

Essay Cover Sheet

2021-22

Course Code	DV55	
MSc programme (circle as applicable/add if your programme isn't listed)	DM DS IDHE H&ID	
Candidate Number (5 digit number from	35159	
LSE for you - NOT from your ID card, NOT		
your Student number)		
Individual Strategy title	Arrest the Trafficker, Not the Trafficked	
Seminar Leader	Professor Duncan Green and Dr Tom Kirk	
Due Date	Monday, 25 th April 2022	
Word Count (excluding title, header,	2,497	
bibliography, appendices; including		
footnotes/endnotes and everything else)		

Essays must be submitted with a header in the following format:

Course Code Page x of y 5 digit Candidate Number

Word limit: Exceeding the word limit will AUTOMATICALLY be penalised at the rate of 1 mark per 100 words (or part thereof).

Late penalties: Submitting work late *without a previously arranged extension* will AUTOMATICALLY be penalised at the rate of 5 marks per day (24 hour period, not including weekends or bank holidays) or part thereof.

Plagiarism (unacknowledged borrowing or quotation): is an examination offence and carries heavy penalties. In submitting his/her essay the student acknowledges it as his/her own work which contains no plagiarism AND that it has not been submitted previously for any assessed unit on the course or any other degree course at the LSE or elsewhere.

I have uploaded files (either Word or .pdf) as required to Moodle and within the time limit.

I have read, understood and adhered to the conditions stated above, please mark an **X** in the box to confirm this.

Χ

Arrest the Trafficker, Not the Trafficked

Introduction

The International Labor Organization estimates that over 40 million men, women, and children are slaves today (ILO, n.d.). Modern slavery generates over US\$ 150 billion in profits per year as of 2014 (ILO, 2014). Bringing an end to this atrocity is not an issue of getting people to care. Any person is likely to be horrified by these statistics. Rather, the issue is arming the *right* organizations with the *right* information to do something about it.

Law enforcement is typically the first government agency victims encounter and "can ultimately determine whether victims get the help they need and whether traffickers are held accountable" (Police Executive Research Forum, 2020, p. 3) But in the US, law enforcement remains woefully unprepared to support trafficking victims and commonly mistake them for criminals, arresting victims rather than their trafficker. A survey found that more than 90% of interviewed survivors had been arrested at least once (National Survivor Network, 2016). Evidence shows, however, that extensive training can help to reduce misidentification. Pennsylvania officers who had received human trafficking training, for instance, were able to successfully recognize trafficking cases (Reis, 2020). Yet only 19 states have mandated such a training (Center for Law and Policy, 2017).

Arrest the Trafficker, Not the Trafficked is a campaign to require all US law enforcement officers to have extensive human trafficking recognition and victim support education. The goal is for no victim to experience further trauma caused by unwarranted arrest and that all survivors get the proper support they need from the start of their interaction with the US government.

Context

Since the law enforcement structure in the US is decentralized and under local jurisdiction, the campaign will target city police first, with the intention that action in one city will create the platform to campaign for a state-wide requirement. Charlotte, North Carolina is where we will start. In 2020, 2.1% of calls received by the Human Trafficking Hotline were in North Carolina, ranking 9th for the highest number of reported cases, and with Charlotte having the highest prevalence of trafficking within the state (Broadwell & Eberle, 2015; National Human Trafficking Hotline, 2021). The city has taken efforts to fight the issue. In 2016, Charlotte established a Human Trafficking Task Force which brings together services providers, law enforcement, and prosecutors, giving our campaign a strong foundation of support (US Attorney's Office Western District of North Carolina, 2019). Charlotte City Council is currently majority Democrats and the city in general is more liberal than North Carolina as a whole, making it the ideal candidate (*City Council*, n.d.).

However, it is important to recognize growing tensions in Charlotte regarding the police. Following the murder of George Floyd in June 2020, Charlotte Mecklenburg Police Department (CMPD) used chemical agents against Black Lives Matter (BLM) protestors which led city council to vote in favor of minimally defunding the police by removing budget to purchase such equipment (Kuznitz, 2020). Specific Defund the Police protests have occurred as well (WBTV Web Staff, 2020). Given this context, additional funding for CMPD to implement training could be taken the wrong way and we may face opposition, albeit minimum.

To succeed, the campaign will require support from both CMPD and the public to convince city council to 1) enact policy and 2) provide funding to implement the training. As such, it is crucial to consider all possible stakeholders who could influence the outcome of our campaign including those who:

Initiate policy and allocate funding

 These stakeholders have visible power in that they can implement new policy and allocate budget. Ultimately, they will make our campaign possible or not.

Support and/or advocate for the police force

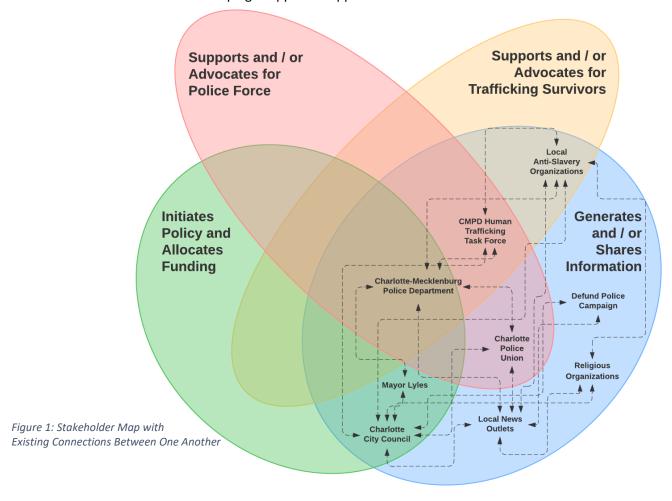
 These stakeholders prioritize officers' safety and needs. They may oppose the campaign because it requires additional work and briefly removes officers from the frontline. The hidden power they possess (direct access to city council which the public does not see) could work against or with us depending on their stance.

• Support and/or advocate for trafficking survivors

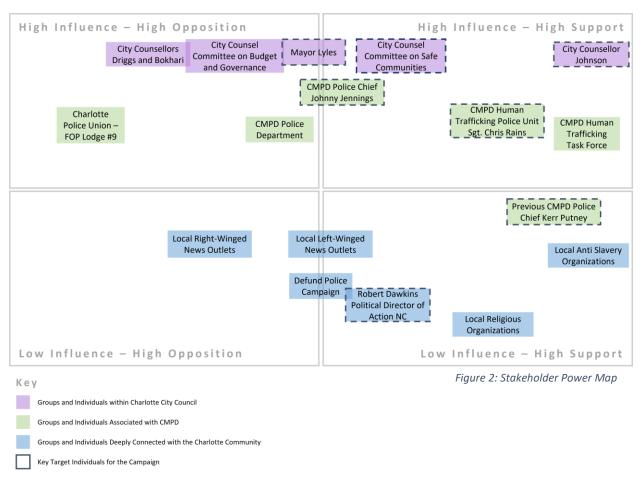
 These stakeholders aim to empower survivors. Although they have little power, they will likely be the campaign's greatest advocates and have resources to increase support.

• Generate and/or share information

 These stakeholders are trusted sources of information and hold invisible power in that they can shape public opinion. Depending on their political stance, this power could be used to increase campaign support or opposition.



By mapping stakeholders based on their degree of influence and support, we can begin to further understand the dynamics within Figure 1. It is important to break down broader groups to individuals, as no organization is a monolith and within these groups there are those who can tip the balance in our favor (Green, 2016). This granularity allows us to tailor change tactics at the individual level, rather than only considering their group's role as mentioned above.



Strategy and Tactics

Our strategy will consist of two phases coinciding with the two main objectives of the campaign — enact policy and get funding. Although both phases will involve insider and outsider tactics, phase I will focus primarily on garnering public support, increasing outside pressure on city council to introduce the policy. Phase II requires greater attention on insider tactics, attempting to get funds to implement the training without losing budget in other areas.

Timeline

The phases will considerably overlap given both objectives are inherently tied together and that two critical junctures are quickly approaching. First, the vote on the FY2023 budget is in June (*Developing the City of Charlotte's Budget*, n.d.). Since new policy can be ratified throughout the calendar year, it is crucial to complete phase I prior to this date, ensuring it can be incorporated into the budget plan before the vote. Second, elections for 2023 city council are in November. Although many council

members will likely be re-elected as in the past, the elections were delayed due to COVID-19, opening the possibility for new candidates to gain traction (Pitkin, 2021). A change in council could skew voting out of our favor. Thus, we must work quickly to guarantee greater chances of success.

Phase I – Enact Policy

Outside Tactics

To garner public support, the campaign will engage with agents of change to deliver four tactics that work in parallel. Agents will be those in blue, in the right-lower corner of figure 2 – particularly antislavery organizations, left-winged news outlets, and religious organizations. These groups have existing connections which will make it easier to maintain a consistent message that they will deliver to the public, a skill they already possess (see figure 1).

Tactic	Description	Intended Outcome
Tactic Spread the Word	A digital and physical media push to share information about the campaign. Social media posts and city-wide ad space will highlight the issue and include opportunities for the public to take action. **Killer Fact: 90% of victims report being arrested while their trafficker walks free.** **Ad inspired by DOD (The Blue Campaign, n.d.):	Intended Outcome The public and city council are exposed to the campaign through various channels, increasing awareness and inspiring them to act.
	SHOULD SHE BE ARRESTED FOR A CRIME SHE WAS FORCED TO COMMIT? Charlotte Police Should Recognize HUMAN TRAFFICKING Sign Arrest Traffickers Petition to require CMPD to have training on human trafficking. Help victims get the support they need. www.arresttraffickersCMPD.org	
City of Survivors	A targeted media push that spotlights the impact on trafficking victims. Trafficking survivors will have a platform to share their testimonials, reflect on what they wish CMPD	Building on Spread the Word, the public and city council are motivated to take action by putting a face to the problem and increasing empathy.

	could have done to support them, and what this training would mean to them. A play on the City of Charlotte logo will accompany the takeover along with the hashtags #ArrestTraffickers #CharlotteCityofSurvivors Logo: CITY of SURVIVORS	
Arrest Traffickers Petition	An open petition for the public to sign that will function as a physical representation of Charlotte's demand for police required training.	A formal connection to city council, which can also serve as a policy guide for the Committee on Safe Communities.
Training Charlotte	A free trafficking recognition training for the public with the goal to educate Charlotte on the signs of trafficking and offer a similar experience to what CMPD would complete if the campaign is successful.	The public engage directly with the intended policy outcome to gain further appreciation for the campaign.

Table 1: Phase I Outsider Tactics

Community support generated through these tactics would pressure Mayor Lyles to respond – especially since she is running for reelection (Mayor Vi Lyles [@ViLyles], 2021). By securing the mayor's vote, the campaign would have a strong voice of influence to get the needed majority of city council (six total) to vote in favor.

Insider Tactics

Committees are appointed to make policy recommendations to the full council for adoption and will be the formal channel to put the campaign's policy on the table (*City Council Committees*, n.d.). As such, the campaign will specifically engage with the Committee of Safe Communities who "reviews and recommends policies to make neighborhoods safe, healthy, and inclusive, including policing" (*City Council Committee on Safe Communities*, n.d.). The group recently announced a plan to review policies of CMPD, in partnership with a community-based input group (*City Council Committee on Safe Communities*, n.d.). This topic is at the forefront of the committee's agenda, creating a window of opportunity for the campaign. Additionally, a survey conducted by North Carolina State government in 2018 demonstrates that such a training is in fact feasible (North Carolina Department of Health and Human Services, 2018).

Within the group, City Counsellor Johnson will act as an agent of change. Prior to serving the City of Charlotte, Counsellor Johnson was a board member of Rahab's Hideaway - an organization assisting victims of Human Trafficking (*City Council Renee Perkins Johnson*, n.d.). Her direct experience with the issue will not only support the campaign in getting priority for review; but will also prove to be a vital advocate in convincing the committee to bring the policy to the full council for adoption. To further guarantee her support, the campaign will establish a relationship with her prior to presenting the policy to the group.

Finally, the campaign will work with agents of change in green, in the right side of figure 2, specifically former CMPD Chief Putney and current head of CMPD Human Trafficking Unit Sergeant Rains. While in command, Putney piloted a human trafficking training in 2013 (Charlotte City Council, 2013). Rains, because of his position, likely has a vested interest in the campaign as well because such a training would strengthen his unit's work and likely fall under his purview. Both individuals can influence the position of current CMPD Chief Jennings, as Jennings served directly under Putney and Rains likely has a direct channel of communication with the Chief. Jennings is vital for getting CMPD support for the campaign which would further strengthen our policy recommendation in the eyes of the committee and override possible opposition within CMPD.

Phase II – Get Funding

Insider Tactics

The internal support generated in phase I will prove invaluable for phase II. With the new policy brought forth by the Committee on Safe Communities, the campaign will turn to the Committee on Budget and Governance who is responsible for recommending a financial plan for the city and can incorporate the needed finances for the training in the FY2023 budget (*City Council Committee on Budget and Governance*, n.d.). It is important to note that Republican City Counsellors Bokhari and Driggs are members of the budget committee and will likely be more fiscally conservative. To combat this potential opposition, during the campaign's presentation to the committee, we will highlight potential costs saved from prevented arrests of trafficking victims, which outweighs the cost of training implementation. Fortunately, City Counsellor Phipps as well as Bokhari also sit in the safe communities committee, giving the campaign a stronger position to get additional funding because of our phase I insider efforts.

Additionally, the campaign will continue to capitalize on the inside support gained in CMPD. The funding for the training can be easily incorporated into the annual budget request by CMPD. The request will highlight how the funding would be in alignment to the city council's efforts to transform the way Charlotte polices following the BLM protests in 2020. Chief Jennings, who will likely present the request, has also been noted by City Counsellor Egleston to have "built a lot of trust [with city council] in a short amount of time" (Harrison, 2021). This rapport will help solidify the campaign's efforts even further.

Outsider Tactics

While continuing the outsider tactics used in phase I, it will be necessary for the campaign to bring in additional agents of change and use other formal channels for expressing the public's demand to the council.

Tactic	Description	Intended Outcome
Defund the Police Campaign	An information campaign sharing	The public are reassured that the
Support	details about the CMPD budget	campaign aligns with the deeper
	increase.	goals of Defund the Police, which
	Key Agent of Change: Robert Dawkins from Action North Carolina has openly stated he is ok	will help to minimize potential opposition.

	with increased CMPD funding because "Chief Jennings has been a man of his word" (Harrison, 2021). Dawkins can solidify support within his network when the draft annual budget is publicly announced.	
Budget Public Input Survey	Pre-filled survey response the public can send through the existing survey on requests for city budget. Responses are required to be reviewed.	Another formal connection to city council to demonstrate the need for training even further.

Table 2: Phase II Outsider Tactics

Conclusion

The tactics used in Charlotte can easily be replicated. Additional cities in the movement would pressure the state government to introduce a North Carolina-wide requirement.

References

- Broadwell, P., & Eberle, G. (2015, April 20). *Beware: Slavery Still Exists (And It's Closer to Home Than You Think)*. Axios Charlotte. https://charlotte.axios.com/1708/charlotte-ranked-6th-and-nc-ranked-10th-in-human-trafficking-how-to-stop-this-local-terrorism/
- Center for Law and Policy. (2017). *National State Law Survey: Law Enforcement Officer Training on Human Trafficking* (p. 2). Shared Hope International.
- Charlotte City Council. (2013). City Council Meeting [Meeting Minutes].
- City Council. (n.d.). City of Charlotte Government. Retrieved April 12, 2022, from https://charlottenc.gov/CityCouncil
- City Council Committee on Budget and Governance. (n.d.). City of Charlotte Government. Retrieved April 13, 2022, from https://charlottenc.gov/CityCouncil/Committees/Pages/Budget_and_Effectiveness.aspx
- City Council Committee on Safe Communities. (n.d.). City of Charlotte Government. Retrieved April 12, 2022, from https://charlottenc.gov/CityCouncil/Committees/Pages/SafeCommunities.aspx
- City Council Committees. (n.d.). City of Charlotte Government. Retrieved April 12, 2022, from https://charlottenc.gov/CityCouncil/Committees
- City Council Renee Perkins Johnson. (n.d.). City of Charlotte Government. Retrieved April 16, 2022, from https://charlottenc.gov/CityCouncil/Pages/ReneePerkinsJohnson.aspx
- Developing the City of Charlotte's budget. (n.d.). City of Charlotte Government. Retrieved April 16, 2022, from https://charlottenc.gov/budget/Pages/budget-development.aspx
- Green, D. (2016). A Power and Systems Approach to Making Change Happen. In *How Change Happens* (pp. 235–255). Oxford University Press.
- Harrison, S. (2021, June 10). After Other Cities Cut Police Spending Amid Defund Movement, CMPD Budget Will Likely Grow By \$10M. WFAE 90.7 Charlotte's NPR News Source. https://www.wfae.org/crime-justice/2021-06-10/after-other-cities-cut-police-spending-amid-defund-movement-cmpd-budget-will-likely-grow-by-10m
- ILO. (n.d.). Forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking. Retrieved February 17, 2022, from https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/lang--en/index.htm
- ILO. (2014, May 20). *ILO says forced labour generates annual profits of US\$ 150 billion* [News]. http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_243201/lang--en/index.htm
- Kuznitz, A. (2020, June 9). Charlotte Stops Funding of Police Chemical Agents Amid Protests, Heavy Criticism. WBTV. https://www.wbtv.com/2020/06/08/charlotte-stops-funding-police-chemical-agents-amid-protests-heavy-criticism/

- Mayor Vi Lyles [@ViLyles]. (2021, November 25). Happy Thanksgiving from my family to yours! I ask for your support as I run for re-election in 2022. Happy Holidays! #cltpol [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/ViLyles/status/1463894428985307147
- National Human Trafficking Hotline. (2021). *National Human Trafficking Hotline Data Report:* 1/1/2020—12/31/2020 (p. 9).
- National Survivor Network. (2016). *Impact of Criminal Arrest and Detention on Survivors of Human Trafficking* (p. 12) [Survey Results].
- North Carolina Department of Health and Human Services. (2018). Feasibility Study for Provision of Anti-Human Trafficking Training (p. 7). Joint Legislative Oversight Committee on Justice and Public Safety.
- Pitkin, n. (2021, December 9). NC Supreme Court Ruling Will Further Delay City Council Elections. *Queen City Nerve*. https://qcnerve.com/charlotte-city-council-delayed-again/
- Police Executive Research Forum. (2020). How Local Police Can Combat The Global Problem of Human Trafficking: Collaboration, Training, Support for victims, and Technology Are Keys to Success. Police Executive Research Forum.
- Reis, T. A. (2020). Police Perceptions of Human Trafficking. Pennsylvania State University.
- The Blue Campaign. (n.d.). *Blue Campaign Document Library*. Department of Homeland Security. https://www.dhs.gov/blue-campaign/library
- US Attorney's Office Western District of North Carolina. (2019, July 12). *Human Trafficking Task Force*. United States Department of Justice. https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdnc/human-trafficking/task-force
- WBTV Web Staff. (2020, June 9). Thousands Call to 'Defund' Police Department, March to End Racism on Day 11 of Charlotte Protests. WBTV. https://www.wbtv.com/2020/06/08/thousands-call-defund-police-department-march-end-racism-day-protests/