

MEMORANDUM

TO: Reader

FROM: Demand Abolition, Hunt Alternatives Fund

DATE: August 2010

RE: Abt Associates Inc. report: “Developing a National Action Plan for Eliminating Sex Trafficking”

As a first step in the campaign to eradicate demand for sex trafficking and commercial sex in the United States, Hunt Alternatives Fund contracted with Abt Associates Inc. to review related practice, policy, law, and research related to demand reduction and suggest frameworks for developing a strategy to inform a nationwide campaign.

The Abt report and executive summary are working research documents intended to encourage readers to respond. You may disagree with some of the report’s findings and can suggest constructive alternatives. A steering committee, made up of key actors from across sectors, will use the report as a resource in recommending strategies for a national action plan. Committee members will discuss proposed changes and determine if they could improve the campaign’s chances for success.

This report is only one of many collaborative phases and does not necessarily reflect the direction that the national campaign will follow or actions that will be taken. The findings in this report do not necessarily represent the staff opinions or organizational positions of Hunt Alternatives Fund.

We appreciate your input and look forward to working with you to eliminate commercial sexual exploitation in the United States.

From Insight to Impact
– worldwide



Developing a National Action Plan for Eliminating Sex Trafficking

Executive Summary

July 2, 2010

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Project Background

Over the past three years, Hunt Alternatives Fund has convened experts and commissioned research to inform its efforts to combat human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This fact-finding has convinced the Fund of the need to proceed with greater urgency and to substantially increase the scope and scale of interventions. While pioneering work at national and local levels has produced significant accomplishments, the current pace of progress is unsatisfactory, with little evidence suggesting that the incidence or severity of sex trafficking is abating. A new and substantial infusion of resources is needed to support exemplary organizations and projects, to start initiatives that have been beyond the capacity of currently involved organizations, and to move more aggressively on multiple fronts to produce new momentum and accomplishments.

Hunt Alternatives Fund has pursued the feasibility of assembling substantial private capital to launch a large-scale National Campaign focusing on eradicating sexual slavery and other forms of illegal sexual exploitation. While potential donors have agreed in principal that such an effort is needed, they stress that a strategic plan is necessary to attract the capital required to launch and sustain a comprehensive set of initiatives with a national scope. To that end, Hunt Alternatives Fund launched a set of activities designed to produce a plan by the end of 2010. A National Planning Meeting was held May 8–10, 2010 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, convening key experts on human trafficking and prostitution, and a private research firm—Abt Associates Inc.—was commissioned to assemble briefing materials for the meeting. Abt Associates was also charged with conducting a landscape analysis, and presenting a set of strategic frameworks that could be considered for use by the Campaign’s leaders.

This project provides a foundation for developing a “game plan” for a National Campaign to combat demand for commercial sex. The goal of the National Campaign is nothing less than the elimination of commercial sexual exploitation. The Campaign endeavors to assist in producing a paradigm shift in the United States, eliminating the pockets of acceptance, tolerance, or indifference toward sexual exploitation that have both allowed it to thrive and allowed a lack of effective action and urgency by policy leaders to remain insufficiently challenged. The goals and objectives of the Campaign are highly ambitious, and unapologetically so. But they are also achievable, and the proposed effort is necessary and timely.

The reports summarized in this Executive Summary represent a step in the development of a strategic plan for the National Campaign. The process of gathering input from the field and using this input to assist development, implementation, and refinement of programs and strategies will continue throughout the development of the plan, and continue throughout the implementation of the National Campaign.

This *Executive Summary* provides a brief overview of some of the key findings of the landscape assessment, and summarizes our suggestions regarding strategic frameworks. The Full Report is presented in two components. **Part I: Strategic Frameworks** provides an overview of the evolution of the effort to develop a national campaign, describes the principles and assumptions guiding the effort to date, and presents a strategic framework to be considered and a set of criteria that may be useful in prioritizing lines of action. We also present ideas regarding the Campaign’s structure and leadership, methods of managing large coalitions necessary for the Campaign, and how research and

evaluation can be used to support the Campaign. *Part II: Landscape Assessment* presents findings from several content areas of our review of practice, policy, law, and research. The landscape assessment informed suggestions for strategies and tactics, and is intended to serve as a resource for the further development of the National Action Plan and the National Campaign.

The Challenge

The realms of human rights, politics, and social policy abound with complicated issues, where society is faced with hard choices between competing sets of concerns and ambiguity about whether to act at all, and if so, how best to proceed. Many issues have two or more sides, with legitimate arguments for and against them, such as immigration restrictions, agricultural subsidies, drug prohibition, capital punishment, and single-provider health care. Modern-day slavery is not such an issue. There is no “other side” of the argument. Those who enslave and exploit others are criminals, the egregiousness of their crimes is unquestioned, and they have no credible supporters. There is no question that the problem exists, and that something can and must be done about it. The only legitimate debates are about strategies and tactics.

It is undeniable that there have been many hard fought accomplishments. In the past decade, 45 states have passed human trafficking laws. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) was passed and has been reauthorized several times, expanded and strengthened in important ways. A new federal agency—the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (hereafter, the TIP Office)—was established, devoted entirely to combating modern-day slavery, and other federal agencies—such as the Office of Refugee Resettlement within the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Bureau of Justice Assistance and Office for Victims of Crime within the Department of Justice—have launched national programs designed to prosecute and punish traffickers, or to rescue and support survivors. Dozens of nonprofit organizations have been launched throughout the country (most of which are designed to raise awareness and support survivors) and the media routinely covers news stories and produces dramatic pieces on trafficking. The efforts of hundreds of dedicated individuals have made these gains possible.

But it is also clear that the issue is not remotely where it must be, and that the pace of progress remains slow. As of mid-2010, the size and shape of the problem are still not well understood, and there is no credible evidence that headway is being made in reducing its scope. It is unacceptable that more substantial progress has not been made, and it cannot be assumed that the current level of interest and opportunity to accomplish significant change will remain for long. There is a possibility that we may now be at the crest of a wave of public attention and political opportunity that could pass by. It is imperative that far more is accomplished before attention moves on to other issues—as it certainly will, sooner or later. Permanent changes must be made soon, while the opportunity is here.

A solid foundation for progress exists, in law, established programs and practices, and in the wide range of capable people and organizations eager to move forward. There is no reason to believe that significant accomplishments cannot be made within the first year or two of the Campaign, even with relatively modest resources. Many of the objectives of the critical early stages of the Campaign could be accomplished by a group of dedicated individuals, provided that they are the right people pursuing the right targets, and provided with sufficient support: e.g., small central staff (a full-time executive director and an assistant, with travel and overhead support), a steering committee, and up to four task

group leaders (who should be compensated for their time on this effort), and expenses for targeted initiatives (e.g., convening experts, travel, pilot projects, the development of training and education curricula). Longer-term projects designed to solidify and maintain progress may be more resource-intensive, but it is not true that all of the National Campaign's efforts must be on a very large scale in order to be effective.

Scope of Work for This Project

For this report, a team of Abt Associates researchers and collaborators assembled information from a wide range of sources. Much of this report's content was supplied by those we interviewed who work in a variety of fields (e.g., criminal justice, public health, the military, business, journalists, and NGOs engaged in activism regarding sexual exploitation) to combat prostitution, human trafficking, and modern-day slavery. We received input on issues related to the proposed National Campaign from over 150 experts in law enforcement, modern-day slavery, violence against women, pornography, victim services, etc. We also reviewed hundreds of sources in the research and practice literature, agency and organization reports, and laws at the federal, state, and local levels.

The project has proceeded in two stages:

- ***Landscape assessment:*** We reviewed programs, practices, policies, and current U.S. law on human trafficking and prostitution, seeking input from key individuals, organizations and agencies to (a) inventory what is currently in place; (b) identify gaps; and (d) determine what needs to be done to bridge or fill those gaps.
- ***Developing strategic frameworks:*** The landscape assessment provided a foundation for developing a framework for several lines of action for the National Campaign to consider pursuing.

Based on the information gathered and our analysis of how best to proceed, we provide in the Full Report the following for consideration by Hunt Alternatives Fund and the leaders responsible for the National Campaign:

- A review of programs and practices used to combat demand
- A review of federal laws and policies
- A review of state human trafficking and prostitution law
- A brief summary of lessons learned from social marketing campaigns
- Guidance on how research can be used to support the National Campaign
- Guidance on building and maintaining coalitions
- Guidance on institutionalizing the National Campaign and establishing its leadership
- A set of principles and assumptions to guide the National Campaign
- A set of strategic frameworks
- A set of criteria for prioritizing lines of action to be pursued within the strategic frameworks

This report represents one step in an ongoing process of gathering information and organizing a collaborative campaign. A steering committee with diverse representation will be appointed, and it is assumed that the steering committee and a Campaign leader and/or set of tasks leaders will make final decisions about the focus, scope, and timing of the Campaign. Thus, this report is advisory, and does

not necessarily represent the views of the Campaign's leadership, nor the direction the Campaign will take.

The National Action Plan

To attract the substantial financial resources and other support necessary to launch and sustain a National Campaign, a coherent and pragmatic plan is necessary. While there are many types of plans, the National Action Plan is expected to be a fully formed strategic plan, which will then inform a business plan. This project was designed to help support a development process now in its early stages, by providing "raw data" about what is needed to combat sex trafficking, and to suggest a set of strategic frameworks for consideration by Hunt Alternatives Fund and the nascent National Campaign's leadership.

As working assumptions, we expect the National Action Plan to be designed to focus, calibrate, and launch the National Campaign. It will also:

- Provide the initiative with a clearly articulated set of *goals, objectives, and strategic frameworks* that will help to successfully launch and guide the Campaign, and provide a framework for long-term sustainability and accountability.
- Serve as a tool to *attract investment*.
- Be developed and implemented *collaboratively*, if it is to launch and sustain a successful campaign built around collective action.

To be successful, we assume that the plan must be *clearly articulated, grounded in evidence*, and most importantly, *focused on producing tangible results*. It must also mobilize action on two levels:

- **Policy:** Including laws, appropriations of funds to support enforcement of laws and implementation of practices, and policies that encourage or mandate the mobilization and coordination of programs and practices.
- **Practice:** Programs and activities of agencies, organizations, and individuals that directly target demand.

Assumptions about the Scope and Focus of the National Campaign

Hunt Alternatives Fund has offered to help form and launch a National Campaign to combat demand. The specific objectives to be pursued and the organizational structure, participation, and resource levels of the Campaign have not yet been determined, but some parameters have been established as working assumptions. The Campaign would begin toward the end of 2010, last at least 10 years, and would be designed to:

1. Provide a *new infusion of resources* into the movement to eradicate sexual exploitation, particularly for activities focused on combating demand.
2. Provide additional *support for existing programs*, practices, and strategies that are effective or promising.
3. *Invigorate a national dialogue*, with the intent of shifting public opinion to where sexual exploitation is normatively condemned and opposed.
4. Bring *public pressure* to bear on lawmakers and policy leaders to inspire them to:
 - a. *Prioritize eradication* of sexual exploitation, particularly through prevention efforts targeting demand.
 - b. *Strengthen laws* against prostitution and sex trafficking, mandating more serious penalties and more treatment and educational programs for those who sexually exploit others.
 - c. *Better enforce current criminal laws* by providing the support and incentives necessary for more frequent and effective investigation, prosecution, and application of appropriate sentencing and correctional interventions.
 - d. *Appropriate funds* to pursue programs and practices authorized or mandate by current law, such as the End Demand provisions of the TVPA-2005.
 - e. *Provide support* and then *demand accountability* at the agency level for enforcing laws and implementing programs and policies.
5. Focus resources on *pragmatic, demonstrably effective*, and *sustainable* interventions.
6. *Discontinue investing in demonstrably ineffective* approaches.
7. *Focus on illegal sexual exploitation*, with the intention of eradicating demand for both prostitution and for sexual slavery. When addressing demand that drives sexual slavery, it is not possible to separate the buyers of compelled sex from those whose participation is not due to force, fraud, or coercion.
8. *Collaborate*. It is expected that a coalition will be formed to shape the National Campaign, and the coalition will determine the initiative’s basic assumptions, principles, and objectives. The National Campaign’s ambitious goals can only be accomplished through collective action.

Definitions, Core Principles, and Assumptions

A set of core premises will be established and agreed upon by the Campaign’s leaders and coalition members. We present the following set of definitions, principles, and assumptions for discussion:

- **Key Definitions:** By “*commercial sex*,” we refer to sexual contact exchanged for money or some other resource (such as housing or drugs). Throughout the report, when discuss commercial sex we are not referring to performing in strip clubs or the production of pornography (absent evidence of being compelled by a third party), nor to the general commerce in sex-related goods or services (such as adult book stores), unless otherwise specified. The primary concern is illegal forms of commercial sex, particularly prostitution and sex trafficking. The term “*prostitution*” is used when involving adults when no third-party force, fraud, or coercion is present, and “*commercial sexual exploitation*” and “*sex*”

trafficking” are used to refer to acts involving children, or when commercial sex is compelled by a third party using force, fraud, or coercion.

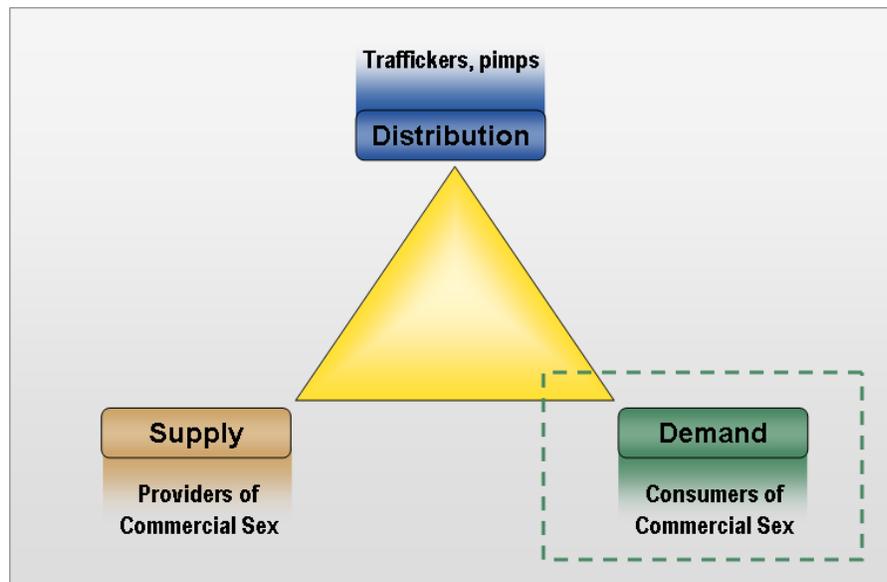
- **Effectiveness:** If one word were chosen to guide the Campaign, it should be “results.” The words and deeds of the leaders and collaborators in the coalition should be measured against the results they produce and their return on investment.
- **Effective and Principled Leadership:** The Campaign’s leaders will seek to build and maintain effective coalitions, facilitate action, and find resources to support promising and effective interventions.
- **Collaborative Learning:** The coalition should follow the principles of a collaborative learning model: accessing and fostering networks of experts and practitioners, generating and accumulating knowledge from the field, collectively vetting new information and identifying evidence-based practices, and making practical guidance and resources readily accessible to others.
- **Inclusion:** If the National Campaign is to be comprehensive, it will require numerous partners from diverse backgrounds engaging in many different collective activities.
- **Diverse Representation on Coalitions:** The signature element in the successful effort to pass the TVPA and produce other breakthroughs in the abolitionist movement is the support and involvement of broad coalitions. A coalition with diverse representation and support cannot easily be marginalized or ignored.
- **Bipartisanship:** The Campaign should prioritize assembling a network and coalitions that are inclusive and politically nonpartisan. Presenting the Campaign as an effort to defend basic human rights such as liberty will appeal across political divisions, religions, ethnicities, and socio-economic strata. A strategy for addressing the limits of collaboration in a field with great diversity of opinion is to pursue a network of issue-based coalitions rather than try to establish a single coalition.
- **Prioritizing Action:** While it is important to be prepared and thoughtful, there are points at which it is more important to mobilize than to develop the perfect plan, tool, or action.
- **A Diverse Portfolio of Initiatives:** The Campaign must be comprehensive, and this requires a diverse portfolio of actions and investments. No single initiative can bring the paradigm shift of systemic change that is the main working goal of the Campaign. However, the Campaign must not become overextended, its impact diluted, and its clarity of message and purpose obscured by trying to be all things to all people.
- **Leveraging Existing Resources and Opportunities:** It would be a mistake to assume that we know nothing and must start all new initiatives within the Campaign from scratch. The coalition should build upon a foundation of existing resources and opportunities whenever possible.
- **Cost-Effectiveness:** The coalition should commit to developing an organization that is nimble, creative, and innovative; supports practices that leverage existing resources and opportunities; and utilizes technology where possible.

Summary of Key Findings and Recommendations

The Campaign Must Target Demand

- **Mitigating or eliminating sexual exploitation requires attacking it at its source: consumer-level demand.** Without the demand for commercial sex, there would be no market forces producing and sustaining the roles of pimps and traffickers as “distributors,” nor would there be a force driving the production of a “supply” of people to be sexually exploited. Supply and distribution are symptoms; demand is the cause. Figure 1 illustrates a simple tri-partite economic model of commercial sex markets.

Figure 1: Triad Model of Commercial Sex Markets



Source: Lederer, 2006

- **Focusing on demand does not imply that combating demand is more important** than rescuing survivors or targeting pimps and traffickers for arrest, prosecution, and punishment. Instead, the position of Hunt Alternatives Fund and this report (and many others, including survivor-led organizations, government agencies, and leaders of the modern-day antislavery movement) is that a **balanced** and **comprehensive approach** is needed that addresses supply, distribution, and demand in illicit commercial sex markets. It is the position of Hunt Alternatives Fund and this report that resources should not shift from prosecuting pimps and traffickers or from supporting survivors in order to increase resources devoted to combating demand. **All need more support.** The National Campaign is intended to provide balance by adding **a new infusion of resources** to the neglected area of demand, resulting in more comprehensive and effective intervention.

Major Needs Identified

- There is sufficient support among practitioners, policymakers, and experts in the fields addressing sexual exploitation to mobilize a broad network of collaborators committed to a national campaign designed to combat demand.
- The primary substantive needs identified by those at the National Planning Meeting and others working in fields addressing sexual exploitation are:
 - **Education.** This was the area of greatest consensus. There is a need for education initiatives designed to (a) directly impact actual and potential buyers of commercial sex, and (b) influence people who can be mobilized to combat sexual exploitation by implementing interventions for actual and potential buyers, including the general public, teachers, police, businesses, the military, public health professionals, and policymakers.
 - **Law enforcement.** There is a great need for training, technical assistance, peer support, and other resources that police require for intervening with the buyers of commercial sex, as well as special programmatic interventions and collaborative community problem-solving approaches designed specifically to combat demand.
 - **Public education and awareness.** To shift public opinion and generate political will, there is a need for the development of messages directly targeting actual and potential buyers of commercial sex, and others who can support and lead efforts to combat demand—such as lawmakers, agency supervisors, and practitioners from public health, criminal justice, social services, business, and education.
- To facilitate and support effective interventions, there are three clear needs:
 - **Leadership.** It is clear that either current leaders need far more support than they currently have at their disposal, or that a new model of collective leadership needs to be established and provided with sufficient resources to support effective mobilization. The most important initial act of the Hunt Alternatives Fund is establishment of the National Campaign’s leadership structure, and institutionalization of the Campaign through creating a separate entity or expanding the capacity of an existing organization. A form of leadership that is invaluable and will be crucial for the Campaign is that provided by survivors of sexual exploitation.
 - **Research, Development, and Performance Measurement.** The key test of all the National Campaign’s efforts will be whether results are produced that are commensurate with investments, and performance measurement systems and evaluations produce the most credible evidence about results. Research and development is an important support for action and accountability, and includes the gathering of new descriptive information about the range of the current practice and policy, performance monitoring of current and new demonstration interventions, evaluations of programs and practices, basic research on the causes and consequences of sexual exploitation, and disseminating research findings to benefit practice, policy, and effective interventions—including educational and social marketing efforts.
 - **Money.** While money is certainly not all that is needed, and in some instances is not the most critical need, one cannot avoid concluding that every sector (private, public) at all levels (federal, state, local; policy and practice) would benefit from additional fiscal resources. Most NGOs operate with limited resources, and the financial downturn of recent years has reduced their capacity and impaired their work. Similarly, government agencies have had budget cuts, curtailing enforcement of law and implementation of prevention programs. We are unsure whether direct grant-making is an option for the

Campaign, but in any event there are other ways the Campaign can assist agencies and NGOs in finding or leveraging other resources. For example, the Campaign could offer technical assistance in grant writing, or referral to sources of such support. It could also provide assistance by gathering, packaging, and disseminating information about sexual exploitation and how best to combat it so that agencies and nonprofits can effectively advocate for prioritizing sexual exploitation, and devoting a larger share of extant resources to those efforts.

Consensus about Tactics the Campaign Should Prioritize

The greatest consensus surrounded the National Campaign prioritizing the following:

- Education and social marketing efforts aimed at preventing *boys* from growing into men who sexually exploit others, or to condone this behavior by others.
- Research, education, and social marketing aimed at *shifting social norms*, from the current tolerance or support for commercial sex (“the oldest profession,” “victimless crime,” “sex work”) to seeing it as a serious crime and violation of human rights.
- Education, and social marketing aimed at *generating political will* to establish effective laws and policies, and to commit the resources necessary to effectively combat demand for commercial sex.
- A variety of initiatives directed toward *supporting practitioners* involved in education and law enforcement efforts to directly intervene with buyers of commercial sex, e.g., training and technical assistance, generating peer networks and support through conferencing and web-based solutions, and micro-grant programs to support innovative or best practices.
- *Leveraging existing resources* to maximize the reach, impact, and efficiency of efforts to combat demand. For example, existing professional associations and programs with parallel interests could be prevailed upon to add combating demand for commercial sex to their current platforms.
- *Survivor leadership* has been critical in producing previous successes, such as law reform, inspiring police to focus on demand, and generating greater awareness of sexual exploitation in general—and the need to combat demand in particular—among policymakers and practitioners, the media, and the public. For the National Campaign, survivors should help to (a) develop the messages for, and perhaps being featured in, social marketing campaigns, (b) advocate at all levels, including pressuring Congress for appropriations for the End Demand provisions of Wilberforce, (c) educate a broad range of people, and (d) facilitate local action.

While Hunt Alternatives Fund and the National Campaign’s steering committee will make final determinations about what strategies to pursue, and what tactics and deployment of resources to prioritize in pursuing those strategies, we present our observations, findings, and recommendations derived from the landscape analysis.

Strategic Frameworks

Articulating the *mission*, *values*, core *assumptions*, and *priorities* will be the business of the National Campaign’s steering committee and other leaders, yet to be determined. What we present in this report is advisory, and intended to provide a foundation for their deliberation.

- The primary goal of the Campaign is *prevention*, to be achieved by a dramatic paradigm shift in how sexual slavery and exploitation is regarded and the intensity of efforts for its eradication. *Social norms* regarding sexual exploitation must be radically altered, away from the current widespread indifference or tolerance toward a default view that sexual exploitation is an affront to human dignity, a civil rights violation, and a serious crime.
- One of the core assumptions underlying the Campaign should be that the coalition and the Campaign support a *comprehensive* approach to combating sexual slavery and exploitation. Given the current emphasis on supporting survivors and prosecuting traffickers, the Campaign will focus on underutilized strategies and tactics combating demand.
- Prevention can be pursued *directly* by reaching potential buyers of commercial sex, through education to change their base of information and produce better decision-making, and through deterrence achieved by the threat of criminal justice and extra-legal sanctions.
- Prevention can be pursued *indirectly* by institutionalizing change: implementing sound laws and policies, and providing education, training, and other resources to those mobilizing to combat sexual exploitation.

Figure 2: Illustration of National Campaign Strategic Framework



Figure 2 illustrates a possibility for a strategic framework for the National Campaign. The framework has three main substantive components:

1. *Education*, directed primarily towards actual and potential buyers of commercial sex, but also including educating those who can take action to combat exploitation, such as law enforcement, public health, social service, and community groups.

2. **Enforcement**, ensuring that prostitution and human trafficking laws (as well as civil ordinances, conduct policies, and regulatory requirements) and are enforced, and also serving as a key partner in collaborative problem-solving efforts such as assisting in public education and awareness efforts, shaming offenders, and contributing to john school programs.
3. **Social Marketing**, conveying effective messages to the broad public and to targeted audiences, to help knit together other components of the Campaign intended to change social norms, and to garner support among policymakers and practitioners.

The structure for supporting those strategic elements has two main components:

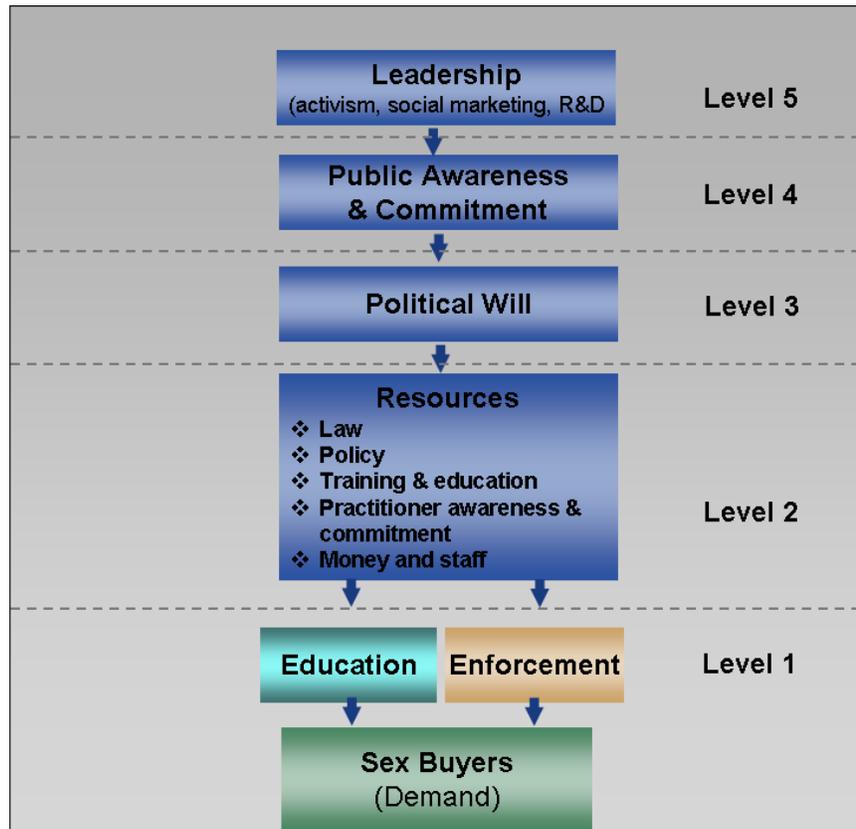
1. **Establishing leadership and institutionalizing the National Campaign**, involving formation of a steering committee and task groups, and establishing a permanent physical and virtual home for the Campaign by forming a new entity or enhancing an existing organization's capacity. This is *the most important element of the Campaign*, because it will shape all the other elements and determine whether its initiatives will be designed and executed properly.
2. **Research and development**, featuring gathering solid empirical information about the nature of the problem, monitoring the implementation and efficacy of various interventions, and tailoring information for effective communication to targeted audiences, such as the public, the media, policymakers, practitioners, and the ultimate targets: men who do or might buy sex.

While Figure 2 illustrates the Campaign's strategic framework, Figure 3 presents a framework for organizing and conceptualizing objectives. The figure depicts influences on the ultimate targets of the National Campaign's work: men who buy sex. As can be seen here, the elements of this framework map well to the strategic framework, with the "resources" or inputs analogous to the substantive elements of the strategic framework.

Within these frameworks, there are many options for pursuing specific programs and lines of action. To select and *prioritize* actions to be pursued by the National Campaign, we present a set of *criteria* that can be applied when weighing the possibilities.

- **Time**: Refers to what can or should be mobilized sooner, and what interventions require more time to either prepare or to yield results. Some initiatives cannot be mobilized until ground work first occurs, such as passing laws to authorize certain initiatives, or conducting evaluations that establish which initiatives are worthy of investment.
- **Consensus**: Refers to what strategies would have greater consensus at the moment, and thus would be easier to launch soon and also to help establish and strengthen the early coalitions and workgroups. Conversely, starting with more divisive issues could break apart coalitions before they've had a chance to work together and build trust, cohesion, and momentum.
- **Resources**: We recommend prioritizing for earlier deployment those interventions that are less resource intensive. The Campaign should start with discreet and manageable endeavors and accumulate "wins" to help build coalitions and thus the Campaign. Success will attract more capital and other forms of support, such as access to leaders and target populations, and attracting new partners to the National Campaign who bring useful capabilities.

Figure 3: A Framework for Organizing National Campaign Objectives



- **Information:** The Campaign should rely upon evidence, insist upon results, seek to be efficient, and demand results proportional to investments. Strategic and tactical options about which we have information can be prioritized for earlier deployment, while those about which we have little information will be de-prioritized until the information gap can be filled with evidence of the potential for results.
- **Impact:** It is critical that the Campaign starts out by doing something noticeable, substantial, and that will make an impact. In addition to being the whole point of the Campaign (make an impact, produce results), interventions supported by the National Campaign that have the potential to be a very significant or will be proven demonstrably effective would energize coalitions and attract new investors. Inspiration can push public opinion, which in turn can push law and policy and mobilize resources, which can in turn unlock more resources needed to support nuts-and-bolts activities such as educating boys and men, and arresting johns.
- **Need:** It would reflect well on the Campaign if it targeted initially efforts that the coalition agrees are currently neglected, or have been beyond the resources of the fields to date.

Evidence supports focusing the National Campaign on:

- Addressing trafficking of both *adults* and *children*
- Combating the trafficking of *anyone*, regardless of gender, race, or any other individual traits
- Targeting both *sexual slavery* and *prostitution*

Framing will be important in communicating about the National Campaign’s mission, activities, and accomplishments. We discuss several key topics related to framing issues addressed that will be addressed by the campaign. Choices made in how to describe the Campaign’s goals and activities will be important as support is sought for various initiatives. For example, the campaign may oppose sexual slavery, sex trafficking, prostitution, and all sexual exploitation, but it being framed or “branded” as focusing on any one of those issues has implications for garnering support and minimizing effective resistance, and this in turn affects its prospects for success. Framing the Campaign’s key target as sexual slavery might garner more support and less resistance, while framing the Campaign as combating prostitution may be less likely to mobilize similar levels of support and to stimulate stronger opposition. This particular framing decision is very important, and should receive attention in the formative stages of the Campaign.

A sense of **urgency** must drive the National Campaign, particularly in its early stages. Public interest and political opportunity may be at or near their peak. A public and political **paradigm shift** must take place, and effective laws, practices, and systems permanently **institutionalized** before the spotlight moves on to other topics, as it always does.

Acknowledgements

This report is primarily a description of what was learned through an information-gathering exercise. The vast majority of facts and strategic options presented are from those presently engaged in working to combat demand, representing law enforcement, public health interests, human rights organizations, NGOs, etc. Few of the ideas or suggestions in this report emanate from the Abt Associates project team or Hunt Alternatives Fund, and this report is not the end of the landscape assessment and collection of ideas regarding strategies and tactics to be pursued by the Campaign. It is meant to be a beginning, although by saying that, we do not suggest that we are necessarily breaking new ground—obviously, people have been working for decades to combat sexual exploitation and have accumulated vast stores of knowledge. We have begun to assemble input from leaders in the field, and hope they will contribute in the future.

The report does not represent the authoritative voice on most of the issues addressed. For example, we have begun an overview of state prostitution and human trafficking law, but to fully realize the potential for such an analysis, panels of expert legal scholars, prosecutors, judges, and police should be convened to identify strengths, gaps, and opportunities to improve law and its application. Such next steps are expected to be part of the overall planning process preceding the launch of law reform initiatives pursued as part of the National Campaign.

Finally, this report does not present final conclusions or positions taken by Hunt Alternatives Fund, and does not claim to represent the opinions or organizational positions of those we have interviewed—although we have tried to faithfully represent what we have learned from them. It is a collection of information and ideas gathered from extant reports, interviews, and other sources intended to support deliberations as the National Campaign evolves.

We are indebted to the people of Hunt Alternatives Fund (particularly Ambassador Swanee Hunt, Lina Nealon, Mark Russell, Kajahl Valipour, and Sarah Gauger), those we interviewed, and those participating in the National Planning Meeting, including:

- David Abramowitz, Director of Policy and Government Relations, Humanity United
- Christopher Adams, Polaris Project, Director Of Operations
- Annjanette Alejano-Steele, Laboratory to Combat Human Trafficking, Research and Training Director
- Kayrita Anderson, Harold & Kayrita Anderson Family Foundation, CEO
- Hilary Aham, DOJ Civil Rights, Acting Director Human Trafficking Prosecution Unit
- Luis cdeBaca, Ambassador at Large, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, U.S. Department of State
- Christina Bain, Program Administrator for the Initiative to Stop Human Trafficking, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Kennedy School, Harvard University
- Kevin Bales, Free the Slaves, President
- Julie Bindel, Journalist, Researcher and Feminist Campaigner
- Katherine Blakeslee, U.S. Agency for International Development Director, Office of Women in Development
- Rachel Boisselle, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Special Agent
- Theodore Bunch, A CALL TO MEN, Co-Director
- Cathy Boisvert, YWCA of Central Massachusetts Daybreak Coordinator of Special Projects
- Francine Braae, SAGE Project, Co-Executive Director
- John Chris Bray, Phoenix Police Department, Vice Enforcement Unit Sergeant
- Jimmie Briggs Jr., Man Up, Founder/Executive Director
- Elizabeth, Cafferty. Massachusetts General Hospital, Associate Director, Division of Global Health and Human Rights
- Brigitte Cazalis-Collins, Friends of Maiti Nepal, Executive Director
- Kristy Childs, Veronica’s Voice, Executive Director
- Katherine Chon, Polaris Project, President and Co-Founder
- Adam Cohen, NoPornNorthampton, Co-Founder
- Joseph Collins, Friends of Maiti Nepal
- Dawn Conway, LexisNexis, Sr. Vice President of Corporate Responsibility
- Janice Shaw Crouse, Ph.D., Concerned Women for America, Director and Senior Fellow at the Beverly LaHaye Institute
- Linda Daniels, Department of Defense, Program Manager, Trafficking in Persons Program
- Stephanie Davis, Georgia Women for a Change, Executive Director
- Gail Dines, Professor of Sociology and Women’s Studies, Wheelock College in Boston
- Rachel Durchslag, Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation, Executive Director
- Jesse Eaves, Children in Crisis
- Carol Edgar, Carol Edgar Communications, Media Consultant
- Gayle Embrey, Embrey Family Foundation, Executive Vice President
- Heather Faris, Air Change, Co-Executive Director
- Melissa Farley, Prostitution Research & Education, Director

- Amanda Finger, Laboratory to Combat Human Trafficking, Executive Director
- Ken Franzblau, Equality Now
- Eleanor Gaetan, Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, Senior Policy Advisor
- Donna Gavin, Boston Police Department, Family Justice Center, Human Trafficking Unit, Sergeant Detective
- Susan Goldfarb, Children’s Advocacy Center of Suffolk County, Executive Director
- Samir Goswami, Chicago Community Trust, 2010 Fellow
- Deena Graves, Traffick911, Executive Director
- Florence Graves, Brandeis University, Founding Director, Schuster Institute for Investigative Journalism
- Ruchira Gupta, Apne Aap Women Worldwide, Founder/President
- Marian Hatcher, Cook County Sheriff’s Office, Administrative Assistant to the Executive Director
- Kaethe Morris Hoffer, Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation, Legal Director
- Wiveca Holst, Swedish Women’s Lobby
- Michael Horowitz, Hudson Institute
- Donna Hughes, University of Rhode Island, Professor and Eleanor M. and Oscar M. Carlson Endowed Chair; Co-Founder of Citizens Against Trafficking
- Kathryn Infanger, Marion County Prosecutor’s Office, Deputy Prosecutor
- Guy Jacobson, RedLight Children, Executive Director
- Cherie Jimenez, Kim’s Project, Coordinator
- Celiné Justice, Peace is Loud, Program Director
- Jackson Katz, Anti-sexist male activist and Co-founder of the Mentors In Violence Prevention
- Nan Kennelly, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, U.S. State Department, Deputy Director
- Amanda Kimball, Children at Risk, Director of Public Policy and Government Affairs
- Beth Klein, Esq., Klein-Frank P.C., Founder & Managing Shareholder; Fellow of the Colorado Bar Foundation
- Mark Lagon, Consultant on Corporate Social Responsibility and Human Trafficking (an independent consultancy); former Ambassador at Large to Combat Trafficking in Persons at U.S. State Department
- Carole Lombard, Sisters of St. Joseph Boston, Director of Justice and Peace
- Victor Malarek, Investigative Journalist
- Mohamed Mattar, Johns Hopkins University, Director of the Protection Project
- Katherine McCullough, A Future. Not A Past./Juvenile Justice Fund, Campaign Director
- Terrie McDermott, Cook County Sheriff’s Office, Executive Director of the Department of Women's Justice Services
- Karen McLaughlin, International Organization for Victim Assistance, Director of Public Policy
- John Miller, former Ambassador at Large to Combat Trafficking in Persons, U.S. State Department
- Martin Monto, Professor of Sociology, Portland State University,
- Bradley Myles, Polaris Project, Executive Director and CEO
- Maria-Isabel Nieto, BAVARIA S.A., Director of Government Affairs
- Audrey Porter, My Life My Choice, Assistant Director
- Norma Ramos, Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, Executive Director
- Jendi Reiter, NoPornNorthampton, Co-Founder
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- Carol Smolenski, ECPAT-USA, Executive Director
- Melysa Sperber, Vital Voices Global Partnership, Senior Program Officer for Human Rights
- Dorothy Stafford, Middle Georgia Alliance to End Regional Trafficking, Board of Directors
- Guðrún Jónsdóttir Stígamot, Counseling and Information Center on Sexual Violence, Spokesperson
- Karen Strauss, Polaris Project
- Lisa Thompson, The Salvation Army National Headquarters, Liaison for the Abolition of Sexual Trafficking
- Samantha Vardaman, Shared Hope International, Senior Director
- Steve Vienneau, FBI Boston, Agent
- Mary Rita Weschler, The Women's Table, Sisters of St. Joseph of Boston, Director
- Alan White, SAGE Project, Co-Executive Director
- Linda Williams, University of Massachusetts Lowell, Professor
- Brian Willis, Global Health Promise, Director
- Alicia Foley Winn, The Boston Initiative to Advance Human Rights, Executive Director
- Thirteen police officers and sheriff's deputies whose identities are withheld
- An additional 10 people who were interviewed but requested anonymity
- Relevant discussions were held with an additional 15 people during conferences and events convened by the U.S. Department of Justice and U.S. Department of State

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