

# A Nasty Business

Towards a value-chain approach for combatting human trafficking

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**Skaperkraft**  
TANKESMIEN

## Sammendrag

Menneskehandel er en forbrytelse og blir rettmessig behandlet som en. Samtidig er det også en virksomhet, som balanserer kostnad og risiko mot inntekter slik som alle andre virksomheter. Selv om straffeforfølgning bidrar til økte kostnader og høyere risiko, fortsetter denne lønnsomme virksomheten - faktisk så ser den ut til å vokse.

Menneskehandel og ulovlig utnyttelse av arbeidskraft er globale fenomen, og som andre globale virksomheter påvirkes dem av markedskreftene. Å se på menneskehandel fra et handelsperspektiv gir innsikt i faktorene og kreftene som jager fortjeneste, grunnsteinen i all næringsvirksomhet. Dersom menneskehandel blir gjort mindre lukrativt, aller helst ulønnsom, så vil kreftene i økonomien i seg selv redusere utbredelsen av fenomenet.

Å få menneskehandlere til å gå konkurs føles kanskje ikke like moralsk tilfredstillende som å sette dem i fengsel, men fokuset ved begge tilnærmingene er ofrene. Ved å se på denne ulovlige virksomheten som en virksomhet (samt en forbrytelse), vil ressursene som blir rettet mot problemet øke dramatisk, gjennom at andre virksomheter, regjeringer, aktører, media og resten av sivilbefolkningen kommer sammen.

Dette notatet legger frem bruken av et verdikjede-perspektiv til å identifisere flere innfallsvinkler enn hva som vanligvis er oppnådd gjennom lovhåndhevelsesmodellen. Perspektivet inkluderer også mange flere aktører, slik som konsumenter, til å bidra med å fjerne det økonomiske grunnfestet til lønnsom utnyttelse av mennesker. Dersom kostnad og risiko øker i alle ledd av verdikjeden og mulighetene til lønnsom drift minimeres, kanskje da kan vi sette menneskehandlerne konkurs.

# 1. Introduction

Human trafficking is a business. It is a nasty, inhumane, despicable business, but it is first and foremost a profitable commercial activity. Work by Siddharth Kara<sup>1</sup> indicates that human trafficking often produces substantial profit margins, returning 50% or more on time and capital invested. This profitability persists in spite of the laws that criminalize the underlying behaviors, which suggests that criminal law alone is insufficient to confront the problems of forced labor and sexual exploitation. In the past most slaves were either used in domestic or agricultural industries. Today's victims are exploited in many different industries, industries that are more profitable than ever. Transactional sex, construction, domestic work, carpet weaving<sup>2</sup> and various forms of garment manufacturing have all been found to contain forms of human trafficking.

This essay proposes a system for broadening the attack on trafficking in persons by using a value-chain approach to the *business* ecosystem in which these crimes now thrive by dramatically reducing the profitability that drives this illicit market. This approach, to the authors' knowledge, has not yet been tried.<sup>3</sup> Given the limited success so far in the fight against the modern enslavement of men and women, girls and boys, for licit and illicit ends, perhaps it is time to reconsider the fight from a new angle. This essay, then, is a call to expand the tools and strategy for counter-trafficking in persons in hope of decreasing the incidence of profit-based misery in this miserable activity.

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<sup>1</sup> Kara, S. *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery* (Columbia University Press: 2010) and *Bonded Labor: Tackling the System of Slavery in South Asia* (Columbia University Press: 2014).

<sup>2</sup> Kara, S. *Supply and Demand: Human Trafficking in the Global Economy* (*Harvard International Review: Summer 2011*) [http://sites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic1498717.files/Supply\\_and\\_Demand.pdf](http://sites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic1498717.files/Supply_and_Demand.pdf) (Accessed on February 9th, 2016)

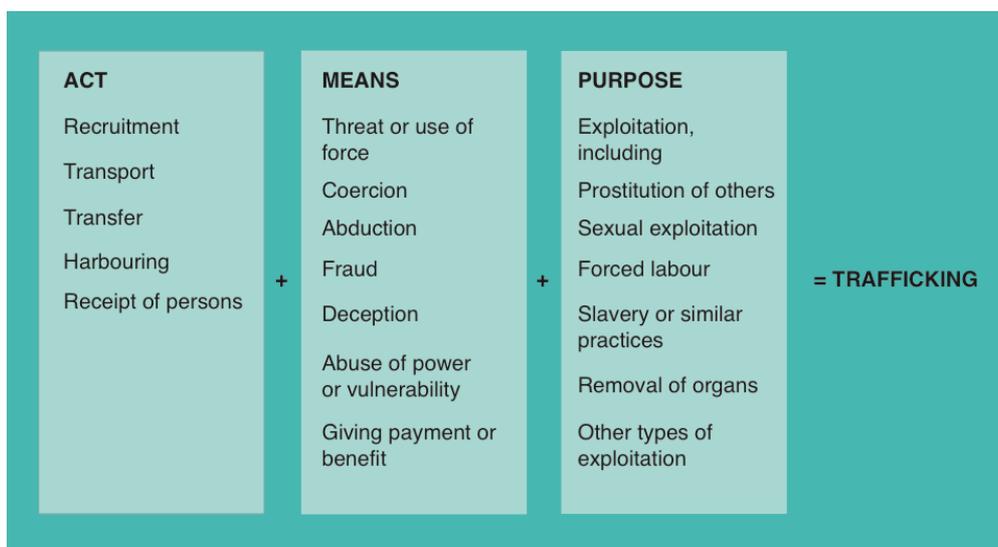
<sup>3</sup> Supply chains – rather than value chains - have been used as a means of analysis. See, for example, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, “Ending Exploitation: Ensuring that Businesses do not Contribute to Trafficking in Human Beings; Duties of States and the Private Sector”, Occasional Paper Series No. 7 (2014) (<http://www.osce.org/secretariat/126305?download=true>); and Global Freedom Center, “Labor Trafficking in Supply Chains” <https://traffickingresourcecenter.org/sites/default/files/Labor%20Trafficking%20in%20Supply%20Chains%20-%20GFC.pdf>. (Accessed on February 9th, 2016)

## 2. Definitions and Background

According to the United Nations, human trafficking is defined as

*« . . . the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.»<sup>4</sup>*

This broad definition incorporates a series of subcategories, such as sex trafficking (which includes child sex trafficking) and labor trafficking (which includes bonded labor, debt bondage, involuntary domestic servitude, and forced child labor), among others.<sup>5</sup>



**Figure 1** What is Trafficking <sup>6</sup> (Illustration remade)

<sup>4</sup> Article 3 of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, United Nations General Assembly resolution 55/25 (entered into force on 25 December 2003). (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

<sup>5</sup> U.S. Department of State, “Progress in Combating Trafficking in Persons: The U.S. Government Response to Modern Slavery,” April 9, 2014. <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/224810.pdf> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

<sup>6</sup> United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, “What is Human Trafficking”, available at <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/what-is-human-trafficking.html>, accessed September 7, 2014. (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

Estimates of the extent and type of trafficking vary widely, as illicit activity such as this is not openly reported. However, according to data collected by Stop the Traffik<sup>7</sup>, human trafficking is the second largest source of illegal income (after drugs), affects more than 1.2 million children each year, entails approximately 9 million trafficked laborers, and is the fastest growing international crime. In 2005, the International Labour Organization estimated worldwide profits from trafficking and forced labor to exceed €13 billion<sup>8</sup>. Although attention to this issue has increased dramatically in recent years, the attention has not yet staunched the flow.

Trafficking is, appropriately, a crime and is treated as such. The UN's strategy of "3 Ps" - prevention, protection, and prosecution – has added a fourth "P" – partnership with other actors in a worldwide alliance to end slavery.<sup>9</sup> Prosecution, of course, actively promotes implementation of criminal law, whereas the other Ps entail public education, use of safe houses and counseling, and creation of alliances with public agencies and civil society organizations to continually combat these illegal practices.

These efforts are needed and appropriate. At times, the interventions have achieved impressive results, such as recent arrests in the United States of almost 1100 people in an international baby trafficking enterprise,<sup>10</sup> as well as smaller stings, such as the rescue of four trafficked teenagers from sex traffickers supplying patrons during Super Bowl parties.<sup>11</sup> Such prosecution efforts – which used partnership effectively - along with prevention and protection are clearly needed and laudatory, but are they enough?

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.stopthetraffik.org/the-scale-of-human-trafficking> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

<sup>8</sup> Belser, Patrick, "Forced Labour and Human Trafficking: Estimating the Profits", International Labour Organization, International Labour Office, Working Paper 42, March 2005. <http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1016&context=forcedlabor> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

<sup>9</sup> U.S. Department of State, "Four 'Ps': Prevention, Protection, Prosecution, Partnerships" and accompanying references and publications at <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/4p/>. (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

<sup>10</sup> "Chinese Babies Saved from Human Trafficking Ring", US News and World Report, February 28, 2014. Available at <http://www.usnews.com/news/newsgram/articles/2014/02/28/chinese-babies-saved-from-human-trafficking-ring> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

<sup>11</sup> "Super Bowl sex trafficking ring busted in Stamford," ctpost.com, February 4, 2014. Available at <http://www.ctpost.com/policereports/article/Super-Bowl-sex-trafficking-ring-busted-in-Stamford-5205434.php> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

### 3. What Is a Value Chain, and Why Does It Matter

Successful business ventures operate within an expansive market ecosystem that matches supply to demand through careful utilization of a wide range of goods and services incorporated into a final product. Whether a mom-and-pop shop or a multi-national investor, the business entrepreneur must constantly seek to balance the costs and risks of providing a final product with the revenue potential, especially in a competitive market. The goal, of course, is to reduce costs and risks, set prices competitively, and return a profit. Over the long-term, the business must adjust prices to absorb any increases in costs or risks; however, in a competitive market – or a market where consumers have other options – it may not be possible to raise prices. In such a case, cost and risk increases can put the provider out of business as profitability falls. On the other hand, if demand itself decreases, then prices will also fall, and may fall below the costs of providing the product.

This simplified explanation of market economics provides a conceptual framework for approaching business. At the simplest level, the strategy for economic success is to reduce costs, reduce risks, and increase revenues. This is what traffickers do, as well as legitimate businesses.

But what if the strategy is reversed by those of us who would like to see an end to the business of trafficking? What if we could work to increase the costs, increase the risks, and reduce the revenues in any (and preferably all) of the businesses utilizing trafficked humans? If these businesses become unprofitable, we can expect the (criminal) entrepreneurs to reduce or eliminate these particular service offerings. In other words, can we put them out of business?

Value-chain analysis incorporates a comprehensive understanding of the market system surrounding a product (whether a good or a service) that increases or reduces value during the process of identifying demand to providing inputs to create and deliver a final product or service.

According to the U.S Agency for International Development (USAID):

*«Taking a value chain approach necessitates understanding a market system in its totality: the firms that operate within an industry—from input suppliers to end market buyers; the support markets that provide technical, business and financial services to the industry; and the business environment in which the industry operates.»*<sup>12</sup>

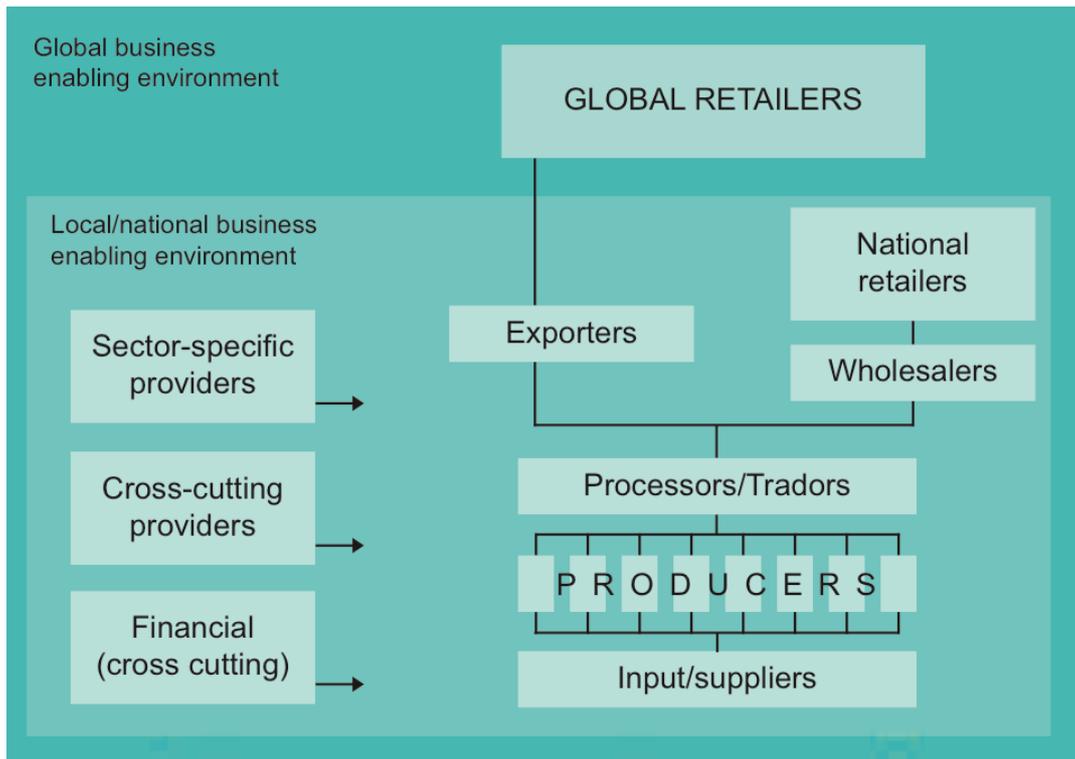
The approach starts with question of demand – what good or service does the end-market require – then tracks the production of that good or service from inputs, through processing, to final sale. In international development – as well as international business – this optic allows relevant actors to see problems in the chain of producers, processors and suppliers that can be addressed through various types of intervention.

This theoretical perspective can be demonstrated through a concrete example. Imagine a law student (the end market), who has become dependent on coffee to make it through each day of classes. Fortunately for her, a nearby vendor is willing, for a reasonable price (only €2.50 per cup) to supply her daily needs. The coffee beans that went into that cup may have come from any number of countries with the right climate to produce the *Arabica* coffee she depends on. The interlinking network of actors from farm to cup include farmers, washers, sorters, aggregators, truckers, warehouseers, exporters, importers, roasters, wholesalers, retailers, insurers, financiers (for all of the above), energy suppliers (to most of the above), government regulators (for many of the above), with hundreds of people supplying goods and services along the journey to the coffee shop. If costs go up along the way, actors who incur the costs will try to pass that along either to the next in line (through higher prices charged) or back down the chain (through lower prices paid). If the price gets too high at the consumer end, so that our law student will no longer pay the increase, then costs must be passed backward along the chain, which could result in any number of actors getting out of the coffee business, because it is simply no longer profitable.

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<sup>12</sup> USAID, “Value Chain Development Wiki: 1.1 Overview of the Value Chain Approach” <https://www.microlinks.org/good-practice-center/value-chain-wiki/overview-value-chain-approach> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

[Note: Supply chains offer another useful optic, but they are more narrow than value chains. In the coffee example, the retailer is concerned with getting properly roasted beans in the shop, and thus will be watching the chain from supply to shipment to roaster to retail. The retailer will not be as concerned with the surrounding ecosystem and how it operates, but rather only with those directly involved in delivery. The term “supply chain” is sometimes confused with “value chain.”]



**Figure 2** The Structure of Global Value Chains <sup>13</sup> (illustration remade)

Although value-chain analysis is normally used to improve overall competitiveness of a product by lowering costs and risks and increasing revenue potential, the same analysis can be used to reverse the process in order to drive providers out of business. The value chains for human trafficking may quite different from coffee, but they share the same characteristics. Like coffee producers, traffickers are also sensitive to price fluctuations. Perhaps a more comprehensive approach to their business models would permit counter-traffickers to break or disrupt links in the chain sufficiently to reduce the economic benefits that make human exploitation so attractive to the criminal element.

<sup>13</sup> USAID, Microlinks, *1.2 Features of the Value Chain Approach*, available at <https://www.microlinks.org/good-practice-center/value-chain-wiki/features-value-chain-approach> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

## 4. Applying the Approach: An Example

Siddharth Kara's work on business models and supply chains for labor and sex trafficking not only exposes profit margins, but also identifies the numerous types of enterprises currently utilized, from debt bondage in the brick kilns of India to the capture and sale of girls from northern Thailand to brothels in California.<sup>14</sup> Each has a different ecosystem, but all have certain commonalities, including a wide range of service providers who knowingly participate or simply turn a blind eye to crimes before them.

Each business model also operates according to the laws of supply and demand, with significant price elasticity and competition from legitimate – or at least legal – alternatives. If the market demands lower-priced clothing, the clothing industry will have to reduce costs to maintain profitability, possibly switching to lower-priced manufacturers. Similarly, if the price of illicit transactional sex gets too high, demand will drop, pushing some “service providers” out of the market. Theoretically, the threat of criminal prosecution should increase the risk premium – which drives up prices - and suppress these businesses, but the threat is clearly not working.

### **Example: Legitimate Products through Illegitimate Processes**

Fashion designers used to create two collections a year, but in recent years this has changed. The fast fashion industry re-stocks their shops with new items twice a week.<sup>15</sup>

They can change their collections weekly simply because they have enormous economic advantages through low cost production, which allows for more production. Trend-savvy customers who want to stay up to date on fashions will buy frequently. These fast fashion

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<sup>14</sup> Kara, S. *supra*, note 2. See also Bales, Kevin, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* (University of California Press: 2012), which describes a range of practices not covered by Kara, such as debt bondage for charcoal workers in Brazil and child slavery in the cocoa farms of West Africa.

<sup>15</sup> Tokatli, N. and O. Kizilgun. 2009. “*From Manufacturing Garments for Ready to Wear to Designing Collections: Evidence from Turkey.*” *Environment and Planning* 41: 146–62.

clothes are not designed to last - they are basically disposable.<sup>16</sup> Yet there is high demand for these affordable “luxury” items, stoked by endorsements from celebrities and (social) media.

The economic explanation for this cycle is rather simple – as prices go down, demand goes up. By increasing the volume of clothing sold, the suppliers can increase income, even at a low profit margin. But they must keep the prices down. If costs of production go up, they will have to raise prices, which may disrupt the market by causing fewer purchases, or even changing the buying habits of consumers. Whereas many fashion-conscious consumers of the past would buy a few expensive items to last a season, these disposable fashions are so cheap they can be bought and discarded on an almost constant basis.

The low-price/low-value market is possible because of a combination of efficient technology and low-cost labor. The global fashion industry is well known for the “race to the bottom”<sup>17</sup> in wages and conditions for factory workers to keep prices low. Better pay for workers can mean higher prices to customers, which in turn means lower demand and fewer sales. Better labor benefits can also mean lower profit margins, if the employer cannot pass the costs up the chain. For the unscrupulous, this is not a viable option. Ironically, the customers’ understandable desire for cheap fashion helps to fuel a vicious cycle that makes it difficult for fair-labor manufacturers to compete with the unscrupulous sweatshops that serve the market.

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<sup>16</sup> Guiltinan, J. 2009. “Creative Destruction and Destructive Creations: Environmental Ethics and Planned Obsolescence.” *Journal of Business Ethics* 89: 19–28

<sup>17</sup> A simple Google search of “race to the bottom garment industry” produce over 85,000 results on February 9th, 2016. For a compelling look at the conditions of labor in the global market, see Kelsey Timmerman, *Where Am I Wearing? A Global Tour to the Countries, Factories and People that Make Our Clothes* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.; Wiley 2012) <http://whereamiwearing.com/books/where-am-i-wearing/>. For an additional look at how the world can so cheaply transport goods across vast expanses of ocean – and the impact that has on the treatment of merchant sailors – see Rose George, *90% of Everything: Inside Shipping, the Invisible Industry that Puts Clothes on Your Back, Gas in Your Car, and Food on Your Plate* (Picador 2014) (<http://rosegeorge.com/site/books/ninety-percent-of-everything>).

It is understood that the garment industry has played a leading role in Asia's early export growth.<sup>18</sup> The retail companies are at the tail end of demand-driven chains that rely on low-cost manufacturers, which are generally decentralized, overseas operations. These factories are typically located in developing countries that offer low wages for semi-skilled laborers to cut, piece and sew the final product rapidly. The seemingly endless supply of unemployed job seekers allow manufacturers to hire for low pay and poor conditions. For many of these workers, a bad job is better than no job, so there is little incentive or power to demand more humane treatment.

With the development of low cost transportation, it is possible to produce more cheaply halfway round the world and ship the goods to countries that used to produce the same products at higher wages. Despite lower prices, the high volume makes this global market profitable.<sup>19</sup> As a result of these dynamics, an enormous change in the concentration of the garment market has taken place: in 1970 the United States imported mostly from the UK, Japan, Canada, France, etc., but by 2011 these were replaced with countries as China, Bangladesh, etc.<sup>20</sup>

When policy makers in developing countries look at the aggregate gains from the export of inexpensive clothing, they can legitimately appreciate the potential for greater tax and tariff revenues, and formal jobs. These aggregate gains, however, often come at the cost of the disaggregated individuals who have few if any meaningful employment alternatives. In other words, the economic benefits of these export strategies may come at deep human cost.

At the moment Asia dominates garment production, although the market in some non-Asian developing countries is growing. A change in how garments are sourced has been observed.

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<sup>18</sup> The degree to which international trade as such can be the basis of sustained economic growth for developing countries in general has been questioned. United Nations Industrial Development Organization UNIDO. Sector studies series. *The Global Value Chain: what prospects for upgrading by developmental countries*. Vienna 2003. Accessed on February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2016. [https://www.unido.org/fileadmin/user\\_media/Publications/Pub\\_free/Global\\_apparel\\_value\\_chain.pdf](https://www.unido.org/fileadmin/user_media/Publications/Pub_free/Global_apparel_value_chain.pdf)

<sup>19</sup> Gereffi, G, Korzeniewicz, M. *Commodity chains and global capitalism*. (ABC-CLIO 1994)

<sup>20</sup> Takahiro Fukunishi, Kenta Goto, Tatsufumi Yamagata 'Aid for Trade and Value Chains in Apparel Chains in Textiles and Apparel (Institute of Developing Economics Japan External Trade Organization, World Trade Organization, Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, July 2013)

There has been a move towards consolidation of supply chains. This is probably a direct result of market demand for 'fast fashion.'<sup>21</sup>

The so called "race to the bottom" represents the reality of these workshops. They have to compete with one another in order to keep getting orders from the West. If the costs are too high, the clothing industry will find another "cheaper" option with a neighbour workshop. This race to the bottom takes its toll on the health, wages and security of their employees.

While it is true that these employees are accepting these jobs because they have no better options, it is also true that the Western buyers might be appalled if they understood the working conditions at the end of the fast-fashion chain.

The safety of employees is definitely not guaranteed. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 2013, the Rana Plaza factory in Bangladesh collapsed, killing more than 1,100 people and injuring many others. This incident received international attention on the many problems that plague the fast fashion industry in developing countries, such as Bangladesh, Vietnam and Cambodia - the involvement of Western companies also brought this issue closer to the West, to our own homes.<sup>22</sup>

About 60 million<sup>23</sup> to 75 million<sup>24</sup> people are employed in the textile, clothing and footwear sector worldwide. There is a big rise in numbers, more than tripling since the year 2000, when there were 20 million people employed in the industry. About three quarters of garment

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, (nr 20)

<sup>22</sup> BBC News. *Bangladesh Factory Collapse Toll Passes 1000*. May 10<sup>th</sup> 2013. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-22476774> (Accessed on February 9th, 2016)

<sup>23</sup> 'Textiles, clothing, leather and footwear sector' (International Labour Organisation) <http://www.ilo.org/global/industries-and-sectors/textiles-clothing-leather-footwear/lang—ja/index.htm> (Accessed February 9th, 2016)

<sup>24</sup> 'Global Fashion Industry Statistics - International Apparel' (Fashion United) 2014. <https://www.fashionunited.com/global-fashion-industry-statistics-international-apparel> (Accessed on February 10th, 2016)

workers worldwide are female.<sup>25</sup> China, Bangladesh and India are the top three garment producing countries that are considered developing countries.<sup>26</sup>

Around 260 million children are in employment around the world, according to the International Labor Organization. Of them, the ILO estimates that 170 million are engaged in child labour, defined by the UN as “work for which the child is either too young – work done below the required minimum age – or work which, because of its detrimental nature or conditions, is altogether considered unacceptable for children and is prohibited”. The ILO claims: “The largest absolute number of child labourers is found in the Asia and the Pacific region but Sub-Saharan Africa continues to be the region with the highest incidence of child labour, with more than one in five children in child labour.”<sup>27</sup> These are the countries where the factories are located that Western clothing brands use to produce our clothes.

Among India’s garment workers there are over 200,000 young women and girls who have been trafficked to work in the cotton industry in the Tamil Nadu region of India.<sup>28</sup> The people working in these factories are effectively enslaved and find themselves in these factories under very poor circumstances. Their human rights are violated. Kara says about these people that; “They may be told they must work off the ‘debt’ of trafficking them between jobs. The accounting of these debts is invariably exploitive, involving deductions for living expenses and exorbitant interest rates. For others, no farce of debt repayment is provided—they are simply kept in a state of perpetual forced labor.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Celia Mather. *Garment Industry Supply Chains: Women Working Worldwide*. 2004. [http://www.women-ww.org/documents/www\\_education\\_pack.pdf](http://www.women-ww.org/documents/www_education_pack.pdf) (Accessed on February 4th, 2016)

<sup>26</sup> Takahiro Fukunishi, Kenta Goto, Tatsufumi Yamagata ‘Aid for Trade and Value Chains in Apparel Chains in Textiles and Apparel (Institute of Developing Economics Japan External Trade Organization, World Trade Organization, Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, July 2013) [http://www.oecd.org/dac/aft/AidforTrade\\_SectorStudy\\_Textiles.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/dac/aft/AidforTrade_SectorStudy_Textiles.pdf) (Accessed on February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

<sup>27</sup> Making Progress Against Child Labor: Global Estimate Trends 2000-2012. (ILO: 2013) [http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed\\_norm/---ipec/documents/publication/wcms\\_221513.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---ipec/documents/publication/wcms_221513.pdf) (Accessed on February 7th, 2016)

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.stopthetraffic.org/campaign/fashion> (Accessed on January 20th, 2016)

<sup>29</sup> Kara, S. *Supply and Demand: Human Trafficking in the Global Economy* (Harvard International Review: Summer 2011) [http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic1498717.files/Supply\\_and\\_Demand.pdf](http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic1498717.files/Supply_and_Demand.pdf) (Accessed February 9th, 2016)

With this demand for low cost production, the workers experience severe exploitation, not only in the bigger workshops but also in smaller workshops where the workers create the yarn and fabrics. Children of young age work in the high tech spinning mills and in the power and hand loom industry. In garment factories, children perform tasks such as dyeing, sewing buttons, cutting and trimming threads, folding, moving and packing garments. In small workshops and home sites, children are put to work on intricate tasks such as embroidering, sequining and smocking (making pleats).<sup>30</sup> Children are also being put to work in sectors related to the textile and garment industry, including leather and shoes. There are several countries that are particularly known for child labour in the textile and garment industry – including India, Uzbekistan, China, Bangladesh, Egypt, Thailand and Pakistan.<sup>31</sup>

This means that the price tag on the clothing bought today often does not accurately represent the true cost of the product. It does not cover the social and environmental costs that are made in order to produce the item. When one buys a t-shirt for €5,- a question mark can be raised. We are wearing, in our eyes, a legitimate product but it is made in an illegitimate process. This is just one of the many examples of how products people use in daily life seem perfectly legitimate because they are sold in “known”, respectable shops. But is the low unit cost truly justifiable when the high human costs are considered?

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<sup>30</sup> United States Department of Labor, ‘Child Labor in the Apparel Sector’, no date <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/media/reports/iclp/apparel/1c.htm> (Accessed on February 17<sup>th</sup>,2016).

<sup>31</sup> SOMO Centre for Research on Multinational Cooperations. *Factsheet Child Labor in the Textile and Garment Industry: Focus on the role of buying companies*. March 2014. [http://www.somo.nl/publications-en/Publication\\_4\\_058](http://www.somo.nl/publications-en/Publication_4_058) (Accessed on February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

## 5. Example of a process

Applying the value chain approach raises new possibilities for understanding how the overall business works – from trafficked or exploited laborer (where that is the case) to European customer. H&M provides useful insights for this analysis, by providing their own policy and approach to avoiding improper practices in their supply chain, as reported on their website.<sup>32</sup> (Note: H&M only addresses a segment of the supply chain, not the overall value chain, which will be considered below.)

For a successful business, the supply chain always starts with the customer. H&M starts by identifying customer demand for white t-shirts. After designing the shirts, H&M's merchandiser will give out an order to a workshop, for example, in Bangladesh. Independent first-tier suppliers produce the shirts at intensive, high-production factories employing large numbers of workers. They obtain their supply inputs (yarn, fabrics, buttons, etc.) from other independent, second-tier suppliers that have no direct contact with H&M but only with the first-tier supplier.

H&M is concerned with supply chain integrity and seeks to ensure proper environmental and labor standards through its "Full Audit Process." Among other factors, the audit process seeks to ensure the following:

- Absence of forced labor
- No child labor
- Freedom of association
- Minimum wages
- Fundamental safety provisions
- Full transparency
- Access by auditors to all relevant factory areas.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> <http://about.hm.com/en/About/sustainability/hm-conscious/conscious.html> (Accessed on February 9th, 2016)

<sup>33</sup> <http://sustainability.hm.com/en/sustainability/commitments/choose-and-reward-responsible-partners/beyond-monitoring/monitoring-grading.html> (Accessed on February 12th, 2016)

Through this process, H&M seeks to ensure compliance with international and national laws<sup>34</sup>, as well as its own code of conduct. Their process extends to their first-tier suppliers, ensuring that they do not contribute to abuses at that level.

This policy enables H&M, as global retailer, to enforce the values of European customers in countries half-way around the world, promoting the welfare of workers in developing countries. Such codes of conduct are increasing in global business as consumers demand better treatment for the workers at the end of the supply chain. But do they go far enough?

While laudable, the process leaves open a number of questions. The H&M audit extends only to the first-tier suppliers. Second-tier suppliers may evade these standards through a system of independent ownership and decentralized supply that leave the first-tier supplier in a position of plausible deniability for abuses, even while benefitting financially from abuses committed further down the supply chain. Even if the first-tier suppliers enforce these standards down the supply chain through the second and third tiers, what about conditions in the wider value chain? Transport is often replete with abuses, so that the conditions of shipping to the H&M stores may involve inappropriate human suffering.<sup>35</sup> Can H&M afford to police every step along the way? How far does their responsibility extend? And if a few companies like H&M absorb these costs, can they compete with those companies that have fewer concerns about how their products are produced?

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<sup>34</sup> <http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:12000:0::NO::> and the four human rights treaties with importance for workers' rights: ICCPR (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights), ICESCR (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights), CRC (Convention on the Rights of the Child), CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination Against Women) <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/UniversalHumanRightsInstruments.aspx>

<sup>35</sup> For insights into how the world can so cheaply transport goods across vast expanses of ocean – and the impact on the treatment of merchant sailors – see Rose George, *90% of Everything: Inside Shipping, the Invisible Industry that Puts Clothes on Your Back, Gas in Your Car, and Food on Your Plate* (Picador 2014) (<http://rosegeorge.com/site/books/ninety-percent-of-everything>).

## 6. Using the Value Chain Lens to Improve the Plight of Workers

Multinational retailers have a tremendous role to play in reducing human rights violations. Whether they have audit policies like H&M, have signed on to UN Global Compact for Women's Empowerment Principles,<sup>36</sup> or have adopted other procedures to comply with International Labor Conventions, their buying power – and willingness to cut off suppliers who violate rights – can change the market.

Unfortunately, even the best intentions of the retailers are not sufficient to end all abuses in this highly decentralized, global value chain. Governments have primary responsibility for enforcing the protections and guarantees of workers. NGOs are needed to identify and disseminate information about abuses so that governments and retailers can act. Banks can characterize rights violations as lending risks and insist on compliance before providing finance to the various actors in the chain. Consumers can boycott products known to be made under abusive worker conditions. Individuals and companies can divest shares of stock in companies that do not comply with international guidelines.

If the risk of violations can be increased, then the business case for compliance suddenly becomes compelling – jail time, fines or company closure are far more painful than a lower profit margin from the added costs of treating workers fairly. Non-compliance can also damage a company's reputation, inspiring boycotts or changing consumer allegiances. Yet clever public relations strategies can take the focus off one abuse by pointing to other places where a company is doing well, such as positive environmental practices. Customers can have a short memory: too short for human rights advocates to rely on reputational damage as sufficient incentive for better corporate behavior.

Not all of the options for reform are immediately obvious. Recall that the competition for low prices for consumers is part of the problem. To achieve those low prices, companies try to cut costs, and worker salaries, protections and benefits come under pressure. As a general rule, companies working in developing countries have unnecessary costs due to inappropriate

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<sup>36</sup> UN Global Womans Empowerment Principals. <http://www.weprinciples.org/Site/> (Accessed on February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

business regulations. The World Bank's *Doing Business* project<sup>37</sup> has shed light on the high costs of getting goods out of a poorly regulated economy to the world market. Several studies have shown that shipping delays – due to poor customs administration, poor export infrastructure, and poor transport systems – can have the impact of doubling the shipping costs that a country like Norway might incur.<sup>38</sup> The money wasted on bribes and delays could be used to pay workers, without even raising the price of the product. Perhaps its time for labor and management to join arms in advocating reduced regulatory waste in favor of better wages and conditions.

The value chain analysis provides a more comprehensive approach to the problem of labor exploitation. Building beyond the more narrow focus of a supply chain, it is possible to imagine a system in which all of the following are in place:

- **Consumers**
  - Elevated consumer awareness of the treatment of workers along the value chain leading to
    - Reluctance to purchase abuse-infused products
    - Willingness to pay more for fair treatment
    - Positive interaction with retailers to clarify demand for fair-treatment goods, not just any goods
  - Regular reporting by media and NGOs on labor conditions – both good and bad – so that consumers can make an intelligent choice
  - Public information on humane treatment of workers linked to publicly traded companies, so that shareholders can increase or decrease investments
  
- **Retailers**
  - Strict and credible guidelines in place for humane sourcing
  - Investment in compliance monitoring beyond the first tier of providers
  - Credible certification systems for products, ensuring rights are honored along the *entire* supply chain
  - Willingness to cut off non-compliant suppliers

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<sup>37</sup> World Bank Group. [www.doingbusiness.org](http://www.doingbusiness.org) (Accessed on February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

<sup>38</sup> See Simeon Djankov, Caroline Freund and Cong S. Pham, *Trading on Time*, World Bank (<http://www.wepinciples.org/Site/>); David Hummels, *Calculating Tariff Equivalents for Time in Trade*, USAID (March 2007) ([http://www.krannert.purdue.edu/faculty/hummelsd/research/tariff\\_equivalents.pdf](http://www.krannert.purdue.edu/faculty/hummelsd/research/tariff_equivalents.pdf))

- Willingness, when appropriate, to report non-compliant suppliers to local authorities
- **Exporters and Shippers**
  - Preferential treatment for shipment of containers from suppliers who have been certified for human rights compliance
  - Humane conditions for their own employees as a precondition to access to ports or contracts with importing nations
  - Productive relations with customs authorities to expedite shipments of fair-treatment goods
- **Financiers**
  - Risk audits of borrowers that include factory conditions (such as compliance with building codes) and compliance with ILO conventions on workers rights
  - Improved terms for certified, low-risk borrowers; less favorable terms for borrowers that do not certify fair treatment
- **Professional Services**
  - Law and accounting firms offering human rights compliance services to assist businesses with compliance, to reduce the risk of legal sanctions and improve worker welfare
  - Private labor inspection services that credibly certify worker treatment for compliance with standards of international retailers
- **Business Environment in Exporting Countries**
  - Business-friendly and worker-friendly regulations that promote wage competition and reduce economic waste
  - Competent, responsive government authorities capable of verifying conditions and providing sanctions for violations, while resisting and reporting bribery as a means of avoiding sanctions
  - Effective court systems that efficiently adjudicate and enforce rights, and apply sanctions against violators
  - Laws reducing cartels and monopolies and promoting merit-based competition, to lower the costs of multiple services needed to create and bring goods to market
- **Input Suppliers**
  - Clear standards for permissible and impermissible treatment of workers
  - Clear sanctions in place and enforced for violating standards

- **Workers**
  - Awareness of their rights<sup>39</sup>
  - Safe systems for reporting abuses without fear of retaliation
  - The ability to sue for damages against all of those profiting from their abuse, including upper links in the supply chain
  
- **Enforcement by Importing Countries**
  - Laws permitting the award of damages to trafficked or abused workers from companies profiting from the products the workers produced, when the companies could have reasonably known of the abuses
  - Civil and criminal sanctions for suppliers and retailers trading in goods not certified for fair treatment, especially if originating from countries known to overlook trafficking and abuse
  - Reliable government mechanisms to investigate and sanction violations of worker rights

This sampling is in no way complete, but it does suggest that retailers alone, governments alone, or consumers alone cannot bring about the changes needed. Each link in the value chain suggests possibilities for coordinated work.

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<sup>39</sup> Workers' rights include, among others, those established by treaties such as

- ICCPR (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights)
- ICESCR (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights)
- CRC (Convention on the Rights of the Child)
- CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination Against Women)

## 7. The Trafficker Next Door

We tend to assume that trafficking and exploitation take place in distant lands, far from our own neighborhood. The *Lime* case tells us otherwise – instead of importing products made with trafficked labor, those running the Lime stores stand accused of importing trafficked labor to provide legitimate products and services within Norway.

The Hussain family who owns the grocery chain « Lime », is accused of illegally bringing people from Pakistan and Nepal to Norway and forcing them to work in their grocery stores. The police raided 29 stores in August 2014, including stores in Oslo, Rælingen, Bærum, Asker, Sandefjord, Larvik and Ski. In this particular case there are 13 people involved and being accused of various crimes. In addition to trafficking, the defendants have been indicted for violations of labor, insurance, tax, counterfeiting and other laws.

In a very short time the Lime chain has grown to be a known grocery chains in Oslo and its surroundings. The two Hussein brothers, who started the business, are assumed to be the main people behind the network, being accused of human trafficking (grov menneskehandel) and tax evasion (skatteunndragelse). Police investigation suggests that the uncle of the two has been recruiting people from Pakistan and Nepal to work for the Lime stores. According to *Aftenposten's* information (newspaper Norway), the Hussein family apparently pays for these « services » by transferring large amounts of money to Pakistan.

Criminal accusations suggest that the alleged trafficking business is a family business. The owners' sister is also accused of human trafficking (grov menneskehandel), along with a father-in-law and ex-girlfriend. The wife of one of the brothers stands accused of contributing to trafficking. Their father and the mother are being accused of handling stolen goods (heleri) and forced labor (tvangarbeid). Beyond the family, the criminal accusations extend to a psychiatrist who functioned as an adviser for the family, a lawyer (who specializes in labor and immigration law) and a bingo-millionaire who is charged with knowingly contributing to this criminal enterprise by providing business premises for the Hussein

brothers. Then there are the store manager and a taxi driver who are suspected of being part of these crimes.<sup>40</sup>

The 13 defendants are being prosecuted, as noted, for a variety of crimes related to human trafficking (menneskehandel). The case is now in court, having started the 19th of January 2016 and is one of the biggest Human Trafficking cases Norway has ever had. It is expected to conclude by the 1st of July 2016.

The value chain approach, in this instance, provides a focus on a different import : laborers, not products. Assuming the accusations to be true, Lime has a chain of supply to obtain and import workers for illicit work (including the uncle). For the value chain to work, there must be a network or system for recruiting (obtaining « inputs », that is, the workers), value addition (legal or falsified documents – possibly assistance from the accused lawyer), transportation (to Norway, through how many other countries ?), aggregation (finding a place to « store » the workers – that is, housing and living arrangements in transit), and utilization (placing them at Lime stores, but also transporting them (the taxi driver) to and from their living quarters). These links are supported through financial services (formal or informal – remittances to Pakistan), immigration and documentation services (legal or illegal), housing providers, business premises providers (the bingo-millionaire), accountants, lawyers, possibly health-care providers (the psychiatrist ?) and others who knew, should have known, or could have known that something was amiss.

What are the liabilities for each of these actors ? At what point does an activity (buying an airline ticket) become part of an *illegal* chain of activities to which liability should attach. Who has a duty to verify legitimacy of the transactions ?

Many of these questions are difficult to answer. Clearly, the simple purchase of an airline ticket should not require the airline to become an investigative authority just because criminals might use legitimate services for illegitimate means. Yet some forms of purchases may produce data patterns – can these be mined (with due respect for privacy laws) to identify troublesome trends ?

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<sup>40</sup> <http://www.aftenposten.no/okonomi/Politiet-vil-tiltale-13-for-menneskehandel-i-Lime-saken-8173872.html> (Accessed on the 18th of March, 2016)

This case is supported by joint efforts of criminal investigators focused on trafficking together with tax investigators, who have been able to assemble evidence based on the company's books and records. At the prosecution stage, such collaboration is invaluable. But what about elsewhere ? Are there other places for collaboration ? Are there immigration patterns that might raise alarms that can then be investigated or confirmed by others ?

It is worth noting that this is a local, Norwegian case. However, the illegal recruitment of these laborers took place in Pakistan. Norway and Pakistan do not have an agreement of cooperation in prosecuting human trafficking, which limits the ability to obtain evidence and to help Pakistan with investigations there. Even worse, Pakistan has not ratified the Palermo protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. This suggests an opportunity for consumer pressure regarding products from Pakistan.

## 8. Beyond Legislative Solutions

Much of the discussion thus far has focused on extending criminal and legal liability of participants in a value chain for trafficking and exploitation of labor. To the extent this increases risk of jail or financial penalties, legislative expansion can reduce profitability of exploitative enterprises. But law alone is not the only answer.

Using a value-chain perspective, it is possible to expand the enforcement system beyond police and prosecutors. In many instances, there are unusual patterns of behavior that should put third-parties on notice that something is not quite right. Exploited people are not invisible.

For example, in the *Lime* case, the workers were housed, transported, fed, and possibly received medical assistance. To the extent there was something out of the ordinary, the landlord, bus driver, or service providers to the workers and the business might see something that could be reported.

Such expanded reporting requires expanded awareness, and a simple and safe way to report. Awareness requires public service campaigns, but can also be promoted by NGOs that care about these issues. If the government can coordinate reporting through a simple hotline, rather than make citizens choose among confusing options, this can increase reporting. For example, the Blue Campaign<sup>41</sup> in the United States uses a victim-centered approach to create awareness, provide resources, and encourage reporting to a single phone number. (The Department of Homeland Security handles the hotline, and handles analysis of which agency needs to be involved in the case.) Even better, an organization such as Airline Ambassadors (an NGO)<sup>42</sup> can work with airlines (private sector), airports (public and private sector) and transportation, civil society and tourism (all sectors) to provide anti-trafficking training and the refer participants back to the Blue Campaign (public sector) to promote prosecution.

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<sup>41</sup> <https://www.dhs.gov/blue-campaign> (Accessed March 9th, 2016)

<sup>42</sup> <http://airlineamb.org/our-programs/human-trafficking-awareness/> (Accessed March 9th, 2016)

## 9. Conclusion

Economic theory teaches that demand for products falls as price goes up. If consumers – provoked in part by promises of fast, cheap luxury – demand lower prices, then suppliers must cut costs to satisfy demand. As discussed, those costs are often lowered at the expense of workers’ safety and salaries.

Unfortunately, if consumers demand fewer products, then fewer workers are needed. A movement that increases the employer’s costs of production can increase prices, reducing demand, and leading to workers being laid off. Instead of better jobs, it is completely foreseeable that a poorly configured program could produce fewer jobs.

But that’s not the whole story.

Consumers have been shown to pay higher prices for higher quality. What if the lives of the workers who produce fast fashion were considered part of the quality equation? Would consumers be willing to pay more? Even a small increase in final cost could be passed along as a significant increase in wages, at least theoretically.

The value chain perspective makes it clear that large retailers can lead a movement for eliminating trafficking and abuse, but they cannot bear the full burden of building a better world. This is a team effort, and the team must be expanded – with government, civil society, a full range of private sector providers, and even consumers. Indeed, customers play a vital role, for if they are willing to purchase goods produced through trafficked or exploited labor, they are tacitly consenting to exploitation and paying for it.

The value-chain approach uses a business perspective. While this is useful for identifying new avenues to address the problem, it is important to remember that the problem itself is not simply a business issue. The mistreatment of fellow humans, whether near or afar, is a fundamental moral and human rights issue.

Customers need to demand<sup>43</sup> a fair process from their clothing brands. They can do this by partnering with NGO's<sup>44</sup> or simply call or write to their brand asking for transparent information on the supply and value chains engaged by their company. As a customer it is important to realize you have a choice and that you should choose well. Why not support a fair-treatment clothing brand?

Advocates can promote reforms in laws of torts (common law) and obligations (civil law) to expand responsibility for doing business with non-compliant suppliers, even if the supplier is independent and foreign. If the retailer is responsible, then the retailer will enforce compliance down the line.

Governments can reform their regulatory systems to promote less burdensome economic regulation while increasing effective safety and welfare regulation. This reduces costs and risks to legitimate businesses so that they can compete more effectively to satisfy a demanding market. Governments can also ensure enforcement of laws to drive unscrupulous suppliers into compliance or collapse. Criminal laws are worthless if they are not rigorously implemented.

The value chain perspective promotes partnership among the many players to achieve lasting change. It is time that we joined together to put this nasty business out of business.

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<sup>43</sup> <http://sweatshop.no> (Accessed February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

<sup>44</sup> <https://madeinafreeworld.com> (Accessed February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2016)

## 10. Recommendations for Norway

Norway has taken important steps to criminalize trafficking and enforce anti-trafficking conventions. This includes significant financial and prison sentences for those convicted of offenses. For those who are trafficked into Norway, there are also protections for those who come forward as witnesses, as well as various possibilities for asylum.

But is it enough? Regarding protection of trafficked individuals, these protections are only valuable in the fight against exploitation if the victims know that they have rights and have a safe means of pursuing those rights. Without knowledge and enforcement, these legal rights are no more than wishful thinking. What can be done to target the communities most likely to suffer from exploitation to inform them of their rights? Information must be disseminated effectively to have an impact. A value chain approach can be used to identify the links in the domestic chain and providing information there.

Attacking the problem at the foreign source is more problematic due to limitations of sovereignty. One approach is to ensure that Norway integrates some sort of anti-trafficking agreement into its foreign trade and treaty agreements, especially on a bilateral basis with countries most known for labor exploitation. This can provide policy leverage in government-to-government negotiations, as well as the possibility of banning the import of goods made with exploited labor.

Criminal laws may allow domestic prosecution of domestic enterprises that knowingly benefit from trafficked laborers, but do not necessarily reach all the way back to the source country. However, some countries (such as the United States) permit victims of foreign exploitation to sue exploiters for damages domestically when there is a reasonable connection – including a supply contract to produce for the domestic market. Of course, exploited laborers do not have the resources to sue locally, much less to fly to Norway and bring suit, so that these rights may be rather hollow in practice.

It is clear that a great deal of collaboration is needed. Private companies have strong incentives – both moral and financial – to reduce the use of trafficked and exploited labor in their supply chains. Perhaps these could be enhanced with tax incentives, allowing for tax

credits or deductions for extra efforts needed to keep the chain clean, or to promote public awareness or take other preventative measures.

The state has tremendous convening power to bring together interested participants from the entire value chain, including local, international, and foreign agencies, NGOs and companies to plot a comprehensive approach that goes beyond the occasional arrest and prosecution to a deeper impact on the business of trafficking.

### 10.1. Norway and it's responsibility abroad

Norway's government is responsible for the welfare of the people within its borders. This includes oversight of commercial activity and its impact on residents. Yet responsibility for the greater business system falls outside much of the purview of government. It is therefore the businesses' own responsibility to clean up their value chain. They have the capacity to decide how, where, and with whom they do business. They decide how to handle the most vulnerable in this race to the bottom. Working together, government and business can create more effective systems for cleaning up the value chains that serve the consumers of Norway.

According to legal scholar Ola Johan Settum, there is no general requirement in Norwegian law, but companies that operate abroad must not participate in violations of human rights. It is a criminal offense for a company (or an individual) to contribute to human trafficking<sup>45</sup> in the penal code. This applies, with respect to a Norwegian company, irrespective of whether the offense took place in Norway or abroad.<sup>46</sup>

- Research the international relations between Norway and concerning countries, identifying barriers in the current systems applying to human trafficking.
- Collaborate on a plan concerning both countries in how to prosecute and enforce the law, taking into account the Palermo protocol (2000) and other human right treaties, protocols and laws.

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<sup>45</sup> Norwegian Penal Code § 257.

<sup>46</sup> Norwegian Penal Code § 5.

- Research the laws against human trafficking in Norway and how these effect business and the violation of human rights abroad.

Business can promote human dignity and avoid criminal liability by making some positive changes:

- Commit internally to utilizing only clean value chains
- Exhibit external transparency to the public to ensure accountability through a transparency law.
- Work together with authorities, human rights groups, and customers to address the vulnerabilities for those laboring in value chains at the base of the human pyramid.

Government, as noted, has a tremendous role to play. Existing criminal enforcement and even « name and shame » campaigns have not been sufficient. Greater creativity and partnership is needed.

- Research who plays a role in the value chain of human trafficking in Norway and define roles in the combat against trafficking; taxi driver associations, business premises owners, health care, the police, skattemyndigheter, UDI, non governmental organizations, etc.
- A written action plan that defines the roles within the value-chain and describes a strategic plan and framework on working together. A plan the yearly *handlingsplan* can be measured by.
- Create a separate Task Force that is fully dedicated to connecting all players in the value chain and coordinate their combined efforts.

Awareness is critical, and Norway is fortunate to have committed NGO's like A21,<sup>47</sup> Hope for Justice,<sup>48</sup> For Freedom,<sup>49</sup> and Freethem Norge<sup>50</sup> that train students, police departments

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<sup>47</sup> [www.a21.org](http://www.a21.org)

<sup>48</sup> [www.hopeforjustice.org/norway/](http://www.hopeforjustice.org/norway/)

<sup>49</sup> <http://forfreedom.no>

<sup>50</sup> <http://www.freethem.no>

and businesses and are raising awareness among the general public. Also Framtid i våre hender<sup>51</sup> and Initiativ for etisk handel<sup>52</sup> are two organizations committed to bring change in these areas.

It is clear that providing dignity and livable wages to those who supply the products of Norwegian consumers requires a team effort. This could include a government-sponsored multi-sector task force that connects investigators with consumers, businesses with human rights activists, public awareness specialists with researchers, local purchasing agents with foreign prosecutors, or – more simply – all of the players in the ecosystem. Whatever form the efforts take, it would be useful to define roles and relationships and identify resources for the fight.

This paper does not pretend to cover the issues exhaustively. Rather, the intent is to propose a new lens for viewing the problem, in hopes of expanding the range of possible solutions. Piecemeal efforts have not stemmed the flow of misery attached to international trade or international migration, which means a new approach is needed.

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<sup>51</sup> <http://www.framtiden.no>

<sup>52</sup> <http://www.etiskhandel.no>