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FIGHTING FOR SUCCESS: THE USE OF RESOURCES BY NGOS
IN THE ANTI-HUMAN TRAFFICKING SOCIAL MOVEMENT

By
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FIGHTING FOR SUCCESS: THE USE OF RESOURCES BY NGOS
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A Thesis Approved on

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ABSTRACT

FIGHTING FOR SUCCESS: THE USE OF RESOURCES BY NGOS IN THE ANTI-HUMAN TRAFFICKING SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Lisa Stapleton

November 25, 2013

This thesis is an archival document analysis that will illustrate the importance of effective use of resources on the overall success of an anti-human trafficking organization. While there are multiple studies on resource mobilization and movements in general, little work has emerged regarding successful mobilization strategies in the anti-human trafficking movement. With my research, I pay particular attention to two groups and consider how their interactions with various resources influence their success.

Comparing a more successful organization to a less successful organization provides the best assessment of a social movement and the process by which it meets its objectives. Results demonstrate that successful organizations are able to take advantage of available resources and that no matter how compelling the cause may be, without proper mobilization of resources the social movement organizations cannot attain success.

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INTRODUCTION

This research will attempt to illustrate the importance of effective and strategic resource mobilization on the overall success of an anti-human trafficking social movement. Human trafficking is not a recent phenomenon; neither is the mobilization of individuals against human trafficking. In spite of attention to sex trafficking given throughout the early 20th century, the anti-human trafficking (AHT) movement largely disappeared until the 1990s. Since its reemergence as a human rights concern in the late 1990s, the issue of human trafficking has gained a variety of advocates, many possessing different ideological viewpoints. What this means for the AHT movement is that while it has strong support from many interest groups, the groups often struggle over resources. Success of a nongovernmental organization (NGO) is shaped not just by differing beliefs in agendas, but also by national and political interests, limited funding and membership sources, and an increasingly competitive and crowded anti-trafficking movement field.

While there are multiple studies on resource mobilization and NGOs in general, little work has emerged regarding successful mobilization strategies of NGOs in the AHT movement. Overwhelmingly, scholarship on the AHT movement is not approached through a social movement theoretical framework. Most of the work illustrates feminist, international security studies, legal studies, or crime and deviance theoretical perspectives. The U.S. State Department's *Trafficking in Persons Report 2010* asserted that "while there is broad agreement on the purpose and benefits of a partnership approach to human trafficking, there is less agreement on and documentation of proven,

successful strategies—something all should endeavor to create and share in the years ahead” (“Trafficking in Persons”, 2010).

The U.S. Trafficking Victims’ Protection Act (TVPA) officially defines human trafficking to include forced labor as well as forced sex (TVPA, 2000); however, in terms of current enforcement priorities, NGO practice, and media attention, forced prostitution of women and girls constitutes the general perception of modern-day slavery. Combating the trafficking of women has become a common denominator issue, as well as a key source of resource mobilization, uniting people across political and religious ideologies against an apparent act of oppression and exploitation.

With my research, I pay particular attention to two NGOs and consider how their interactions with various resources influence their success. In order to set the theoretical framework and structure of my study, I follow the model given in a study of the 1985 local chapters of Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) and Remove Intoxicated Drivers (RID) (McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996). Mobilization, as defined by McCarthy and Wolfson, involves both incorporating resources into the group and activating external networks with people and other organizations (McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996).

In their research, McCarthy and Wolfson (1996) compared two movements who were similar in structure, goals, and activities. Their intent was to determine variables that have the greatest impact on the success of the movement. The typical founding pattern for a local MADD or RID group consisted of a single individual, who may or may not have been a victim, contacting the national office about how to begin a group and then publically announcing the effort to begin one (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). While it is common to recruit members through friends, relatives, and acquaintances, research

has found that because of the “like-attracts-like” principal, social movement organizations tend to, over time, develop homogenous memberships that are relatively isolated (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). Once isolated, resources can rapidly deplete and information would then recirculate among people who already possess it. The redistribution of old ideas leads to difficulty in implementing new ideas. Therefore, to break out of those confines, social movements need to rely on members who have, or can develop, contact with broader ranges of social networks and a wider variety of sources (Knoke & Wisely, 1990).

Success, according to the study, was measured in three ways: by membership size, hours of volunteer labor, and revenue per year. In addition, several variables were used to predict mobilization outcomes: the amount of effort leadership put into the organization (for example, time spent in a number of public appearances), strategy to develop public awareness and influence legislative action, and the organizational structure, which includes the number of task committees and meetings (McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996).

Given the variables, the most significant effect on resources (whether increase or decrease) came from organizing the volunteers into task committees that included specific divisions of labor and public appearances of leaders. The study results found that groups with more task committees had more volunteer labor, revenue, and members. In addition, frequent and widespread media presence by leadership gave an appearance of legitimacy to the movement. From the beginning, MADD was more successful in developing from the top down, leading to raising money for central operations, frequent leadership media appearances, and providing technical and logistic support to its groups.

This successful utilization of resources led to a rapid growth rate in MADD that was not seen in RID (McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996; Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). Results from the study demonstrate that to mobilize resources in the most productive way, social movements need to increase numbers of public appearances by leaders and increase numbers of task committees.

While my study is not identical in terms of framework and purpose, I have based my theoretical framework on the format used by McCarthy and Wolfson. Through comparing two NGOs that are similar in their formation, structure, goals, and activities, while using my own definition of success and diverse variables, I will draw a parallel by demonstrating the importance of effective and strategic resource mobilization on the overall success of a social movement.

By relying on previous sources and adding information from additional studies and data collected, this research will attempt to illustrate the impact different resources mobilized by NGOs has in determining their success. I will first review the literature on defining and explaining human trafficking and human trafficking law in relation to the United States and the world, and then I will give a general description of the literature on social movements, resource mobilization, and anti-human trafficking NGOs. My theoretical framework section further discusses the academic perspective of resource mobilization, as well as defining “success” in relation to the actions of an NGO. Last, in the methodology section I will discuss how the study will be conducted and pose the research hypothesis that is further conferred in my findings.

It is essential to examine the roles these NGOs play in the human trafficking debate because the findings illuminate the various interests and strategies promoted by

the groups while they mobilize to solve their perceived problems. Limited attention is given to how resources and context inform the process by which NGOs are able to achieve their goals in their quest to eliminate human trafficking. Without knowledge of these processes, the question is raised whether a social movement's success is fundamentally due to the compelling nature of the cause, or if the success is facilitated by other factors—such as a positive, rather than wasteful, utilization of resources available (Benford, 1997).

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human trafficking is widely characterized as “contemporary slavery” and a severe violation of human rights. Although not a new phenomenon, human trafficking gained increased international attention throughout the 1990s (Chuang, 2006; Bertone, 2003). Many countries around the world form an underground network for human trafficking; some act primarily as supply, some as demand, and others transport victims to their destinations. Domestically, many victims of human trafficking are Americans themselves, with cases reported in all fifty states and anti-trafficking statutes enacted in every state except Wyoming (“Trafficking in Persons”, 2012).

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000 legally defines trafficking as “the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.” The number of cases prosecuted under the TVPA has steadily increased since 2004 (U.S.DOJ, 2011; Polaris Project, 2010; “Trafficking in Persons”, 2012).

Victims are exploited primarily in one of two ways—sex trafficking, the act of forcing someone into the commercial sex trade against his or her will, or involuntary labor, the use of violence, threats, lies, and other forms of coercion to force people to work against their will in many different industries (Polaris Project, 2010). While United States law does draw a distinction between sex trafficking of minors (individuals under

18 years of age) and adults, according to the United States Department of State (2007), it does not make any such distinction between children and adults in forced labor.

Sex traffickers frequently target vulnerable people and then use violence, threats, lies, false promises, debt bondage, or other forms of control and manipulation to keep victims involved in the sex industry (TVPA, 2000). According to the Polaris Project, a nationally renowned source of information on human trafficking, between 100,000 to 300,000 children are prostituted in the United States, with 12-14 being the average age of entry for females and 11-13 being the average age of entry for males. Seventy-five percent of all girls engaged in formal street prostitution are controlled by pimps, and 95 percent of all commercial sex engaged in by boys is provided to adult males (2010).

Sex trafficking has been discovered in an extensive assortment of venues of the overall sex industry, including residential brothels, hostel clubs, online escort services, brothels disguised as massage parlours, strip clubs, and street prostitution (Polaris Project, 2010). Areas considered hotbeds of sex trafficking also have traditionally high levels of gender disparity in terms of civil rights and economic and educational opportunities. Slightly more than 70 percent of the world's illiterate adults are women, and 70 percent of people classified as living in extreme poverty are women (U.S. DOJ, 2011). In numerous regions, there are no laws against domestic violence (and if there are, they are only selectively enforced), with the outcome that in many countries, the rate of female mortality is much higher than that of men. In countries with minority ethnic populations or caste systems, members of these disadvantaged groups are even more susceptible to victimization (Kara, 2009).

While sexual exploitation is the most common form of human trafficking reported, trafficking for forced labor is recently gaining more recognition due to its severity. The International Labor Organization estimates that 55 percent of human trafficking is forced labor (“Trafficking in Persons”, 2012). In order to procure workers, labor traffickers use violence, threats, lies, and other forms of coercion to force people to work against their will in various industries (Kara, 2009). Common types of labor trafficking include forcing people to work in homes as domestic servants, factory workers held in inhumane conditions, or farm workers coerced through violence to harvest crops (Polaris Project, 2010). Labor trafficking occurs with the intention of forcing work for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude or debt bondage (TVPA, 2000).

Traffickers employ a variety of methods to create a vulnerable condition for the victims so the victims do not have any other choice but to obey the traffickers. One common method used by both sex and labor traffickers is debt-bondage, in which the traffickers tell their victims they owe money related to their travel and living expenses and will not be released until the debt has been repaid (UNODC, 2009). Traffickers also use other methods, including starvation, imprisonment, physical abuse (beatings and rape), verbal abuse, removal of victim’s identification documents (passport), threats of violence to the victims’ families, and forced drug use (Estes & Weiner, 2001).

In cross-border trafficking especially, victims often do not typically speak the local languages or have a social network to assist them in leaving. As a result, they are dependent on members of their own ethnic group receiving them in the new country. Furthermore, victims’ illegal status often makes it difficult for them to feel secure in seeking assistance from law enforcement or the healthcare system (UNODC, 2009).

As mentioned before, according to The Polaris Project, sex trafficking is more frequently discovered and reported than labor trafficking. One of the prevalent reasons listed is that it can be challenging to distinguish forced labor victims from migrant workers. Labor victims often work in hidden locations, such as agricultural fields in rural areas, mining camps, factories, and private houses. As a consequence, the trafficking victims of forced labor are less likely to be identified than the victims of sexual exploitation (Polaris, 2010).

Contrary to popular misconceptions, there are no specific demographic predictors for victims of human trafficking. The Polaris Project indicates that victims are women and men, children and adults of various ethnicities, nationalities, and economic backgrounds. Likewise, perpetrators may range from individual pimps and hustlers on the street to agents of international criminal syndicates. In part because they keep their work so well hidden, few generalizations can be drawn about traffickers (Polaris Project, 2010).

Trafficking in the United States

“After drug dealing, human trafficking is tied with the illegal arms trade as the second most profitable criminal industry in the world, and it is the fastest growing” (United States Department of State, 2007).

Conservatively, around 50,000 people in the United States are estimated to be held in slavery (Bales & Soodalter, 2009). While that may seem like an extreme amount to the public, the population of trafficking victims in the United States is anticipated to be a little more than one percent of the global total (TVPA, 2000). One of the main reasons

why trafficking in the U.S. is comparatively lower than other regions around the world is that of accessibility; aside from Mexico, there are no other economically impoverished countries in close proximity to the United States, and it is therefore more difficult and costly to move victims unnoticed (Kara, 2009).

Compared to countries in which rates of human trafficking are much higher, law enforcement in the United States is considered far less corrupt, making it more difficult (though by no means impossible) to bribe officials to look the other way or to engender collaboration (Kara, 2009). The Trafficking Victims' Protection Act even worked with the Department of Justice to create a new model state law with concrete definitions of trafficking and required Human Trafficking to be placed in the most serious crimes category under the two main state reporting mechanisms (UCR and NIBRS) (TVPA, 2008).

It is also possible that because prostitution is illegal in 49 states—Nevada is the exception—and is therefore strongly stigmatized, most American men do not desire to pay for sex or patronize a brothel. While there are undoubtedly men who have no qualm paying for sex, and there is certainly no lack of availability, this social stigma may explain the relatively lower incidence of sex trafficking seen in the United States.

Most victims in the U.S. originate from China, Mexico, and Vietnam (Estes & Weiner 2001). The states with the highest incidents of slavery are California, Florida, Texas, and New York—75 percent of New York apparel-manufacturing firms use forced labor or underpay their workers (TVPA, 2000). Human trafficking in the United States is most prevalent in five sectors: prostitution/sex services (46 percent), domestic service (27

percent), agriculture (10 percent), factory work (5 percent), and restaurant and hotel work (4 percent) (Free the Slaves, 2004).

Information gathered in one study estimates that between 244,000 and 325,000 American children and youth are at risk of becoming victims of commercial sexual exploitation each year. These children are frequently considered “vulnerable” as they are often runaways or from a broken home (Estes & Weiner, 2001).

Laws Regarding Human Trafficking

In 1904, the United States and 11 other nations signed a treaty, “The International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade,” which urged its signees to quell “procuration of women and girls for immoral purposes abroad” (TVPA, 2000; Batstone, 2010). Panicked rumors over white slaving and “evil foreign traders” circulated through upper middle class (Day, 2010). Men could safely travel while abroad, but unescorted women were perceived to be in danger, especially of rape or kidnapping for sexual purposes (Bernstein, 2007). In the awareness campaign against white slaving, activists emphasized either the immorality of forcing their own white women into sexual slavery or the dishonor of having foreign-born women degraded in local brothels (Day, 2010).

The League of Nations adopted a similar resolution after World War I, adding children as a protected class and substituting the phrase “trafficking in women and children” for the more emotionally charged and racist-sounding “white slave trade.” The United Nations proposed a stricter resolution, the “Convention for the Suppression of the

Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others,” but it was ratified by fewer than half of member states (Batstone, 2010).

Those that did adopt this convention have had different methods of interpreting it; some (such as the United States, with the exception of Nevada) have outlawed prostitution and pursued (with varying degrees of fervor) brothel owners, commercial sex traffickers, and sex workers (United States Department of State, 2007; Skinner, 2010). Others (such as Germany and the Netherlands) have taken the opposite track, choosing to legalize and regulate prostitution in the hopes that this approach will eliminate the underground sex trade. Unfortunately, since these laws only protect legal citizens of the European Union, there has been an upsurge in illegal trafficking of foreign-born women in both countries (Centre for International Crime Prevention, 1999).

In Sweden, the government has moved to start aggressively prosecuting the buyers of sex services, treating the women involved as victims and offering social programs that help them locate opportunities for legal employment. As a result, since demand for sex services is greatly decreased due to fear of prosecution, sex trafficking in Sweden has diminished significantly (Batstone, 2010).

Two U.S. laws intended to combat human trafficking are the Prosecutorial Remedies and Other Tools to end the Exploitation of Children Today (PROTECT) Act, and Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA). These laws increase punishments for U.S. citizens or permanent residents engaging in child sex tourism, under which a U.S. citizen arrested overseas for sexual abuse of a minor, may be extradited to the U.S. and tried (Polaris Project, 2010). Of course, in order for these laws to come into fruition, the offender has to be arrested in the first place. Because the

majority of child sex tourism happens in developing countries with weak or corrupt law enforcement, it would be easy for an offender to elude capture. Furthermore, this legislation does nothing to address any apprehensions of the children who are being abused may have about being returned to the abusers (Centre for International Crime Prevention, 1999).

The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (TVPA) ranks nations' cooperation in three tiers: a Tier 1 nation's government fully complies with the act's minimum standards, a Tier 2 nation's government does not comply with minimum standards but is making an effort to do so, and a Tier 3 nation's government does not comply with minimum standards, nor is it making an effort to do so. Tier 3 nations are subject to sanctions such as cuts to foreign aid (TVPA, 2000).

In the State Department's initial *Trafficking in Persons Report* issued in 2001, Russia, Israel, South Korea, Romania, Albania, and Greece—all U.S. allies—were listed as Tier 3 countries. By 2009, many critics of the ranking system began to suspect the *Report* was being used as a political tool, since Tier 3 now comprised nations such as North Korea, Iran, and Syria, while U.S. allies with serious trafficking problems were moved to a Tier 2 "Watch List" but not subject to sanctions (Batstone, 2010).

The TVPA is structured to provide greater assistance to international trafficking victims. However, this is not always the case, as domestic victims are shut out of government programs meant to aid foreign nationals and are placed in homeless shelters or rehabilitation facilities, where they can easily be located by their abusers. Workers who are freed but not certified by the government as trafficking victims are trapped in a sort of limbo, ineligible for housing or social services (Bales & Soodalter, 2009).

The Guest Worker Program is, in theory, a program that guarantees foreign nationals a job in the U.S. with fair labor and housing conditions. Although many employers adhere to these conditions, those who do not know they might not be caught because the agencies responsible for enforcing the law rarely do so. To coerce obedience, they might revoke or destroy the worker's passport or visa so that person would have no method of proving to authorities that he or she was in the country legally (Bales & Soodalter 2009).

In a step to regulate and attempt to protect citizens across the world, in 2000, the United Nations passed its Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children. The act defined trafficking as:

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

According to the Department of State Annual Report in Human Trafficking, in 2011 there were 41,291 human trafficking victims identified worldwide ("Trafficking in Persons", 2012). The U.S. Department of State estimated that between 600,000 and 800,000 people were victims of international trafficking in 2005, of which roughly half were children, and approximately 80 percent female (State Dept. 2005). However, the International Labor Organization estimates that there are approximately 27 million trafficking victims worldwide at any given time (Polaris Project, 2010). Given the rise in awareness about the growing number of trafficking victims, there has been public desire to affect change in a mass, organized manner.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements are defined as sustained and organized collective actions (McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. 2009). They are mindful, joined, and continued efforts by ordinary people to change some aspect of their society by using means outside of standard institutions. Social movements are more organized than fads, and even though the group is protesting some grievance, a social movement must last longer than individual protests or riots. In order to have a social movement, the people must feel a shared grievance in the system or structure of society and collectively act to change the social system (J. Goodwin & J. Jasper (Eds.), 2009). Fundamentally, a social movement is a group of people with a common ideology who attempt to achieve certain general goals together.

Resource Mobilization

Theory

There are three main theories used to explain social movements: political opportunity theory, framing theory, and resource mobilization. Within the scope of this study, I will use and cover resource mobilization theory.

With the introduction of the resource mobilization perspective in the 1970s (McCarthy, & Zald, 1977), scholars began to recognize that the strengths of social movement actors are closely linked to the availability of external resources. Resource mobilization theory argues that while grievances are necessary, they are not sufficient in

explaining social movements—instead it is more important to determine the actual and potential resources an aggrieved group can mobilize in pursuit of its goals (Buechler, 1990). The theory also deemphasized the role of individual actors and emphasized the role of preexisting social networks and connections (Oberschall, 1993).

The resource mobilization approach stresses both the support of society and the constraint of social movements. It examines the variety of resources the movement must mobilize, the links of social movements to other groups, and the dependence of movements on external support (McCarthy & Zald, 2009). The support base of a social movement is critical for success. The constituents may provide a major source of support in the form of money, facilities, and labor (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004; McCarthy & Zald, 2003; Martin, 2008). National leaders of movements mobilize local groups, and local groups mobilize others inside or outside the organization. Each step involves new interactions and new actors who have to decide whether they will participate (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987).

Since social movement organizations often compete for resources, they commonly utilize strategic techniques of mobilizing supporters and influencing the people through media and awareness campaigns (McCarthy & Zald, 2009; Buechler, 1990). “Advertising and media attention provide information about the dire consequences stemming from failure to attain target goals, the extent of goal accomplishment, and the importance of the particular NGO for such accomplishment” (McCarthy & Zald, 2009). In essence, media visibility makes it easier for social movement organizations to raise funds and attract new volunteers and support.

Resource mobilization specifically deals with the idea that there is always a tension in society, and change comes from both understanding the logic of cost and benefit as well as utilizing opportunities for action (Johnston, Larana & Gusfield, 1994). As one of the first theories to approach social movements as a formally organized manifestation of grievance, rather than as a temporary and irrational injustice, resource mobilization theory is ideally suited to demonstrate the critical role of resources and organization on the rise of movements (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1996).

Resource mobilization theorists stress the significance of available resources in shaping movement dynamics, processes, and outcomes. Collective action is shaped by mobilizing structures, referring to the formal and informal groups, organizations, and networks that facilitate movement mobilization and engagement (McAdam et al, 1996). These structures are comprised of tangible and intangible resources actors must mobilize in order to meet their movement objectives (Freeman, 1977). Tangible resources include money, means to communicate to the public and with each other, and facilities in which the movement actors can work. Intangible resources tend to primarily involve people. Movements heavily rely on people for their specialized skills (experts in different fields), access to networks that offer additional resources, and access to decision makers. Movements also depend on laypeople (mostly volunteers) who offer time, efforts, and commitment to the movement. Both tangible and intangible resources are critical for social movements to reach their goals (McAdam et al, 1996).

Many theorists who study resource mobilization also emphasize that in order to garner and mobilize resources and reach movement objectives, social movements should be a formalized organizational structure (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Oberschall,

1993; Staggenborg, 1988). This formalized structure provides the vehicle that social movements use to influence change. Formalized and professional social movement organizations are characterized by established, bureaucratic procedures and a clear division of labor in which individuals occupy different positions to work on different tasks (Staggenborg, 1988).

Organization, however, might occasionally undermine the NGOs' ability to effectively work on meeting the objectives of the social movement (Lehrner & Allen, 2008; Dolhinow, 2005). In his research on grassroots organizations, Dolhinow (2005) argues that NGOs that are characterized by a professional organizational structure and dependence on government funding may create a contradictory relationship with other members of the community. While the NGOs' primary objective is empowering and bringing about long-term social change to the community, they must also comply with the priorities of their funders—in addition to competing with other like-minded NGOs for funding. This may actually limit the NGO's ability to advocate for structural change related to its grievance (Dolhinow, 2005; Staggenborg, 1988).

However, Staggenborg (1988) argues that when the NGO acquires a formalized organizational structure, it allows for the movements to maintain themselves and grow more powerful. Foundations and elite members of society prefer funding NGOs that are more professionalized and formalized, due to their perceived stability. This funding allows the NGO to pay salaries, hire staff, develop organizing skills, and expand, all of which helps maintain the NGO over longer periods of time. In addition, professional NGOs facilitate grassroots participation in movements and can continue to work toward movement objectives, even when grassroots participation within the movement is low

(Staggenborg, 1988; Lehrner & Allen, 2008). In all, the NGO's ability to achieve, preserve, and mobilize tangible and intangible resources is facilitated by the ability of the group to formalize.

Oberschall (1993) further contends that once an NGO is socially accepted and institutionalized, it no longer needs to constantly struggle to secure material resources. The NGOs' capacity to reach their goals depends on the amount of resources at their disposal and their ability to effectively manage and mobilize those resources (Oberschall, 1993). Dependence on government funding may hinder some professionalized NGOs from challenging the administration on governmental policies it opposes. However, a professional and formalized organizational structure, coupled with an availability of secure materials, might facilitate the NGO's ability to work toward meeting movement objectives. In the following, I will review available literature on anti-human trafficking movement.

MOBILIZING RESOURCES IN THE MOVEMENT AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKING

NGOs have become the most prolific campaigners in the movement to end human trafficking. Although the organizations differ greatly in scope and type, they are typically defined as private, non-profit groups that represent the position or mission of a larger group of people or organization by seeking to “translate the diffuse global identity and authority of world citizenship into specific rights, claims, and prescriptions for state behavior” (Foerster, 2009).

Although some NGOs existed in the early fight against white slavery, the movement expanded rapidly after WWII (Foerster, 2009; Batstone, 2010). While there are no reliable data to suggest how many NGOs are currently involved in anti-trafficking, observers suggest that the number is increasing at such a rate that there are countless organizations all over the world studying trafficking, creating trafficking initiatives, and advocating against trafficking (Foerster, 2009). The high number of organizations competing for money and attention lessens organizational effectiveness, as multiple non-government actors jockey and compete with each other to access assistance. This can lead to lack of coordination, duplication of efforts, and manipulative tactics to draw awareness and funds to their cause.

In the 1990s, a diverse set of activists organized to bring gender and sexuality into the realm of traditional human rights and made sex trafficking a priority of the United Nations (Soderlund, 2005). This coalition was characterized by a unity of purpose in

raising concerns specific to women into the broader fold of human rights. The campaign eventually settled on the notion of violence against women, particularly in third-world countries (Soderlund, 2005).

In 1998, the UN and the United States appeared to be on the verge of taking formal positions after nearly a decade of anti-trafficking activism and women's rights campaigns posing the issue as a woman's rights issue. Until this point, the crusade against sex trafficking had been largely spearheaded by feminist organizations, such as the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women and the National Organization for Women, who wanted to create trafficking laws broad enough to encompass all acts of prostitution (Soderlund, 2005). Faith-based/feminist coalitions such as Linda Smith of Shared Hope International, Gary Haugen of International Justice Mission, and Kevin Bales of Free the Slaves were able to redefine prostitute's rights as promoting prostitution and described the feminist movement as "teaching child prostitutes to use condoms" (Soderlund, 2005).

By 2000, the anti-trafficking social movements had made such a large impact that two landmark laws were passed—the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, which defined trafficking, and the United Nations' Palermo Protocol, officially titled the "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children":

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include...prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude... (Batstone, 2010).

In addition to the passage of formal anti-trafficking legislation, increased federal funding aided NGO efforts in prevention and post-trafficking assistance. The Department

of Health and Human Services provided funding to NGOs to spearhead awareness campaigns to at-risk populations, assist victims of human trafficking, and formally granted the organizations federal authority to investigate, shelter, and assist trafficking victims (HHS, 2012).

Preventative programs established in the TVPA also gave funding to NGOs to offer job training, skill building, and micro-credit lending to victims, as well as assistance in legal issues and counseling (Foerster, 2009). The government funds an NGO-operated national hotline and referral service, and during fiscal year 2011, Health and Human Services supported 120 NGO service providers who provided trafficking victim assistance to 366 potential foreign national victims and 341 certified foreign national victims (“Trafficking in Persons”, 2012). Also, the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) directs pre-certified victims (people who have not been legally certified as victims of human trafficking) to seek help from nongovernmental organizations. Victims may be able to obtain basic necessities from outlets such as food pantries, soup kitchens, women’s and homeless shelters, and thrift stores (Kara, 2009; Batstone, 2010; HHS, 2012). According to HHS, New York and California—both of which have high incidences of foreign trafficking—have created specific programs for pre-certified victims, including temporary housing, drug addiction screening and treatment, language assistance, and job training (HHS, 2012). In fiscal year 2011, the Department of Justice awarded grants to 17 victim service NGOs, totaling approximately \$6.7 million (“Trafficking in Persons”, 2012).

Because the NGO funding is mainly through federal grants and donation, their primary focus involves public awareness campaigns. By promoting the cause of the

group in a manner that speaks to the public, members perpetuate a sense of purpose. A war against trafficking gives a human face to the victim. In the past seven years, groups affiliated with emphasizing the vulnerability of the perceived victim in trafficking ascended to the top of the anti-trafficking environment, gained control of the most federal anti-trafficking funds, and became the prominent media and policy spokespersons on the topic (Soderlund, 2005).

One of the most successful campaigns for the public and the government was the emphasis on violence against women and children. This focus was bolstered by print and broadcast media stories featuring sordid stories of global trafficking networks and the women and children caught in their web (Skinner, 2010; Sonderlund, 2005). At one point, Michael Horowitz, senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and a key figure in establishing the TVPA, wrote to a fellow advocate that he did not believe the Bush administration would like to see itself as the subject of television exposés alleging that its State Department supports programs teaching “seven-year-old girls how to get their customers to use condoms and to use techniques that make sexual penetration less painful” (Sonderlund, 2005 as quoted from Hertzke, 2004, 331).

Under considerable pressure from the faith-based NGO constituency, Bush promoted the TVPA and made “saving the women” a humanitarian issue in his presidency (Skinner, 2010; Sonderlund, 2005). Since 2001, when the Bush administration allowed faith-based NGOs to obtain federal funding, Christian groups have secured a growing proportion of federal monies for international and domestic anti-trafficking work (Bernstein, 2007). Bush also generated publicity for anti-trafficking social movements in the last years of his first term. On September 23, 2003, at his annual

“Address of the United Nations,” Bush devoted the last third of his 18-minute speech to global sex trafficking, where he claimed the United States was supporting, even spearheading, many global initiatives to combat trafficking in women (Soderlund, 2005).

Victims of sex trafficking have commanded enough public attention that key state institutions have mobilized resources on their behalf. In the mid-1980s, activists and journalists began emphasizing women’s rights as human rights and the plight of sex trafficking. The strategy of women’s human rights held a huge role in gaining legislative and government-sponsored campaigns to end global sex slavery (Soderlund, 2005). Under John Ashcroft, the Department of Justice spent an average of 100 million dollars a year to fight trafficking domestically and internationally (Polaris Project, 2010).

In 2000, the UN Palermo Protocol provided a legal definition of trafficking, which reflected changes stressed by the dominant NGOs. By emphasizing “especially Women and Children” in the title of the law, exploitation was defined in a way that highlighted women and children as the victims, with no mention of adult males (Kimm & Sauer, 2010). The influence of the NGO was so profound that the shifting frame of the trafficking victim is reflected in scholarly discussions of sex workers (forced or voluntary) that nearly always specify “she,” “her,” or “the women,” (Dennis, 2008).

Faith-based NGOs applied pressure on the Bush administration to enforce the 2000 TVPA more vigorously. Passed by Congress and signed into law by President Clinton, the Act was a tenuous alliance between evangelical groups and secular feminist anti-trafficking crusaders. Religious conservatives seized on the issue of sex slavery in the late 1990s in a self-conscious effort to expand their base and political power through a vehicle of human rights (Soderlund, 2005).

Feminist organizations such as Equality Now and the Protection Project joined the religious organizations in the name of “saving the world’s women” (Soderlund, 2005). In defense of the alliance, Laura Lederer, State Department Appointee and well-known feminist, stated that religious organizations had introduced a “fresh perspective and biblical mandate to the women’s movement. Women’s groups don’t understand that the partnership on this issue has strengthened them, because they would not be getting attention internationally otherwise” (quoted in Soderlund, 2005).

In addition to emphasizing the victim, AHT NGOs draw on central ideas of captivity and freedom to underscore the urgency of their cause. Abolitionist NGOs tend to be the religiously conservative organizations, and when abolitionists tell stories about interventions, they tend to emphasize the raid and delivery of rescued slaves to a free house. In the abolitionist theory, all prostitutes are innocent victims who will naturally accept aid groups’ attempts at rescue and rehabilitation, which sometimes includes furnishing the women with sewing machines or teaching them about Jesus. Any event that occurs in the aftermath, especially when the liberated victims return to their previous situation, often belies the claim that all of the “rescued” women are sex slaves held against their will (Soderlund, 2005).

Not every NGO agreed on the movement’s ideology, though. Many activists utilizing a violence-against-women framework in their campaign were uncomfortable framing sex slavery as the center of women’s oppression. Strict abolitionist groups, such as Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, saw all prostitution as sex slavery and therefore violent against women. Reformist groups, like Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women and the Network of Sex Work Projects, believed forced sex

trafficking was wrong, but prostitution was a natural result of global inequality and should be considered similar to working in a factory or store (Soderlund, 2005; Foerster, 2009).

When the survival of an organization cannot be guaranteed and the quest for funding and membership is highly competitive, organizations often come to resemble one another, changing and modeling their structure and behavior on other successful organizations (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1997). Abolitionist NGOs have been rewarded in terms of prestige and increased or continued funding from the U.S. government (Foerster, 2009). Some NGOs, however, remained independent, despite the highly competitive organizational field. These groups tend to have a decentralized organizational structure and the ability to bypass governmental and foundation-funding through private donations and volunteer mobilization (Skinner, 2010).

NGOs rely on funding and recognition in order to fulfill their mission of caring for the victim and raising awareness of human trafficking. As seen in many of the studies and recommended by Batstone, merely freeing an enslaved person does not guarantee perpetual freedom. In the weeks following rescue, victims should be provided food, shelter, counseling, and protection from reprisals from former owners or slave traders, all of which are commonly provided by the NGO (Batstone, 2010).

As mentioned previously, The Department of Health and Human Services (2012) directs pre-certified victims (people who have not been legally certified as victims of human trafficking) to seek help from nongovernmental organizations. TVPA (2000) lists three requirements for certification as a trafficking victim for adult foreign nationals:

- the person must have been subjected to a severe form (as defined in the TVPA) of trafficking in persons;
- the person must be willing to assist in the investigation and prosecution of the case (but is excused if unable to cooperate due to severe physical or psychological trauma); and
- The Department of Homeland Security must grant the victim Continued Presence (a one-year method of immigration relief, intended to retain a potential witness in the country during an investigation) or an approved T visa (a four-year visa for trafficking victims).

Once a victim has been certified, he or she is approved to receive a number of benefits, including Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, Medicaid, Health Resources and Services Administration programs, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration programs, Office of Refugee Resettlement programs, food stamps, and public housing (HHS, 2012).

Sadrudin et al (2005) recommends that victims who cooperate with prosecution of traffickers by serving as witnesses should be granted easier access to benefits, but that protection of victims should never be contingent upon cooperation. Victims who are unwilling (due to fear of reprisal) or unable to cooperate frequently do not receive the same access to benefits as those who do.

Despite assistance from the government and NGOs, trafficking victims often lack necessary skills for survival in American society, including language barriers and the ignorance of U.S. currency and the role of police, courts, and government agencies. Some of this is due to cultural differences, but much can be attributed to lies told to the

victim by the trafficker. One of the largest groups dedicated to helping survivors of trafficking is the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (CAST), based in Los Angeles. CAST conducts rehabilitation under an “empowerment model,” promoting self-sufficiency and self-esteem and encouraging survivors to make informed decisions (Shigekane, 2007).

RESEARCH METHOD

Success of NGO Defined

Prior literature on the AHT movement measures NGOs' "success" by their meaningful access to institutionalized channels of policy discussions and reaching their stated goal (Weitzer, 2007; Staggenborg, 1988). However, in *The Strategy of Social Protest*, Gamson (2009) lists consultation, negotiation, formal recognition, and inclusion as signs of a movement's acceptance. Gamson's typology is particularly interesting because he was able to detect certain patterns of movement outcomes. In general, he found that successful movements were bureaucratically organized, had narrow goals, used selective outcomes, and had sponsorship (Buechler, 1990). Guided by these insights, I measure "success" in this paper by: 1) the government recognizing particular NGOs as the voice of a constituency by including them in policy discussions and drawing on their expertise; 2) increased public awareness of the organization as evidenced by celebrity sponsorship and speaking engagements, as well as volunteer labor and donations; 3) amount of federal funding; and 4) relatively high media coverage in several nationally known outlets.

NGOs involved in the AHT movement generally seek to educate the public, protect the victim, and influence legislation. While the NGO has a central role in informing AHT public policies, little is known about how different NGOs mobilize their resources to achieve success. Comparing a relatively more successful case to a relatively less successful case provides the best assessment of the process by which the social

movement organization meets its objectives. The current research will examine: 1) how diversity of NGOs' ideology influenced the resources available; and 2) the process by which NGOs achieved success as defined above.

Method

The research method used will include an archival documentary analysis of two ideologically differing NGOs- Polaris Project, and Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (CAST). Data sources will include autobiographical accounts from key activists in two published books and several articles written in the past ten years, outreach activities mentioned by the organizations on their individual websites, articles from several well-known newspapers that are accessible online, and social media exposure as measured by the number of "followers" on facebook, twitter, and YouTube as obtained in July 2013. Financial information on the NGOs was collected in July 2013 from charitable organization tax returns – Form 990- for each NGO- Polaris Project for years 2007-2011 and CAST for years 2006-2010. The tax returns were examined to collect data on employment, volunteers, federal funding, donations, and spending.

Limitations to the project are foreseeable. First, archival data tends to emphasize framing and law enforcement, which limits the available information. Another limitation is subjectivity of topic; the criteria used in this thesis may be different from the way each organization defines success. The last foreseeable limitation deals with availability of information. Not every NGO makes full company information available for the length of the history of the company; therefore, in-depth research, which is beyond the scope of

this study, would be needed before a complete understanding of the situation can be understood.

It is essential to examine the role of the NGOs in the human trafficking debate because it illuminates the various interests and strategies promoted by the groups while they mobilize to solve their perceived problems. Because prior research has largely neglected a comparative analysis through a resource mobilization theoretical model, there is an overall lack of knowledge on these processes used by the NGOs and their impact on the success of the movement. Benford (1997) raised the issue with the question of whether social movement actors' success is fundamentally due to the compelling nature of the cause, or if success is facilitated by other factors such as resources available. The objective of this research is to determine the impact of resources on achievement and to demonstrate that no matter how compelling the cause may be, without proper mobilization of resources the social movement organizations cannot attain success.

POLARIS PROJECT AND CAST FOUNDING

Polaris Project

During their senior year at Brown University in 2002, Katherine Chon and Derek Ellerman read a newspaper article describing the horrific conditions of a brothel located near the college apartments. As a result, Chon and Ellerman founded the Polaris Project, named for the North Star, which guided slaves from the U.S. South northward to freedom along what was referred to as the Underground Railroad in the years before the U.S. Civil War (Project). The two developed a business plan for a website that would offer immediate, practical help to victims of human trafficking, and they submitted their idea to Brown University's annual entrepreneurship competition (Fighting human trafficking, 2009). Despite its nonprofit status, the product won the \$12,500 second prize and the day after graduation, Chon and Ellerman packed a U-Haul and relocated to Washington DC to launch Polaris Project's first office on Capitol Hill (Project).

Polaris Project's central starting goal was to create long-term solutions that would change the underlying systems that allow human trafficking to occur. They established direct outreach and victim identification, including multilingual crisis hotlines, and offered services and transitional housing to victims (Fighting human trafficking, 2009). Polaris Project currently operates the National Human Trafficking Resource Center, which serves as the central national hotline on human trafficking in the United States (Project).

According to its impact statement, Polaris Project is committed to combating human trafficking and modern-day slavery “through utilizing a comprehensive approach which includes: direct victim identification, providing critical social services, advocating for stronger laws and legal protection, and building the next generation of leaders for the antitrafficking movement.” (Polaris). Eleven years after its inception, with over 50 staff, local programs in Washington DC and New Jersey, and more than 30,000 grassroots supporters, Polaris Project has grown into one of the largest and most successful anti-trafficking NGOs in the United States (Fighting human trafficking, 2009).

CAST

Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking, a Los Angeles based non-governmental organization, was founded in 1998 as the first established organization in the United States exclusively dedicated to serving survivors of trafficking (“Milestones”). The NGO was formed in reaction to a local sweatshop case where 72 Thai garment workers were kept for eight years in slavery and debt bondage (“15 years of”). CAST’s founder, Dr. Kathryn MacMahon, along with a group of other concerned activists, started the NGO to address the reemergence of slavery in their own backyards. CAST was initially funded by Bill Watanabe of Little Tokyo Service Center, who later became President and then Board Secretary (“Milestones”).

According to their Articles of Incorporation, “the specific purposes for which this corporation is organized are to assist persons trafficked for the purpose of forced labor and slavery-like practices and to work toward ending all instances of such human rights violations” (Coalition, 1999). Several objectives stated were to advocate for policy

change and human rights for trafficked persons and to implement training materials for government, law enforcement, and immigration agencies and provide public education (Coalition, 1999). According to its impact statement, CAST provides comprehensive, long-term services through a three-pronged empowerment approach, which includes social services, legal services, and outreach and training (“15 years of”). CAST currently operates its own national hotline number that is not associated with law enforcement or any government agency (CAST).

Within a year of formation, CAST had created the first trafficking task force in the country, the Los Angeles Slavery and Trafficking Task Force (“Milestones”). In 2004, CAST had opened the first shelter in the United States exclusively for survivors of trafficking with a \$1 million grant from the Office for Victims of Crime (“15 years of”). In 2009, CAST expanded its efforts internationally by establishing a partnership with Mexico Border States to help fight trafficking (“Milestones”).

Despite the current differences between CAST and Polaris Project, at the time of formation and through critical developmental years, these groups were strikingly similar in structure, goals, activities, and bottom-up organizational formation. While comparable, as the study will show, Polaris Project was more successful in its attempts to raise money, influence legislature, and develop a national identity.

DEFINED CRITERIA

RESOURCES

In order to prove success, research must show a clear relationship between management of resources and the end result. This analysis begins with an assessment of the role of resources and organizing before turning to a more in-depth account of strategic capacity by exploring the interplay between resources and the individual NGOs. Central to resource mobilization theory is the idea that the resources a movement mobilizes, both internally and externally, are critical to its success. The NGOs' ability to reach their goals depends on the amount of resources at their disposal and their ability to effectively manage and mobilize these resources.

Some of the resources being addressed in this study are leadership and members, finances, volunteer labor and materials, and networking connections or political allies. Research will demonstrate that it was the way each organization mobilized their individual assets that contributed to their success in every area defined.

Leadership Leadership is valuable because it shows how power is organized in the movement group and how they came to power. The movement's success is a direct reflection of the type of organizational structure and process the movement uses to conduct its affairs. Leadership in movements can generally be identified in two different types: "spokespersons" are the more conventional type of leaders who tend to be good public speakers, representatives, and negotiators, while "center people" are typically

lower-level leaders who mobilize already existing social networks and take a key role in motivating others (Kurtz, 2002).

In addition to the actual leader, organization of group activities can produce different levels of mobilization. According to Gamson, in order for social movement to succeed, it must form into an organized structure (Gamson, 1975; McCarthy & Zald 2009). Organizational dimensions, such as having a process of leadership and structures for the task group, gives potential to engage more adherents in the actions of the group and provide opportunities for those interested in specific activities to manage smaller clusters of activists within the organization (McCarthy and Wolfson, 1996). In addition, since many social movement organizations are often composed of different tiers of organizational units, having distinct levels with common tasks (as varied as influencing national policy and public opinion or handing out flyers in the neighborhood), the ability and motivation of leaders to mobilize resources is dependent on having a formally organized structure (McCarthy and Wolfson, 1996; Gamson, 1975).

Members While leadership and organizational structure are relatively straightforward, defining membership can be a formidable task. It is often difficult to know what it means to be a member of a movement in the first place. As McAdam (1996) has noted, membership in movements often have no clear demarcation. People can be considered, or at least consider themselves, members of a movement without ever officially signing up. Someone may be a member of a movement without being a member of one of its NGOs. Many may join the NGO, but the organization may differ greatly in the level of formalization: some have weak or nonexistent membership criteria,

while others might have more formal membership criteria and keep detailed lists (Barkan, Cohn and Whitaker, 1995).

All types of participation are important for NGOs; however, since the primary goal of social reform NGOs is to change public opinion and public policy, explanations of extra participation in these movements are particularly important (Barkan, Cohn and Whitaker, 1995). Especially to the NGO, the groups that do not rely on the activities of the paid professional staff for their influence cannot succeed unless they have members who are willing to devote the time and energy to organizational goals in the public arena (Barkan, Cohn and Whitaker, 1995).

Finances Financial patronage is another mechanism in which NGOs gain access to resources, and the provision of initial or ongoing financial support by patrons is not uncommon for social movements (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). Walker (1991) found that initial patronage, in the form of start-up grants, was common among National Citizens Groups in Washington DC in the 1980s, and those groups with access to such patronage of founding were more likely to have received later support (Walker, 1991, as cited in Kurtz, 2002). While groups that obtain access to benefactors early on are generally more likely to retain such contact, ongoing access to patrons (whether individuals, organizations, or government agencies) are expected to increase the likelihood of survival for NGOs (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004).

In addition to having a variety of financial sources, utilization of those sources is a key indicator of success. When social movement actors gain access to resources, those resources are not necessarily exhausted immediately or used efficiently (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). A movement actor does not realize the utility of the resources it has

mobilized until they are disbursed for specific tasks, which can range from routine organization maintenance to contentious protest activity (Martin, 2008). Resources cannot simply buy desired outcomes like organizing success, but must be channeled to specific modes of action. Misuse or mismanagement of resources can often lead to a decrease in public perception of legitimacy and loss of future assets (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987).

Volunteer Labor & Materials For many people who volunteer labor, a common question is how engaged to be. Most movements struggle with some classic free-rider problem: all workers benefit regardless of their level of activism (Olsen, 1968) and many see leadership as experts with special knowledge who have access to the power. A preeminent struggle in most social movements is just getting people to be involved at all. In mobilizing members or potential members, movements can, at times, confront this free-rider problem. Any collective good earned by the group will be shared by all members, regardless of an individual's level of sacrifice to win those goals (Olsen, 1968).

Olson argues that rational individuals elect to free-ride on others' effort, thus constituting a major problem for social movement, and that having some material incentive, like free membership, serves as a solution to the problem (1968). Gamson challenges this assumption by suggesting collective incentives of moral commitment and solidarity (Kurtz, 2002). Regardless of the best method of motivation, movements cannot succeed if they do not attract members, but neither can they succeed if the members they do attract remain relatively inactive or drop off altogether.

Networking connections/political allies Debra Friedman and Doug McAdam (as cited in Johnston, Larana & Gustfield, 1994) discussed how individual attachments to

preexisting groups in interpersonal networks frequently function as resources when those attachments are highly valued. Movements are affected by interaction with nonmembers, including the media and state agencies. While more commonly discussed under political opportunity theory, having network connections and political allies is critical to the success of the movement. These allies can be political parties, intellectuals, the church, or they can be celebrities. In addition to allowing for new streams of resources, having widely diverse or highly visible allies lends credibility to participants and encourages new membership.

As the relationship between managing resources and success is so clearly interdependent, research must show a clear relationship between administration of resources and the end result of success. The analysis will now turn to a more in-depth account of strategic aptitude by exploring the interplay between resources and the individual NGOs. Research will demonstrate that it was the manner in which each organization mobilized their individual resources that contributed to their overall success in all of the areas defined.

SUCCESS

Government Recognition The first major indicator for success of a movement is government recognition of that group as a “voice of constituency” by including them in policy discussions for their expertise. While both CAST and Polaris Project were utilized by the government, Polaris was overwhelmingly recognized as the authority in the field.

Of the variables, leadership and political allies were the two that had the biggest impact on government recognition. At its inception, CAST set out to eradicate human

trafficking by different means than previously used by others in the government or NGOs. In 1999, they established the first trafficking task force in the country, which later expanded to the largest in California (“Milestones”). In 2002, CAST established the legal services program, which assisted the first T-Visa recipient in the United States—to date, CAST has secured nearly 100 T-Visas, 1/6 of the total number nationwide (“15 years of”). In 2003, CAST joined with six other similar organizations to implement a national trafficking and technical assistance program with funding from the Department of Health and Human Services Office of Refugee Resettlement (“Milestones”).

By 2008, CAST had received a proclamation from the city of Los Angeles as a lead expert in anti-trafficking advocacy, participated in a panel discussion on human trafficking at the governor’s conference, and collaborated with other groups to help pass the Trafficking Victim’s Protection Reauthorization Act (“Milestones”). In 2011, CAST Executive Director Kay Buck joined new California Attorney General Kamala Harris’ transition team to advise on victims’ rights (“Milestones”). With all of this, the only law CAST had a direct impact on was the Supply Chain Transparency Act of 2010. As a co-sponsor of the California Senate Bill, along with the Alliance to Stop Slavery and End Trafficking, CAST consulted with Governor Schwarzenegger on providing consumers and businesses access to information of how products are made (“15 years of”).

While CAST struggled to receive government recognition outside of their state, Polaris Project had no such problem. Early on, Polaris introduced sound networking and political allies onto their Board of Directors. Karen Olcott, in charge of business development, spent 14 years as an executive at Microsoft, was the creative director for Showtime networks in New York, has won two Emmy Awards, and has won over 40

awards for design and identity projects (“Board of directors,” 2013). Catherine McLean, Senior Partner and Managing Director of Global Public Affairs, provides media training for CEOs and national political candidates, is a frequent commentator on national television on politics and current events, and was a senior communications staffer for President Clinton, in addition to senior advisor to Hillary Clinton. McLean also served as the National Press Secretary and spokespersons of Vice President Al Gore’s presidential campaign in Washington DC, as well as serving as the spokesperson for Joe Lieberman as the Democratic Vice President nominee in the 2000 general election (“Board of directors,” 2013).

In addition to the Board of Directors, Polaris Project used considerable political allies as spokespersons. Bradley Myles, Executive Director and CEO, has provided consultation, training, and technical assistance on anti-trafficking strategies to hundreds of audiences, including human trafficking task force coalitions across the nation, government agencies, federal and local law enforcement, and U.S. members of Congress (“Bios of spokespeople,” 2013). James Dold, Senior Policy Counsel, drafted legislation and coordinated with state human trafficking task forces and prosecutors. Dold works directly with state and federal legislature during sessions, has helped pass 25 new laws to fight human trafficking across the country, and oversees the Polaris Project’s annual state ratings maps and state reports (“Bios of spokespeople,” 2013). Dold organizes Polaris Project’s annual appearance at the National Conference of State Legislatures Legislative Summit and helps develop Polaris Project’s regularly published Comprehensive Model State Law (“Bios of spokespeople,” 2013).

The high political profile of so many people associated with Polaris Project has led to a direct impact of government recognition. In 2007, Polaris was selected by the Department of Health and Human Services to run the National Human Trafficking Resource Center and the federally funded National Human Trafficking Hotline. Polaris uses the hotline to help connect local and federal law enforcement agencies to victim service NGOs (Polaris Project, 2012).

In 2011, the National Human Trafficking Hotline received 19,427 calls, of which 14% were tips or intelligence on potential trafficking situations (Polaris Project, 2012). To date, there have been more than 44,000 calls to the Polaris-run hotline number (Polaris Project, 2012). While CAST also runs a national hotline, it is not affiliated with government or law enforcement and no data is given by the organization on how many calls it is received and how frequently the number is used.

In 2008, President George W. Bush invited Polaris founders to join him in the Oval Office while he signed the Trafficking Victims Protection Act into law (Polaris Project, 2012). In 2010, Polaris helped the U.S. Department of Defense develop online training for military and civilian personnel on how to identify and respond to human trafficking (Polaris Project, 2012), and in 2011, Polaris helped pass 18 new state bills that strengthened protection for trafficked victims and increased prosecution of traffickers (Polaris Project, 2012). The amplified government recognition is also visible in social media. A Google search to retrieve information on other websites that link Polaris or CAST demonstrated 125 websites link CAST—the majority of which were private blogs, while 358 websites link Polaris—the majority of which were government sites (Retrieved September 3, 2013).

Polaris built successful relationships with government actors, and this contributed to the warming political environment they encountered when working on human trafficking. Lacking the same quality and quantity of relationships with members of government and affiliates clearly disadvantaged CAST.

Increased public awareness The second major indicator of success of a social movement is increased public awareness. Common resources that lead to successful increase in public awareness are leadership's use of media, networking connections, and volunteer labor or materials. Although both NGOs have a public presence, and CAST demonstrated more celebrity connections, Polaris established more success in public awareness with a significantly higher level of leadership visibility in the media and volunteer labor.

While both CAST and Polaris have regular speaking engagements, Polaris' leadership demonstrates a higher level of social media use and television exposure. Bradley Myles, Executive Director and CEO of Polaris, has made appearances for interviews with Nancy Grace in 2009 and Anderson Cooper in 2013. Kathryn Chon, co-founder, has made two appearances on ABC News, one in Newsweek, three on National Public Radio, and one in Women's Health ("Bios of spokespeople," 2013; "Board of directors," 2013). No information is listed regarding speaking engagements or interviews by leadership in CAST.

Although print and television interviews are not the only platform of media commonly used, even in social media Polaris has a higher demonstrated number of "followers," indicating a higher amount of public awareness and acceptance.

Table 1- Social Media Followers Comparison CAST and Polaris as Retrieved 09/15/2013

	YouTube	Twitter	Facebook
CAST	1	5,568	3,485
Polaris	433	24,447	29,273

While CAST and Polaris both use celebrity sponsorship, CAST mobilized more resources. By utilizing several actors and other entertainers for speaking engagements and charity events, CAST was able to limitedly increase public awareness. For example, in the 15th Annual “From Slavery to Freedom” Gala, CAST has several celebrity spokespersons and honorary hosts listed: actresses Nicole Scherzinger and Jada Pinkett Smith (along with daughter- musician Willow Smith) and journalist Lisa Ling, to name a few (“15 years of”). Other listed honorary co-chairs of CAST are actor/director Russell Simmons, actress Mira Sorvino, and actor David Arquette (“15th annual gala,” 2013). Polaris has no listed celebrity endorsement.

A final factor in successful public awareness is volunteer labor. CAST and Polaris both employ the use of volunteer labor as well as paid staff, but while CAST is adept at utilizing volunteer positions to provide for resources and labor for basic business function, Polaris ultimately employs the greatest number of staff and volunteers. Both CAST and Polaris make use of volunteer and internship members to fill the majority of standard business functions such as hotline operators, legal department, and receptionists, (Polaris, 2012; “CAST internship program”).

As evidenced in tables 2 and 3 below, Polaris experienced a greater overall growth in staffing and volunteer membership. Full-time employees increased from two in 2002 to 62 in 2011, with a volunteer increase of none in 2002 to thirty in 2011. CAST

also experienced growth, while not as large of an extent, going from two full-time employees and ten volunteers in 2006 to eleven full-time employees and thirty volunteers in 2010. It is important to note that not all tax forms reported volunteer organizers in whole, just the amount of full time staff and the total employees. Thus, the true amount of human labor invested in organizing may be underestimated. In addition, all of these indicators of resources are annual measures and cannot be linked to specific organizing drives.

Table 2- Polaris Staff Growth 2002-2011 from Tax Form 990 and Polaris Project 2011 Staff Growth Summary
(See Also Appendix Figure 1 for a graphic representation of Polaris Project staff growth)

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Full-Time/Staff	2	3	5	7	11	26	35	56	39	62
Volunteers	0	0	0	0	3	19	49	55	70	30
Total	2	3	5	7	14	45	84	111	109	92

Table 3- CAST Staff Growth 2006-2010 from Tax Form 990
(See Also Appendix Figure 2 for a graphic representation of CAST staff growth)

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Full-Time/Staff	2	4	9	13	11
Volunteers	10	12	20	30	30
Total Staff	12	116	29	43	41

Common resources that lead to the successful increase in public awareness are leadership's use of media, networking connections, and volunteer labor. Although both NGOs have a public presence and CAST demonstrated more celebrity connections, Polaris established more success in public awareness due to a significantly higher level of leadership visibility in the media, as well as volunteer labor.

Federal funding/ spending The two variables that can lead to funding success of an organization are financial patronage and spending. As a result of increased funding, both Polaris and CAST have organizationally expanded, and neither organization established itself as a clear frontrunner in terms of a successful relationship between proportions of funding or expenses in various categories.

In addition to funding the vast majority of research on trafficking in the United States (Batstone, 2010), the U.S. government has also been a major funder of NGOs that work with trafficked persons, particularly since the advent of the TVPA in 2000. In fiscal year 2010, the US government provided nearly \$100 million to fund anti-trafficking programs worldwide (Trafficking in persons report, 2010). Approximately \$76 million of these funds went to 140 international anti-trafficking projects benefiting over 70 countries, and approximately \$23 million funded 82 domestic anti-trafficking projects (Trafficking in persons report, 2010). While part of the funds went to the United Nations and international organizations, most went to domestic anti-trafficking NGOs in order to train law enforcement officers, enhance border control, provide direct and indirect victim services, and strengthen anti-trafficking laws (Trafficking in persons report, 2010).

Though difficult to precisely chart the ways the government funding streams are translated into programs, the available data suggests federal funding, namely grants and contributions, is used to sponsor programs for victim support that include subsidized housing, physical and mental healthcare services, intensive case management, job training, and education (“Client services program,”; Polaris Project, 2012).

Appendix tables 1a and 1b detail Polaris and CAST sources of revenue reported in tax forms 990 for fiscal years 2007-2011. Appendix tables 2a and 2b detail expenses for Polaris and CAST as given on tax forms 990 for fiscal years 2007-2011. Surprisingly, there is a marked similarity in the apportionment of both funding and expenses for CAST and Polaris. There is no obvious difference in funding success, since both revenue and expenses follow the same basic patterns: similar percentages from contributions, government grants, programs, etc.

CAST Revenue 2011 (See Appendix Table 1b):

- 67.3% Contributions
- 32.5% Governmental Grants
- 0.3% Program Services/Investments/Other

Polaris Revenue 2011 (See Appendix Table 1a):

- 57% Contributions
- 39.8% Government Grants
- 3.2% Program Services/Investments/Other

CAST Expenses 2011 (See Appendix, Table 2b):

- 74.4% Program Services
- 11.5% Fundraising
- 14% Administration

Polaris Expenses 2011 (See Appendix, Table 2a):

- 79% Program Services
- 7% Fundraising
- 14% Administration

There is an interesting comparison made with the percentage of revenue spent on employee compensation. Comparison of income statements from tax returns to employee compensation reports shows that CAST demonstrated a much higher apportionment of revenue-to-staff pay.

Table 4- Compensation Allocation by Percent
 (See Appendix Tables 3a, 3b- employee compensation as specified on tax returns 990, and Figures 1a, 1b- staff growth as given on tax returns 990)

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
CAST	19	24	9	7	16
Polaris	5	5	5	6	4

Data suggests that there is no clear indicator of who was more successful in relation to receiving and spending funding categorically (with the exception to the subcategory compensation), but longitudinal research relating other NGOs would be necessary for a more thorough comparison, as this is outside of the scope of this study.

Mass Media The mass media are crucial contributors to the success or failure of the modern social movement, shaping access to the public and vital resources; they can distort, selectively pick, or accurately portray movement activities and goals. Limited media attention to a social movement’s concerns could negatively affect acquisition of material resources and opportunities to influence public attitude. In addition, the mass media are not very effective in convincing and activating people (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). Since they had a stronger public leadership presence, Polaris was more successful than CAST in perpetually gaining mass media attention.

A review of press coverage for the two groups in six national newspapers showed that Polaris Project received far more extensive media coverage than CAST. As a result, CAST did not become well known outside of the communities in which it had established a strong local presence (Los Angeles). The wide recognition and almost universally positive name of Polaris Project gave activists an advantage over the lesser-known CAST.

Table 5- Number of Newspaper Articles Collected from Google Search Arranged by Media Source*

Name	“Human Trafficking”	Polaris Project	CAST
New York Times	859	9	0
Washington Post	764	6	0
Daily News	489	4	0
Chicago Sun-Times	67	2	0
USA Today	113	5	0
Los Angeles Times	136	0	2

* All articles were collected from Google search on July 2013. Criteria: Must be in top 10 lists of circulating/visited news sources, articles only (no blogs), subject must be the main topic of article, not simply referenced or cited.

Table 6- Number of Newspaper Articles Collected from Google Search Arranged by Year*

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Polaris	1	0	1	3	2	5	3	5	6
CAST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

*Data was collected from Articles in Newspapers Referenced Above

CONCLUSION

Nongovernmental organizations involved in the contemporary anti-human trafficking movement seek to inform public policy. Little is known about how different NGOs influence policy in their general insights on the anti-human trafficking movement in the United States approach. Comparing a more and less successful case provides the best assessment of a social movement and the process by which it meets its objectives. In the following, I summarize key findings from the research and discuss the contributions of this research to the literature on human trafficking and social movements. I then identify avenues for future research on social movements in human trafficking that the study encourages.

Guided by insights from other studies on resource mobilization, I measured “success” by: 1) the government recognizing particular NGOs as the voice of a constituency by including them in policy discussions and drawing on their expertise; 2) increased public awareness of the organization as evidenced by celebrity sponsorship and speaking engagements, as well as volunteer labor and donations; 3) amount of federal funding; and 4) relatively high media coverage in several nationally known outlets.

While it was very apparent that Polaris was more successful in government recognition, public awareness, and media coverage, success as far as federal funding is inconclusive. Even though Polaris did not demonstrate to be comparatively successful in every field, it is clear that in this instance, the accomplishment of the movement was not

just because of the compelling nature of its cause, but because of the facilitation and utilization of resources.

Results demonstrate that successful NGOs are able to take advantage of available resources, including an increased public awareness of human trafficking, greater collaboration between representatives of NGOs and government, government funding for movement work, and services and benefits for victims of human trafficking. While some organizations do not have access to as many resources as national coalitions, many are able to effectively mobilize resources they do possess.

There are limitations—for instance, public awareness is not perfect, media coverage can be narrow and inaccurate, coalitions and task forces comprised of NGO and government representatives can be dysfunctional, and government funding in support of NGOs' anti-human trafficking work is limited and is not guaranteed. In addition, while beyond the scope of this study, the relative newness of an institutionalized approach to human trafficking (transfer of responsibilities from one agency to another, multifaceted agencies coordinating efforts, and the deficiency in institutional knowledge throughout and across government agencies) are limitations that warrant further study.

Results suggest several directions for additional research. Further investigation should attempt to explain various forms of post-recruitment participation in a range of NGOs and movements. A related question concerns the degree to which the factors affecting such participation will vary with the different stages of an NGO's development and decline. To develop precise assessments of participation in either line of investigation, longitudinal research is obviously needed.

Another interesting aspect of the subject would be the involvement of educational institutions and businesses in work against human trafficking. Since research traditionally focuses on only one theoretical aspect within social movements, an integrative theoretical approach that emphasizes the intersection and relationship between framing process, political opportunities, and resource mobilization as explanation for the formation, development and outcome of social movements is recommended.

Finally, while this research illustrates how use of resources inform the process by which NGOs achieved success, it also raises questions on how other contextual factors shape this process and its outcomes. For instance, timing which NGOs first addressed human trafficking and the demographic characteristics and unique trafficking context of different states may all have helped inform how NGOs achieved success. Future research should consider how the sequencing of events and characteristics of a social movement setting matter within the anti-human trafficking movement specifically and of social movements generally, which in turn will further advance knowledge of the contextual factors that influence social movement processes and outcomes.

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APPENDIX

Table 1a
Polaris Project Revenue from 990 (Fiscal Year Beginning January 1 and Ending December 31)

	2011 (990)	2010 (990)	2009 (990)	2008 (990)	2007 (990)
Contributions	\$1,934,333	\$2,221,441	\$2,714,088	\$1,802,283	\$759,269
Government Grants	\$1,350,197	\$1,048,470	\$1,006,597	\$939,247	\$590,696
Program Services	\$67,550	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Investments	\$2,297	(\$16,533)	\$10,062	\$0	\$0
Special Events	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Sales	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Other	\$38,113	\$13,474	\$25,054	\$8,664	\$8,941
Total Revenue:	\$3,392,490	\$3,266,852	\$3,755,801	\$2,750,194	\$1,358,906

Table 1b
CAST Revenue from 990 (Fiscal Year Beginning July 1 and Ending June 30)

	2011 (990)	2010 (990)	2009 (990)	2008 (990)	2007 (990)
Contributions	\$1,310,294	\$861,024	\$705,561	\$774,050	\$585,117
Government Grants	\$632,112	\$607,072	\$396,287	\$328,762	\$0
Program Services	\$3,108	\$4,394	\$6,114	\$20,059	\$510,508
Investments	\$1,084	\$2,423	\$7,319	\$11,930	\$2,563
Special Events	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Sales	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Other	\$0	\$0	\$88	\$0	\$0
Total Revenue:	\$1,946,598	\$1,474,913	\$1,115,369	\$1,134,801	\$1,098,188

Table 2a**Polaris Expenses from 990 (Fiscal Year Beginning January 1 and Ending December 31)**

	2011 (990)	2010 (990)	2009 (990)	2008 (990)	2007 (990)
Program Services	\$2,350,473	\$2,253,744	\$2,541,783	\$1,877,862	\$965,043
Administration	\$428,432	\$421,925	\$464,087	\$252,487	\$137,975
Other	\$281,592	\$220,640	\$152,848	\$90,604	\$26,927
Total Expenses:	\$3,060,497	\$2,896,309	\$3,158,718	\$2,220,953	\$1,129,945
Net Gain/Loss:	\$331,993	\$370,543	\$597,083	\$529,241	\$228,961

Table 2b**CAST Expenses from 990 (Fiscal Year Beginning July 1 and Ending June 30)**

	2011 (990)	2010 (990)	2009 (990)	2008 (990)	2007 (990)
Program Services	\$1,150,918	\$1,147,745	\$900,355	\$608,325	\$871,970
Administration	\$216,753	\$144,793	\$184,970	\$153,565	\$162,183
Other	\$179,557	\$324,526	\$188,795	\$97,309	\$68,042
Total Expenses:	\$1,547,228	\$1,617,064	\$1,274,120	\$859,199	\$1,102,195
Net Gain/Loss:	\$399,370	(\$142,151)	(\$158,751)	\$275,602	(\$4,007)

Table 3a**Polaris Employee Compensation from 990 (Fiscal Year Beginning July 1 and Ending June 30)**

Name	Title	Compensation	Year
Bradley Myles	Executive Director & CEO	\$121,431	2011
Bradley Myles	Executive Director. & CEO	\$116,435	2010
Mark Lagon	Executive Director & CEO	\$49,926	2010
Katherine Chon	President & Secretary	\$35,080	2010
Mark Lagon	Executive Director	\$134,768	2009
Katherine Chon	President	\$47,500	2009
Derek Elierman	Chairperson	\$20,500	2009
Katherine Chon	Secretary	\$68,013	2008
Derek Ellerman	Chairperson	\$64,281	2008
Katherine Chon	Secretary	\$68,013	2007

Table 3b

CAST Employee Compensation from 990 (Fiscal Year Beginning July 1 and Ending June 30)

Name	Title	Compensation	Year
Kay Buck	Executive Director	\$111,648	2011
Myrna Jackson	Director of Operations	\$73,817	2011
Kay Buck	Executive Director	\$109,588	2010
Kay Buck	Executive Director	\$99,511	2009
Kay Buck	Executive Director	\$94,248	2008
Heather Moore	Client Services Director	\$62,400	2008
Myrna Jackson	Office Administrator	\$58,000	2008
Stephanie Richard	Managing Attorney	\$53,000	2008
Kay Buck	Executive Director	\$94,248	2007
Charles Song	Legal Services Director	\$60,638	2007
Heather Moore	Social Services Director	\$52,500	2007

Figure 1

Polaris Staff Growth 2002-2011 from Tax Form 990 and Polaris Project 2011 Staff Growth Summary

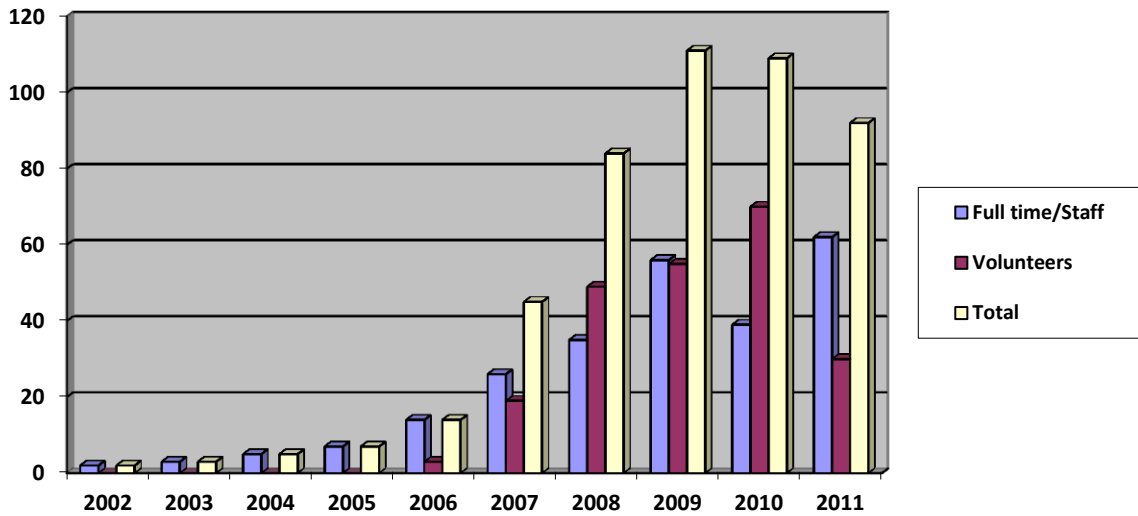
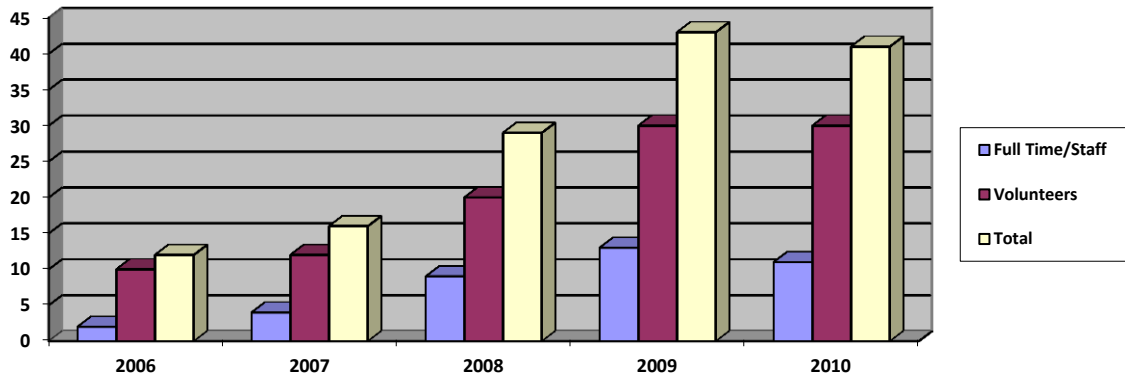


Figure 2
CAST Staff Growth 2006-2010 from Tax Form 990



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