characteristics and outcomes of programs and projects as a basis for judgments, to improve effectiveness, and/or inform decisions about current and future programming.*⁷⁷

* * *

*Sometimes, even when we have all the good intentions in the world, we don't find the most effective or most efficient way to act on them. This is true whether we want to save fish, make microloans, distribute antimalarial bed-nets, or deliver deworming pills. What we really need to know is: How can we act with more than good intentions? How can we find the best solutions?*⁷⁸

Several of the panelists raised the need for evidence-based evaluations of anti-trafficking programs funded by the government to determine which programs are the most effective. The need for better evaluation in such

75. *Remarks by the President to the Clinton Global Initiative*, THE WHITE HOUSE (Sept. 25, 2012, 12:34 PM), <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/09/25/remarks-president-clinton-global-initiative> (last visited Oct. 30, 2013).

76. 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 10.

77. U.S. AGENCY FOR INT'L DEV., EVALUATION POLICY 2 (2011), available at <http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1868/USAIDEvaluationPolicy.pdf> (last visited Nov. 16, 2013); see generally U.S. AGENCY FOR INT'L DEV., AN EVALUATION FRAMEWORK FOR USAID-FUNDED TIP PREVENTION AND VICTIM PROTECTION PROGRAMS FINAL REPORT (2009), available at http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADR431.pdf (last visited Nov. 16, 2013).

77. DEAN KARLAN & JACOB APPEL, MORE THAN GOOD INTENTIONS: IMPROVING THE WAY THE WORLD'S POOR BORROW, SAVE, FARM, LEARN AND STAY HEALTHY 3 (2011).

programming is openly acknowledged. As referenced in the recent U.S. Government report *Promising Practices: A Review of U.S. Gov't-Funded Anti-Trafficking in Persons Programs*, such evaluation would involve “methodologically-sound research demonstrating that [such programs are] effective and worthy of application on a large scale.”⁷⁹ The issues to address—or the purposes of evaluation—are generally to assess what works, what does not, and how to decide.

According to *Promising Practices*,⁸⁰ counter-trafficking evaluation is difficult for various reasons, including the scarcity of resources for this

79. See SENIOR POLICY OPERATING GROUP GRANTMAKING COMM., PROMISING PRACTICES: A REVIEW OF U.S. GOV'T-FUNDED ANTI-TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS PROGRAMS 3 (2012), available at http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACU465.pdf (last visited Mar. 9, 2014) [hereinafter PROMISING PRACTICES]. PROMISING PRACTICES highlights the problem of determining which counter-trafficking practices are effective or ineffective:

Since 2010, the SPOG Grantmaking Committee has focused significant attention on developing a strategy for supporting a shift towards evidence-based programming among United States government agencies to build the knowledge base on human trafficking and propose solutions to enhance anti-trafficking activities. The term “evidence-based practice” refers to any intervention that can be sourced back to methodologically-sound research demonstrating that it is effective and worthy of application on a large scale. At the present time, the knowledge base on effective anti-TIP programming is limited. Most U.S. government agencies, however, have made significant progress in supporting research and evaluation of anti-trafficking activities. While the *promising practices* collected in this document correlate with positive results, there is not sufficient evaluation data to definitively demonstrate a causal link between the practice and positive outcomes.

Id. at 3 (italics in original). For a description of the Senior Policy Operating Group, see *id.* (“Established in 2003, the Senior Policy Operating Group (SPOG) to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons coordinates interagency policy, grants, research, and planning issues involving international and domestic trafficking in persons and the implementation of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act.”). PROMISING PRACTICES identified fifteen counter-trafficking projects funded by various agencies of the U.S. Government, including some projects run by organizations mentioned in this article, such as the ILO (Central America and the Dominican Republic—Department of Labor-funded), IJM (Philippines—Department of State TIP office-funded), and ABA (Nigeria—USAID funded); see *id.* at 14, 16, 18. The list was referenced in the report as “by no means exhaustive,” but rather as an “important starting point upon which to build a more comprehensive learning resource.” *Id.* at 3.

80. The phrase “promising practices” is not unique to counter-trafficking, but rather has been defined as part of a range of practices ranging from “emerging” to “promising” to “best.” See e.g., *Best Practice Categories and Criteria*, ASSOCIATION OF MATERNAL & CHILD HEALTH PROGRAMS, <http://www.amchp.org/programsandtopics/BestPractices/Pages/BestPracticeTerms.aspx> (last visited Mar. 9, 2014); see also *Best Practices Overview*, ASSOCIATION OF MATERNAL & CHILD HEALTH PROGRAMS, <http://www.amchp.org/programsandtopics/BestPractices/Pages/default.aspx> (last visited Mar. 9, 2014) (“AMCHP defines ‘best practices’ as a continuum of practices, programs and policies that range from [emerging] to [promising] to those that have been extensively evaluated and proven effective, i.e. [best practice].”); “*Evidence-Based*” and “*Promising Practices*” and Other Important Terms Defined, THURSTON COUNTY PUBLIC HEALTH & SOCIAL SERVICES (Jan. 2009 update), available

purpose: “[P]erforming high-quality impact evaluations requires a significant amount of time, resources, and technical expertise that many counter-trafficking organizations lack.”⁸¹ Moreover, collecting data on the effectiveness of counter-trafficking projects is especially difficult because of the hidden nature of the crime and trafficking victims and the absence of “baseline data on the nature and extent of human trafficking.”⁸² *Promising*

at, <http://www.co.thurston.wa.us/treatment-tax/docs/EvidenceBasedSummary.pdf> (last visited Oct. 31, 2013).

81. See PROMISING PRACTICES, *supra* note 79, at 3, stating as follows:

Determining evidence-based practices among anti-trafficking programs is challenging. Impact evaluations help establish whether or not there is a causal link between a program or intervention and a set of outcomes; however, performing high-quality impact evaluations requires a significant amount of time, resources, and technical expertise that many counter-trafficking organizations lack. Moreover, impact evaluations should be conducted by independent, outside evaluators. External evaluators independence and impartiality make findings more credible, as well as reduce biases and conflicts of interests. Given scarce resources, many program implementers and donors are not in a position to divert resources away from direct services for victims of trafficking in order to conduct formal program evaluation.

82. *Id.* The challenges of determining evidence-based practices are further compounded by the inherent difficulties of working with “hard-to-reach” or “hidden” populations. See U.S. GOV’T ACCOUNTABILITY OFFICE, HUMAN TRAFFICKING: MONITORING AND EVALUATION OF INT’L PROJECTS ARE LIMITED, BUT EXPERTS SUGGEST IMPROVEMENTS 21 (2007), available at <http://www.gao.gov/assets/270/264599.pdf> (last visited Mar. 12, 2014) [hereinafter GAO REPORT] (referencing problems of evaluating impact of counter-trafficking projects). According to the GAO REPORT, for various reasons, baseline data on the nature and extent of human trafficking against which to measure future change or program achievements remain largely unavailable. *Id.* at 18, 20–21. Such reasons include confidentiality and security concerns, which may make service providers unwilling to share certain victim data since disclosure may affect victim safety. *Id.* at 21; see also *id.* app. VI, at 57 (USAID Comments dated July 16, 2007) (“The well-being of victims must be of primary concern in designing control group evaluations as it is in designing anti-trafficking interventions.”). The comments from USAID also note that evaluation standards need to be “adapted to fit the context of anti-trafficking activities.” *Id.* app. VI, at 56. In addition, “[d]eveloping countries, which are typically the countries of origin, have limited capacity for data collection.” *Id.* at 22. “Without estimates of the scope of human trafficking to use as baselines in project locations, it is very difficult to determine where interventions are most needed or where interventions would have the greatest impact.” *Id.* at 21.

“Because of the difficulties in evaluating anti-trafficking projects, the few evaluations that have been completed are qualitative rather than quantitative, focus on process rather than impact, and rarely trace victims over time.” *Id.* at 23; see also *id.* (referencing qualitative evaluations “consisting of document reviews, site visits, interviews and focus groups with stakeholders.”); *id.* at 28 (“[F]ew impact evaluations have been completed due to the difficulties involved. As a result, little is known about the impact of anti-trafficking interventions.”).

Although the terms monitoring and evaluation are often used together, the Department of State’s comments on the GAO REPORT distinguish between monitoring and evaluation as follows:

Project monitoring involves the ongoing assessment of grant activities to ensure that the terms and conditions of the grant are being met, objectives accomplished,

Practices adds that such evaluations should be independent and impartial in order to lend credibility to the findings.⁸³

The need for improved evaluations for counter-trafficking is a theme of other government policy statements besides *Promising Practices*.⁸⁴ The

and federal funds are spent responsibly. Program evaluation involves the assessment of a project's short-term and long-term impact, which entails a systematic and comprehensive analysis of activities and outcomes.

See *id.* app. IV, at 44 (State Department Comments dated July 13, 2007).

83. See PROMISING PRACTICES, *supra* note 79, at 3.

84. For an example of USAID policy statements on the importance of project evaluations in democracy, human rights, and governance overall, see e.g., U.S. AGENCY INT'L DEV., USAID STRATEGY ON DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND GOVERNANCE 34 (2013), available at [http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/USAID%20DRG_%20final%20final%206-24%203%20\(1\).pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/USAID%20DRG_%20final%20final%206-24%203%20(1).pdf) (last visited Dec. 28, 2013) [hereinafter USAID STRATEGY]. The report, among other things, also cautions against premature evaluations, since "changes in some [Democracy, Human Rights and Governance] DRG outcomes often occur incrementally, requiring longer timelines for evaluation to avoid missing the impact of incremental but effective DRG programs, or prematurely assessing programs that initially show progress but are ultimately ineffective." *Id.* at 34; see also USAID STRATEGY's definition of impact evaluation:

Impact evaluations measure the change in a development outcome that is attributable to a defined intervention. They are based on models of cause and effect and require a credible and rigorously defined counterfactual to control for factors other than the intervention that might account for the observed change. Impact evaluations in which comparisons are made between beneficiaries that are randomly assigned to either a treatment or to a control group provide the strongest evidence.

Id. at 34 n.39. USAID STRATEGY was produced by a "Policy Task Team," which also includes "six other individuals selected from across the Agency for their recognized knowledge and expertise" on the issues, including panelist Wade Channell. *Id.* at 3; see also 2012 USAID POLICY, *supra* note 19, at 5–6 (USAID commits itself to improved practices for evaluating counter-trafficking activities.).

See also COMMITTEE ON EVALUATION OF USAID DEMOCRACY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL, IMPROVING DEMOCRACY ASSISTANCE: BUILDING KNOWLEDGE THROUGH EVALUATIONS AND RESEARCH, at vii (2008) [hereinafter IMPROVING DEMOCRACY ASSISTANCE] (report on how best to evaluate USAID's democracy and governance (DG) programs); *id.* at 1 ("Despite these substantial expenditures [by USAID], our understanding of the actual impacts of USAID DG assistance on progress toward democracy remains limited—and is the subject of much current debate in the policy and scholarly communities."); *id.* at 30 (referencing goal of evaluation practices "is to determine, not merely what happened following a given assistance program, but how much what happened differs from what would be observed in the absence of that program.") (italics in original); see also *id.* at 6 ("An impact evaluation aims to separate the effects of a specific DG project from the vast range of other factors affecting the progress of democracy in a given country and thus to make the most precise and credible determination of how much DG projects contribute to desired outcomes.") (italics in original). IMPROVING DEMOCRACY ASSISTANCE also observes that it is unclear whether the promotion of democracy furthers desired policy goals at all but notes that the subject is outside the scope of its report. See *id.* at 19, stating:

Behind efforts to support the spread of democracy promotion lies the belief that increasing democracy in developing nations will promote economic growth, diminish the risks of terrorism, and reduce the frequency of internal and

2012 USAID Policy likewise acknowledges the problem of insufficiency of evaluation and data for evaluative purposes and commits USAID to doing better.⁸⁵

To date, the field of C-TIP has not been driven by robust monitoring and evaluation; we lack systematic, empirical data and evaluation of counter-trafficking interventions globally. Likewise, Agency support to combat trafficking has generally not been structured to measure the impact of our investments

international conflicts. Whether or not democracy actually has all of these effects, and under what conditions, is far from certain. As discussed further, there is a substantial academic and policy debate on the merits of promoting democratic transitions [citations omitted] This debate is far beyond the scope of this report

For a different observation on the problem of the lack of evaluation in the field of humanitarian assistance and the implications of proceeding in the face of inadequate evaluation, *see* William Easterly, *Measuring How and Why Aid Works—or Doesn't*, THE WALL ST. J. (Apr. 30, 2011), <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052748703956904576287262026843944> (last visited Nov. 15, 2013). In this book review of two books on development economics (ABHJIT V. BANERJEE & ESTHER DUFLO, *POOR ECONOMICS: A RADICAL RETHINKING OF THE WAY TO FIGHT GLOBAL POVERTY* (2011) and KARLAN & APPEL, *supra* note 78), Professor Easterly noted that humanitarian aid effectiveness is insufficiently evaluated, if evaluated at all, and usually is “flying blind,” stating:

The books’ single [sic] achievement is in addressing two disgraceful problems that beset humanitarian aid. The first is that the effectiveness of aid is often not evaluated at all; the second is that even when aid is evaluated, the methods are often dubious, such as before-and-after analysis that doesn’t take into account variables that have nothing to do with the aid itself. Humanitarian aid is usually flying blind.

See also Easterly, *supra* note 84 (“[The authors] have fought to establish a beachhead of honesty and rigor about evidence, evaluation and complexity in an aid world that would prefer to stick to glossy brochures and celebrity photo-ops. For this they deserve to be congratulated—and to be read.”). Professor Easterly has observed elsewhere that “rich-country politicians [should] realize that a negative evaluation of a particular aid effort is a learning opportunity, not an excuse to cut foreign aid.” WILLIAM EASTERLY, *THE WHITE MAN’S BURDEN: WHY THE WEST’S EFFORTS TO AID THE REST HAVE DONE SO MUCH ILL AND SO LITTLE GOOD* 376 (Reprint ed. 2006); *see also* KARLAN & APPEL, *supra* note 78, at 28 (“Until very recently, with virtually no hard evidence to guide us in choosing which tools to use in the fight against poverty, we were flying blind.”). “To make a difference in the fight against poverty, we need more than good intentions, more than what sounds good, and more than what looks good anecdotally. The answer isn’t always what we want it to be, and frankly that does not matter.” *Id.* at 276.

85. The Preface to the 2012 USAID POLICY observes:

By applying rigorous methods to measure our impact, we can help establish a foundation of systematic empirical data that will inform evaluations and improve our efforts. We will also use the evaluations to refine and focus our programming, prioritizing countries of global strategic importance with high rates of trafficking and countries at greatest risk.

2012 USAID POLICY, *supra* note 19, at v.

Going forward, USAID Missions investing in C-TIP . . . will apply rigorous methods to measure impact.⁸⁶

The problem of improving evaluation is common to other enormous unsolved undertakings, not only counter-trafficking, including other aspects of development.⁸⁷ If the counter-trafficking undertaking were easier to

86. 2012 USAID POLICY, *supra* note 19, at 5–6; *see also* 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 22 (“The majority of numbers currently reported on trafficking are not derived using rigorous research methodology. Trafficking, both the victims and the perpetrators, belong to a sector of society that is difficult to track and even more difficult to quantify.”); *cf.* KARLAN & APPEL, *supra* note 78, at 30 (without reference to trafficking, noting the problem of poor evaluations in general, focusing on “before-after evaluations” as follows: “I consider it unethical to measure impact so badly that it really does not tell you anything. That just wastes money that could have gone to better uses.”). One common type of impact evaluation is a randomized evaluation:

A Randomized Evaluation is a type of Impact Evaluation that uses random assignment to allocate resources, run programs, or apply policies as part of the study design. Like all *impact evaluations*, the main purpose of randomized evaluations is to determine whether a program has an impact, and more specifically, to quantify *how large* that impact is.

Methodology Overview, ABDUL LATIF JAMEEL POVERTY ACTION LAB, <http://www.povertyactionlab.org/methodology> (last visited Dec. 29, 2013) (*italics in original*). Impact evaluations measure program effectiveness typically by comparing outcomes of those (individuals, communities, schools, etc.) who received the program against those who did not. *Id.* There are many methods of doing this, but randomized evaluations are generally considered the most rigorous and, all else equal, produce the most accurate, i.e. unbiased, results. *Id.*; *see* BANERJEE & DUFLO, *supra* note 84, at 14 (“In an RCT . . . individuals or communities are randomly assigned to different ‘treatments’—different programs or different versions of the same program. Since the individuals assigned to different treatments are exactly comparable because they were chosen at random, any difference between them is the effect of the treatment.”); *see also* Esther Duflo, Rachel Glennerster, & Michael Kremer, *Using Randomization In Development Economics Research: A Toolkit 5* (National Bureau of Economic Research, Technical Working Paper, Paper No. 333, 2006), *available at* http://www.nber.org/papers/t0333.pdf?new_window=1 (last visited Jan. 7, 2014), stating that:

Any attempt at drawing a causal inference question such as “[w]hat is the causal effect of education on fertility?” or “[w]hat is the causal effect of class size on learning?” requires answering essentially counterfactual questions: How would individuals who participated in a program have fared in the absence of the program? How would those who were not exposed to the program have fared in the presence of the program?

87. *See* USAID STRATEGY, *supra* note 84; IMPROVING DEMOCRACY ASSISTANCE, *supra* note 84 (USAID’s democracy and governance approaches); *see also e.g.*, *Governance Initiative*, ABDUL LATIF JAMEEL POVERTY ACTION LAB, <http://www.povertyactionlab.org/GI> (last visited Dec. 25, 2013).

[The Massachusetts Institute of Technology’s Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab’s] Political Economy and Governance Program (PEG) has set up a Governance Initiative (GI) to carry out randomized impact evaluations of programs designed to improve participation in the political and policy process, and reduce leakages in public programs. By providing targeted funding for rigorous evaluations of the most promising programs to improve governance, GI aims to offer guidance for organizations and governments in developing countries

address, for example, and the government knew what was most effective as a result of expert opinion (with or without any evaluation or objective data), the trafficking problem would be more readily resolved, given sufficient resources and expertise. But counter-trafficking is not easy for many reasons. Abject poverty, a constant if not intractable source of misery, for example, is one of the risk factors that creates vulnerability to trafficking and continues to drive victims into the arms of traffickers.⁸⁸ But even if solutions to trafficking are unclear (in light of missing or uncertain evaluations and data), government agencies and others will presumably move forward, preferably with innovative counter-trafficking approaches⁸⁹

as well as the donors who provide support to these countries so that policies can be guided by scientific evidence on what works (or does not work). Through dissemination of findings to policymakers and by providing support for the scale-up and replication of successful programs, GI will help translate this evidence into concrete policy change.

Id.; see also Wade Channell, Norman L. Greene, Michelle A. Hughes, & Sheelagh Stewart, *Towards More Effective Foreign Assistance: ABA 2013 Spring Meeting Panel Analyzes Best Practices and Misconceptions in Rule of Law Reform*, AFR. L. TODAY, Issue 2 (2013), available at http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/uncategorized/international_law/towards_more_effective_foreign_assistance_aba_2013_spring_meeting_panel_in_washington_d_c_analyzes_best_practices_and_misconceptions_in_rule_of_law_reform.authcheckdam.pdf (last visited Dec. 25, 2013); Norman L. Greene, Wade Channell, Terra Lawson-Remer, Lara Goldmark & Eugenia McGill, *Why Nations Fail: 2012 International Law Weekend Panel Addresses Law and Development Movement, Underlying Assumptions and Challenges*, 19 ILSA J. INT'L & COMP. L. 419 (2013). Determining which evaluative techniques are the most effective as a general matter is beyond the scope of this article and the symposium. Which ones should be used as a practical matter will depend on, among other things, context and resources.

88. See 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 58 (“[I]ack of economic alternatives makes people vulnerable to all forms of trafficking”); *but cf. id.* at 40 (“[p]overty alone does not necessarily create vulnerability to trafficking, but when combined with other factors (such as civil unrest), these can lead to higher risk for being trafficked.”); see also 2012 USAID POLICY, *supra* note 19, at 1 (“trafficking in persons . . . is a massive development problem”); and remarks of panelist Veronica Zeitlin (referencing “the root conditions in which trafficking thrives, namely, weak rule of law, gender discrimination, lack of education and jobs, and lack of a social welfare safety net”).

89. See KARLAN & APPEL, *supra* note 78, at 271 on the importance of innovation and taking risks in the foreign aid context, as follows:

Finally, funding should not be confined exclusively to “proven” (or even “being proven”) ideas. We do need to take risks [T]here is always a need for creativity, for trying brand-new and unproven tactics. Organizations that innovate—and innovate thoughtfully, testing their new ideas rigorously—also deserve our support. That said, innovation without evaluation does not help the world as much as innovation with evaluation.

See also HAUGEN & BOUTROS, *supra* note 6, at 264, likewise supporting experimental programs when unsure precisely what to do when addressing nonfunctioning criminal justice systems in the developing world:

The problem of broken criminal justice systems in the developing world is too massive and deep to address everywhere at once. Moreover, we don’t even know

and greater resources, to further the effort, doing the best that they can do with what they have and what they know.⁹⁰

exactly what to do. So wisdom suggests that we pick some places in the world where we can pursue targeted, experimental projects that relentlessly push through in transforming a targeted dysfunctional justice system into one that actually protects the poor from violence.

90. Working for social betterment in a climate of uncertain results and doubtful evaluation and data is not unique to counter-trafficking. In *THE IDEALIST*, author Nina Munk quotes economist Jeffrey Sachs on his experiment to end extreme poverty using his “Millennium Villages Project as a laboratory to test his theories and to prove that his series of ‘interventions’ could transform the lives of the world’s poorest people,” as follows: “You can have a firm conviction even in an uncertain world—it’s the best you can do actually—and that is the nature of my conviction . . . I don’t feel it’s worth asking if this is the best of the best—it’s the best we can do with what we have.” NINA MUNK, *THE IDEALIST: JEFFREY SACHS AND THE QUEST TO END POVERTY* 232 (Doubleday 2013); *see also id.* at 36, stating that:

“How do you know what would have happened without the aid?” asks the development economist Esther Duflo. “Maybe it would have been much worse. Or maybe it would have been better. We have no idea.” “We’re not any better than the medieval doctors and their leeches,” Duflo continues, comparing leeches to theories promoted by development economists. “Sometimes the patient gets better. Sometimes the patient dies. Is it the leeches? Is it something else? We don’t know.”

See also KARLAN & APPEL, *supra* note 78, at 29, stating to the same effect:

The sad fact is that much of the work being done around the world to fight poverty is in a sense like bloodletting. There is a wealth of conviction and some agreement about the driving principles—people are in need, and we should provide them with *something* to help—but that’s about the extent of it. The process of systematic testing, and the corresponding refinement of methods and treatments is just beginning.

(Italics in original); *see also* BANERJEE & DUFLO, *supra* note 84, at xi (referencing fighting global poverty: “Above all, [the book] makes clear why hope is vital and knowledge critical, why we have to keep on trying even when the challenge looks overwhelming. Success isn’t always as far away as it looks.”). To the same effect, *see* HAUGEN & BOUTROS, *supra* note 6, at 264, noting that remedial efforts should go forward in the face of uncertainty:

We have come to see with some urgency that criminal justice systems are indispensable for the poor, and we know from history that it’s possible to build them. But we also know that building them is difficult, costly, dangerous, and unlikely. What we need, therefore, are bold projects of hope: projects of transformation that bring real change, that teach us, and that inspire hope—because the vulnerable poor need all three . . . From these projects we learn what we didn’t previously know about the problem, and what seems to help and what does not.

B. Legislative Framework and Implementation⁹¹

Another program theme was the importance of the legislative effort in counter-trafficking. All necessary legislation is not in place, and the framework is still evolving. Promising existing state and pending federal legislative approaches mentioned at the program included the California Supply Chain Transparency Act of 2010 and Representative Carolyn Maloney's (D-NY) sponsorship of federal legislation H.R. 2759, the Business Transparency on Trafficking & Slavery Act, which are designed to require covered companies to disclose efforts they have made to identify and address evidence of trafficking in their supply chains.⁹²

Federal legislation and state legislation are fully set forth on the Polaris Project's website. State legislation is catalogued and rated by the project for quality "based on 10 categories of laws that are critical to a basic legal framework that combats trafficking, punishes traffickers and supports survivors," and adoption of best practices in legislation and implementation, highlighting areas for improvement; and the states are themselves assigned to one of four tiers reflecting Polaris' assessment of their performance in counter-trafficking.⁹³ Models not yet in force, such as

91. Counter-trafficking is not only about having an adequate legislative framework, but also, implementing one, including through investigations, prosecutions, and convictions. *See generally* Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, Pub. L. No. 106-386, § 108 (especially section (A) Minimum standards and (B) Criteria).

92. *See* H.R. 2759, 112th Cong. (2011), available at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/164934.pdf> (last visited Apr. 12, 2014). "This bill was introduced on August 1, 2011, in a previous session of Congress, but was not enacted." *H.R. 2759 (112th): Business Transparency on Trafficking and Slavery Act*, GOVTRACK.US, <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/112/hr2759> (last visited Apr. 17, 2014).

93. *See 2013 State Ratings on Human Trafficking Laws*, POLARIS PROJECT (2013), <http://www.polarisproject.org/what-we-do/policy-advocacy/national-policy/state-ratings-on-human-trafficking-laws> (last visited Nov. 1, 2013), stating that:

Polaris Project has rated all [fifty] states and the District of Columbia based on [ten] categories of laws that are critical to a basic legal framework that combats human trafficking, punishes traffickers and supports survivors. [Thirty-nine] states passed new laws to fight human trafficking in the past year. As of July 31, 2013, [thirty-two] states are now rated in Tier 1 (7+ points), up from [twenty-one] states in 2012. New Jersey and Washington have perfect scores, meaning they have laws fulfilling all [ten] categories. [The four] states [that] were most improved this year: Arkansas, Wyoming, Mississippi, and New Jersey.

With respect to the uniform legislation drafted by the Uniform Law Commission, *see Polaris Project Hails Adoption of Uniform Act on Human Trafficking by the Uniform, POLARIS PROJECT* (July 11, 2013), <http://www.polarisproject.org/media-center/news-and-press/press-releases/832-polaris-project-hails-adoption-of-uniform-act-on-human-trafficking-by-the-uniform-law-commission-> (last visited Nov. 1, 2013). The Uniform Law project followed a July 2010 proposal for such uniform legislation by the American Bar Association's Center for Human Rights. *See* ABA CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, UNIFORM LAW COMMISSION

the proposed uniform legislation completed in 2013, the model prepared by the Polaris Project, and other models are also available.⁹⁴ Additional federal legislation recommended by Polaris included the previously pending Strengthening Child Welfare Response to Trafficking Act of 2013.⁹⁵

PROJECT PROPOSAL (2010), available at [http://www.uniformlaws.org/shared/docs/Human%20Trafficking/PRHT_Final%20Report%20v%20\(5\)_Jul10.pdf](http://www.uniformlaws.org/shared/docs/Human%20Trafficking/PRHT_Final%20Report%20v%20(5)_Jul10.pdf) (last visited Nov. 2, 2013) [hereinafter ABA PROPOSAL]. With respect to the ABA's efforts on human trafficking, see also Laurel G. Bellows, *ABA President Laurel G. Bellows on Human Trafficking*, 52 ABA JUDGES' J. 1 (2013), available at http://www.americanbar.org/publications/judges_journal/2013/winter/aba_president_laurel_g_bellows_on_human_trafficking.html (last visited Nov. 17, 2013).

94. For the Polaris Project's own model legislation, see POLARIS PROJECT, MODEL PROVISIONS OF COMPREHENSIVE STATE LEGISLATION TO COMBAT TRAFFICKING (2010), available at http://www.polarisproject.org/storage/documents/Final_Comprehensive_ModelLaw_8_2010.pdf (last visited Nov. 16, 2013); see also UNIF. ACT ON PREVENTION OF AND REMEDIES FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING, *supra* note 13. For the uniform law's approach to child trafficking, and the overall importance of the subject of child trafficking, see Norma Abbene, *Trafficking Laws Provide Little Protection for Children: Existing Strategies, Laws and Policies Seldom Capture the Interrelationships Between Child Abuse, Human Trafficking and Other Exploitative Crimes Against Children*, 97 WOMEN LAWS. J. 38, 40–41 (2012), available at <http://nawl.org/p/cm/ld/fid=83> (last visited Mar. 26, 2014) (accessed by clicking the link "Vol. 97, No. 3 & 4 (PDF)") (noting importance of immunities for children under eighteen for prostitution offenses, providing services to minors, increasing penalties where there are minor victims, and considering minors engaged in commercial sexual activities as trafficking victims regardless of alleged consent). Additional model counter-trafficking legislative proposals are referenced at ABA PROPOSAL, *supra* note 93, at 11. Experts on trafficking may differ on best practices in legislation, including on how and whether the legislation addresses demand for trafficking; the scope of the definition of trafficking; the standards for criminal and civil liability and the extent of remedies; and more. See also *id.* at 3 (surveying then existing state legislation). Assessing existing anti-trafficking legislation and all models to date is beyond the scope of this article.

95. See *Priority Federal Legislation*, POLARIS PROJECT (2013), <http://www.polarisproject.org/what-we-do/policy-advocacy/national-policy/priority-legislation> (last visited Apr. 20, 2014), stating that:

The "Strengthening Child Welfare Response to Trafficking Act of 2013" (H.R. 1732) as introduced by Representative Karen Bass (D-CA) and Representative Tom Marino (R-PA) is a critical piece of legislation needed to ensure that child victims of sex trafficking and labor trafficking in the United States are identified by state child welfare agencies and receive the services they need.

...

Recent reports have shown that the majority of identified child trafficking victims have had contact, often multiple times, with the child welfare system. To ensure the proper identification of and assistance for these children, this bill amends the Social Security Act to require state child welfare agencies funded under the Act to report within their annual plan on current efforts to address the human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children in their care, or alternatively to report on future plans to address the issue. The bill has no direct cost. H.R. 1732 is an important step in creating the safety net we need to end child trafficking in the United States.

C. *Interagency Cooperation*

Interagency cooperation was still another theme. Although the program focused on the anti-trafficking work of certain agencies—USAID, Department of State, Department of Labor, and Department of Justice (through ICITAP, emphasizing the importance of police, including community policing and the development of criminal justice institutions)—the U.S. Government works through many other agencies or entities.⁹⁶

Other agencies mentioned at the program included the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (through its Blue Campaign on anti-trafficking awareness and training),⁹⁷ the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services,⁹⁸ and the President’s Interagency Taskforce to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons.⁹⁹ A full list of involved U.S. Government entities appears on the Department of State’s website.¹⁰⁰ Taken together with the numbers of state agencies and NGOs working on counter-trafficking, there are ample opportunities to get involved in this effort.

This bill was introduced on April 25, 2013, in a previous session of Congress, but was not enacted. *H.R. 1732: Strengthening the Child Welfare Response to Human Trafficking Act of 2013*, GOVTRACK.US, <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/113/hr1732> (last visited Apr. 18, 2014).

96. See 2012 USAID POLICY, *supra* note 19, at v (“We are pleased to work in close collaboration with our colleagues at the State Department’s Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons and other U.S. government agencies.”).

97. See *Secretary Napolitano Launches First-Of-Its-Kind Campaign to Combat Human Trafficking*, U.S. DEP’T OF HOMELAND SECURITY (July 25, 2012), <http://www.dhs.gov/news/2010/07/22/secretary-napolitano-launches-first-its-kind-campaign-combat-human-trafficking> (last visited Oct. 24, 2013) (“In 2010, Secretary Napolitano launched the Blue Campaign—a first-of-its-kind initiative to coordinate and enhance the Department’s anti-human trafficking efforts. The components of the Department of Homeland Security combat human trafficking through a variety of programs, and the Blue Campaign coordinates and unites this work.”).

98. See *e.g., Anti-Trafficking in Persons*, U.S. DEP’T OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES (2013), <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/orr/programs/anti-trafficking> (last visited Oct. 24, 2013).

99. See *President’s Interagency Task Force*, U.S. DEP’T OF STATE (2013), <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/reports/pitf/> (last visited Oct. 24, 2013) (“The President’s Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking (PITF) is a cabinet-level entity created by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 to coordinate federal efforts to combat trafficking in persons.”); 2012 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 6.

100. See *President’s Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons*, U.S. DEP’T OF STATE (2013), <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/response/usg/index.htm> (last visited Nov. 3, 2013); *PITF Member and Invited Agencies*, U.S. DEP’T OF STATE (2013), <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/response/usg/agencies/index.htm> (last visited Nov. 3, 2013).

D. Addressing Demand

Unresolved questions raised at the event included a number of substantive ones bearing on demand, such as how one may differentiate so-called “voluntary prostitution” from coercive trafficking;¹⁰¹ whether prostitution enables or enhances the demand for trafficking, and, if so, what are the implications for counter-trafficking policies; and as referenced in Wade Channell’s presentation, the potential role of pornography in forming or reflecting attitudes supporting trafficking.¹⁰²

The Department of State, USAID, and others have addressed the demand question. The Department of State, for example, observed: “If there were no demand for commercial sex, sex trafficking would not exist in the form it does today. This reality underscores the need for continued strong efforts to enact policies and promote cultural norms that disallow paying for sex.”¹⁰³ USAID, for example, in its *Field Guide* and codes,¹⁰⁴ prohibits USAID employees, contractors, grantees and their employees from procuring commercial sex as well as use of forced labor¹⁰⁵ as “behaviors that facilitate or support” trafficking in persons.¹⁰⁶ Strong statements on the importance of curbing demand for commercial sex as a method of addressing trafficking have also been made in the NGO community.¹⁰⁷

101. See 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 16 (“Prostitution by willing adults is not human trafficking regardless of whether it is legalized, decriminalized, or criminalized.”); see also *id.* at 13 (“When an adult is coerced, forced or deceived into prostitution—or maintained in prostitution after initially consenting—that person is a victim of trafficking.”).

102. See also e.g., Catherine A. MacKinnon, *Pornography as Trafficking*, 26 MICH. J. INT’L L. 993, 999 (2005) (“[T]he pornography industry, in production, creates demand for prostitution, hence for trafficking, because it is itself a form of prostitution and trafficking.”).

103. See 2013 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 34, at 27.

104. See 2012 USAID POLICY, *supra* note 19, at 7 (citing USAID Counter-Trafficking in Persons Code of Conduct).

105. See 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 64 (“Similarly, curbing demand for products of trafficked labor in industries such as agriculture, hospitality, construction, food processing, garments, and commercial sex can reduce the incidence of trafficking.”).

106. See 2012 USAID FIELD GUIDE, *supra* note 8, at 41. “Demand for sex trafficking is generated by consumers who purchase sex acts, as well as traffickers, brothel owners, and corrupt officials who derive profit from the sale of sex.” *Id.* at 18 (referencing “USAID Counter-trafficking in Persons Code of Conduct: Personnel Responsibilities”); see also 2012 USAID POLICY, *supra* note 19, at 7 (noting code of conduct); 2013 TIP REPORT, *supra* note 35, at 27 (“Business leaders can adopt codes of conduct that prohibit purchasing sex . . . sending the clear message that buying sex is wrong is not just a task of governments, but will require partnerships throughout society, including the faith and business communities.”).

107. See *Trafficking*, EQUALITY NOW, <http://www.equalitynow.org/our-work/trafficking> (last visited Nov. 3, 2013), stating that:

E. Continuing Engagement

The panelists uniformly urged the student and non-student audience, both in-person and through remote access, to become involved with the counter-trafficking effort, and the program identified where and how to help. As Wade Channell stated, his remarks were designed to recruit as well as instruct.

Indeed as noted during the presentations, “[m]uch more needs to be done in the areas of [counter-trafficking] research, technical assistance in drafting laws, policies, law enforcement, and interventions.”¹⁰⁸ Government will do some of this, such as through employment like that of the panelists or through opportunities for counter-trafficking with partnerships. USAID’s campus challenge is just one example. The Polaris Project also provides on its website details on local opportunities to combat trafficking.¹⁰⁹ There is much opportunity to participate and contribute.¹¹⁰

Equality Now believes that the most effective way to end sex trafficking is by addressing demand for prostitution. Such a strategy would include criminalizing traffickers and buyers of sex while decriminalizing victims and providing them with rehabilitative and other services. In this program area, we support the work of grassroots groups working to end sex trafficking. We also advocate for passage and implementation of strong anti-trafficking legislation, at the state, national and international levels.

See also *Demand Side: Cool Men Don’t Buy Sex Campaign*, APNE AAP (2013), <http://apneaap.org/our-approach/cool-men-dont-buy-sex-campaign/> (last visited Nov. 15, 2013), noting that:

The Cool Men Don’t Buy Sex Campaign is a call to end demand for sex trafficking. *Cool Men* highlights the role that men play in fostering the sex industry. Anti-trafficking efforts frequently address only the victims of sex trafficking, ignoring the force that fuels the trade—male demand for purchased sex. Without demand for purchased sex, traffickers, pimps, and brothel owners will be driven out of business.

108. See discussion *supra* Part II.D (referring to the remarks of Leyla Strotkamp).

109. See *Local Opportunities*, POLARIS PROJECT (2013), <http://www.polarisproject.org/what-we-do/national-human-trafficking-hotline/get-involved> (last visited Nov. 15, 2013).

110. William Easterly’s call for involvement in work to assist the poor in *THE WHITE MAN’S BURDEN* is equally applicable to a call for action in similar noble ventures, including in counter-trafficking:

There is a role for everyone . . . who cares about the poor. If you are an activist, you can change your issue from raising more aid money to making sure that the aid money reaches the poor. If you are a researcher or student of development, you can search for ways to improve the aid system, or for piecemeal innovations that make poor people better off, or for ways for homegrown development to happen sooner rather than later. If you are an aid worker, you can forget about the utopian goals and draw upon what you do best to help the poor. Even if you don’t work in the field of helping the poor, you can still, as a citizen, let your voice be heard for the cause of aid delivering the goods to the poor.

F. Programming and Publishing

There is also a need for counter-trafficking projects like this program and article, which highlight the government's and its partners' counter-trafficking efforts in order to increase awareness of the trafficking problem;¹¹¹ enlist new allies in counter-trafficking, including students; organize and assemble relevant research materials, including governmental and other organization websites¹¹² and reports; identify and analyze issues; and otherwise assist in the overall counter-trafficking movement. The authors and panelists hope that they will have contributed to all of these goals.

EASTERLY, *supra* note 84, at 383–84; *see also* WILLIAM EASTERLY, *THE TYRANNY OF EXPERTS: ECONOMISTS, DICTATORS AND THE FORGOTTEN RIGHTS OF THE POOR* 340 (2013) (“As you wonder what you can do about global poverty, there are many options for your own individual actions What you can do is advocate that the poor should have the same rights as the rich.”); *see also id.* at 7 (“This book argues that the cause of poverty is the absence of political and economic rights, the absence of a free political and economic system that would find the technical solutions to the poor’s problems.”); *cf.* BANERJEE & DUFLO, *supra* note 84, at 273 (from final chapter entitled, “In Place of a Sweeping Conclusion”), noting:

At least we can stop pretending that some solution is at hand and join hands with millions of well-intentioned people across the world—elected officials and bureaucrats, teachers and NGO workers, academics and entrepreneurs—in the quest for the many ideas, big and small, that will eventually take us to that world where no one has to live on 99 cents a day.

111. *See e.g.*, St. John’s Journal of International & Comparative Law Annual Symposium: *The Challenges of International Human Trafficking: Domestic Counter Trafficking Programs* (Mar. 28, 2014), <http://www.stjohns.edu/about/events/school-law-st-johns-journal-international-comparative-law-annual-symposium> (last visited Apr. 11, 2014) (panelists at symposium addressed role of lawyers in and out of the U.S. Government in counter-trafficking, strategies and challenges in evaluating counter-trafficking programs, and more). Several of the panelists at the St. John’s University School of Law symposium also participated in the symposium which is the subject of this article.

112. *See Mission & Vision*, ECPAT USA, <http://www.ecpatusa.org/mission-vision> (last visited Apr. 7, 2014); *Anti-Trafficking Initiative*, SANCTUARY FOR FAMILIES, http://www.sanctuaryforfamilies.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=160&Itemid=184 (last visited Nov. 16, 2013); *Our Mission and Values*, SHARED HOPE INT’L, <http://sharedhope.org/about-us/our-mission-and-values/> (last visited Nov. 16, 2013); *New York State Anti-Trafficking Coalition*, THE TRAFFICKING VICTIMS PROTECTION AND JUSTICE ACT, <http://www.tvpja.com/the-new-york-state-anti-trafficking-coalition.html> (last visited Nov. 16, 2013); *Current Members*, FREEDOM NETWORK USA, <http://freedomnetworkusa.org/membership/current-members/> (last visited Nov. 16, 2013). The authors intend this only as a sample rather than creating an exclusive list of all relevant counter-trafficking organizations and websites.