Promises and Pitfalls:
Civil Society's Imperfect Efforts to Address Trafficking and Displacement

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Abstract

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Civil society plays a vital role in providing services and advocating for vulnerable populations. This dissertation includes three papers that examine how civil society actors aim to fill in the gaps left by governmental and market failure to address social issues. These studies address human trafficking and environmental migration, complex human rights issues that suffer from a lack of precise definitions and entail providing services for displaced individuals. The findings highlight ways potential donors, NGOs, and labor unions offer promising avenues for combatting these issues. However, the results also illustrate different types of failures within civil society, highlighting areas for improvement in how these actors should better serve marginalized people.

Following an introduction, the first paper examines dominant narratives of human trafficking in the United States. Sensational stories of human trafficking perpetuate a narrative that often misrepresents the true nature of the problem. These stories typically depict a young girl or woman who is sex trafficked and overshadow other cases, such as the labor trafficking of boys and men. The widespread dissemination of these stories from the media, news, and political discourse shapes the public's understanding of what it looks like. Do these stories also affect who donors perceive as most deserving of their aid? This is an important question because civil society is

essential to anti-trafficking efforts in the United States. Furthermore, civil society plays a critical role in anti-trafficking policymaking. Thus, it's necessary to understand if donor preferences align with these dominant narratives.

I conduct a nationally representative survey experiment of potential U.S. donors to examine this. I ask individuals to choose between two fictitious charities to donate to, each serving a different type of trafficking survivor. I theorize that donors will be most likely to support legal services for young girls who are sex trafficked and are non-U.S. citizens. I find support for three out of five of my hypotheses. Overall, donors are most likely to support housing services for young girls who have been sex trafficked and are U.S. citizens.

The second paper takes a closer look at labor trafficking in the United States. Labor trafficking remains a concealed and pervasive issue in the United States, overshadowed by the more recognized problem of sex trafficking. A recent analysis revealed that 80% of labor trafficking victims were migrant workers, underscoring the urgent need for attention. Employers often do not face pushback from migrant workers due to issues such as their fear of deportation, visa revocation, language barriers, and lack of community support. Thus, community activists and civil society play an important role in advocating for this population.

In response to the prevailing human rights and carceral frameworks to address human trafficking, the paper advocates for a labor rights approach, positioning labor unions as central protectors of workers. I argue that labor protections warrant a collective voice because individual workers, especially migrants, lack the structural power to confront employers. Through a qualitative analysis of 100 U.S. labor union websites, this study explores whether and how these unions address labor trafficking and provide specific migrant protections. I find that unions in sectors with high immigrant salience, such as agriculture, construction, and hospitality, are more

likely to include online programming and information directed to migrant members and to protect members from labor exploitation.

The third paper turns to environmental migration to assess how migration and refugee organizations in the United States engage with this issue. Climate change is causing widespread environmental degradation and increased frequency and severity of natural disasters, leading to displacement and migration. However, limitations in international refugee law and growing xenophobia decrease the likelihood of sufficient state action in providing environmental migrants with essential services necessary for everyday living. In response to government failure, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) will likely emerge as crucial actors in providing services for and advocating on behalf of environmental migrants. What factors are associated with migration and refugee organizations expanding their work to invest in the link between climate change and migration? This question will only become more significant as climate change worsens.

Using data from organization websites and public tax forms, I analyze this question by creating an original dataset of 110 migration and refugee organizations in the United States. This study focuses on organizations that serve cross-border environmental migrants rather than internally displaced persons. I further analyze the driving mechanisms by conducting four in-depth interviews - two with organizations that do indicate investing in environmental migration on their website and two with organizations that do not. My findings support a supply-side theory that suggests that more revenue significantly influences whether an organization actively invests in programs and advocacy focused on environmental migration. I theorize that organizations with more significant financial capacity can go beyond low-cost virtue signaling about their commitment to environmental justice and instead invest resources in this issue. On the contrary, I

do not find support for the demand-side theory, where I posited that organizations working in countries more vulnerable to climate change are more likely to invest in environmental migration.

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Dedication

To Grandpa Roy and Rachel Brown, who inspired me to be the person I am today.
I am eternally grateful.

Introduction

State and market failure to provide adequate resources and support for vulnerable populations often necessitates intervention by civil society actors. Civil society, also known as the third sector, is typically defined by what it is not - the governmental sector or the private sector (Dolšak & Prakash, 2022; Etzioni, 1973; Corry, 2010; Kingma, 1997). Anheier (2004) defines civil society as "the sphere of institutions, organizations, and individuals located between the family, the state, and the market in which people associate voluntarily to advance common interests" (p. 22). This dissertation focuses on three important aspects of civil society: individual philanthropic donors, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and labor unions. Weisbrod (1988) suggests that NGOs emerge to satisfy a demand for goods and services unfilled by the government. The government cannot meet the needs of all citizens because the government serves the median voter in a population with heterogeneous preferences. Wolf (1979) argues that governments may fail to provide appropriate provisions because of a lack of information about the problem, inadequate policy instruments to correct the problem, and bureaucratic incompetence. While scholars argue that the government will correct market failures through regulation (Majone, 1999), governments often fail to correct these failures through "sins of omission and commission" (Dolšak & Prakash, 2022, p. 664). Markets also fail because of asymmetries between the buyer and the seller (Dolšak & Prakash, 2022). These failures can motivate voluntary efforts to provide public services, especially when these failures affect underprivileged populations (Salamon, 1987). Civil society in general, but labor unions in particular, may be a promising source of market correction (Levine, 2001). Overall, nonstate actors aim to correct the "twin failure" of markets and governments (Weisbrod, 1988; Dolšak & Prakash, 2022).

Due to the theory that civil society actors aim to correct governmental and market failures, much of the literature on it, particularly on NGOs, assumes moral, non-instrumental intentions (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Handy & Katz, 1998; Hannsman, 1980). I aim to push back on the literature that fails to consider how preferences and resource constraints limit the contributions of civil society. Prakash and Gugerty (2010) offer a valuable framework for this discussion by suggesting that advocacy NGOs and firms face similar limitations, such as resource constraints and collective action problems. Dolšak and Prakash (2022) argue that NGO failure is a continuum, not binary and that organizations can fail at different levels. They categorize NGO failures into four categories: agency failure, NGOization failure, representation failure, and cooperation failure. For this project, I conceptualize trade unions similarly to NGOs. Though trade unions are organized differently, trade unions are also nonstate actors that face constraints like those faced by NGOs. For example, the government classifies NGOs and unions as nonprofits and, thus, they cannot distribute profits (labor unions are tax-exempt under U.S. tax code 501(c)(5)). This dissertation analyzes on how resource constraints and internal preferences influence civil society outcomes for marginalized groups. Due to the blurring between for-profit and nonprofit organizations, some scholars suggest that these lines are becoming increasingly unclear (DiMaggio & Anheier, 1990; Bromley & Meyer, 2014) and even inconsequential (Young et al., 2012; Kramer, 2000). While the similarities in the constraints that firms and NGOs face are undeniably helpful for analysis, I argue that the third sector is still important to distinguish for legal, practical, and material reasons (Child et al., 2016).

What happens when states fail to provide sufficient support, legally and financially, to marginalized populations? This dissertation focuses on how civil society steps into these gaps for two important human rights issues: human trafficking and migration due to climate change

(environmental migration). Both problems are complex and are deeply pervasive human rights issues. Despite numbers perpetuated by international organizations, domestic governments, and anti-trafficking organizations, precise numbers of trafficking victims are hard to justify. Nevertheless, "there are compelling indications that trafficking in persons is increasing, becoming more organized and more profitable, and steadily being integrated into the fabric of the new global economy" (Gallagher & Holmes, 2008, p. 319). Similarly, environmental migration will be an issue of growing concern as climate change exacerbates extreme weather events and environmental degradation (Oliver-Smith, 2009; Eckersley, 2015). While my findings reveal that civil society is important in addressing these human rights issues, individual preferences and institutional constraints limit its impact.

While seemingly separate social issues, human trafficking, and environmental migration share some commonalities which limit public and private sector effectiveness in addressing them. First, both suffer from definitional and conceptual misunderstandings and disagreements, which impede state efforts and services. Human trafficking suffers from a lack of agreement on the "correct" way to conceptualize the issue. The U.S.'s 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) and its subsequent reauthorizations outline the legal definition of human trafficking as:

> a) Sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or
> b) 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 (TVPA, 2000).

While this statute uses gender-neutral language, includes nonsexual exploitation, and does not require that trafficking involves someone crossing a border, the crime of human trafficking evolved from a crime that focused on the cross-border sexual exploitation of white women. It was first conceptualized as "white slavery" in the 1904 International Agreement for the Suppression of

White Slave Traffic. This agreement focused on the cross-border movement of white women and girls by force. After a few decades of human trafficking infused with gendered language, the 1949 International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others changed this norm using gender-neutral language and removed the transnational element. Then, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women again reaffirmed the link between trafficking and women (Bonilla & Mo, 2019). While current international and domestic law on human trafficking emphasizes that it can happen to anyone, even the current U.N. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children highlights women in its title (U.N., 2000). It wasn't until the Obama administration that the Trafficking in Persons Office made a notable effort to highlight labor trafficking as a visible and pervasive issue (Chuang, 2014). The legacy of these changing definitions is evident in that state actors often approach the problem with differing definitions and priorities, which can undermine anti-trafficking efforts because of misaligned or contradictory responses (Gallagher & Holmes, 2008).

Additionally, there is no consensus on the definition of environmental migration, also known as climate-induced displacement (Bronen, 2013) or climate migration (McLeman, 2018), or the appropriate international framework to define it. The International Organization for Migration defines environmental migrants as:

> Persons or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive change in the environment that adversely affects their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad (IOM, 2007, p 33).

One of the primary debates about environmental migrants is whether they should be conceptualized similarly to refugees (Ide, 2017; Abrahams, 2020). Some scholars argue that working within the framework of refugees as established by international law is essential

(Biermann & Boas, 2010). Betts (2010) argues for reforming existing refugee protections and creating a category of survival migrants, defined as those who move outside their country of origin for threats to which no domestic remedy exists. In contrast, others call for a new framework altogether. For example, McAdam (2011) argues against prioritizing a new international instrument for environmental migrants because "attention may shift from the more immediate, alternative and additional responses that may enable people to remain in their homes for as long as possible (which is the predominant wish among affected communities) or to move safely within their own countries" (p. 5). While some scholars advocate for the use of the term "climate refugee" (Berchin et al., 2017; Biermann & Boas, 2010), others actively argue against it. For example, Bettini (2012) warns against using apocalyptic narratives to describe environmental migration because it could be counterproductive to serving these migrants by de-politicizing the issue and by stoking xenophobic fears. Similarly, Farbotko and Lazrus (2012) push back against climate refugee discourse because people affected by climate change in the Pacific Island of Tuvalu do not support the term refugee. By foregrounding the perspectives of citizens of Tuvalu, they argue that a refugee framework is not a helpful or sufficient focus for addressing environmental migration.

Second, both issues imply human displacement. This is true even though the crime of human trafficking does not require movement (Richmond, 2015). While the definition includes transportation as one of the methods of trafficking, an individual can experience trafficking in the town they live in without any transport. In addition to the term "trafficking," which many understand to mean movement, many people also conflate human trafficking and human smuggling. In contrast to human trafficking, human smuggling is when an individual pays for services (like transportation or documents) to cross into another country illegally (Goehrung & Castellano, 2023). A public opinion survey conducted by Bonilla and Mo (2019) found that an

average citizen equates human trafficking with the smuggling of women for sex trafficking. Thus, even though the legal definition of human trafficking does not require displacement to occur, the general public assumes movement is part of the crime. Because individual donors are essential to anti-trafficking civil society efforts and because the mainstream understanding of human trafficking includes the movement of trafficked persons, it is appropriate to highlight this commonality in the conceptualization of environmental migration and human trafficking. Furthermore, this dissertation is mainly concerned with the disproportionate amount of attention on the sex trafficking of women, superseding concerns with labor trafficking, often of undocumented migrant workers. Not only do these migrants lack proper authorization in the U.S., which impedes the recognition of their rights as citizens, but it also positions them in an adversarial relationship with U.S. law enforcement (Brennan, 2008; Sampaio, 2015).

Environmental migration produces cross-border migrants, often deemed economic migrants looking for work (Hulme, 2008). States will face increased pressure to accommodate these migrants. However, most do not fall under the international refugee framework because the international refugee treaty encompasses individuals who fear persecution due to their race, religion, nationality, or political opinion. Thus, states do not have legal obligations to accommodate environmental migrants (Ide, 2017; Abrahams, 2020). Beyond legal obligations related to international refugee law, states are generally interested in enforcing the law against those who violate it. From this perspective, states control those who enter its borders (Carens, 2008). This sometimes comes at the cost of protecting migrants and ensuring their access to basic services because of growing xenophobia and because "governments seem to lack the capacities or the willingness to handle the multifaceted challenges caused by great numbers of incoming migrants" (Garkisch et al., 2017, pg. 1841). This is particularly true in the U.S., where scholars

document the convergence of immigration law and law enforcement, coined "crimmigration." This results in dangerous consequences for migrants deciding whether to get involved with the state (Rosenbloom, 2018; Macías-Rojas, 2016). Civil society actors often support migrants by delivering services and providing social, political, and legal advocacy (Garkisch et al., 2017). Sharry (2000) documents the growing importance of NGOs in migration work. Even in 2000, migration NGOs were what he calls a "formidable force" (Sharry, 2000, p. 122), as they are regularly included in policy deliberations and relied upon by newly arrived migrants. Furthermore, Sorrell-Medina (2023) added to the literature on why NGOs emerge with her citizenry exclusion theory, in which she argues that migrant NGOs emerge because, in an age of growing anti-immigrant legislation and xenophobia, NGOs must emerge to preserve the legal, civil, political, and social rights of migrants.

Overall, a lack of definitional clarity and complexities around providing services to migrants impedes the ability of states to adequately provide services for victims of human trafficking as well as for environmental migrants. States may be limited in addressing these two social issues because of state preoccupation with how to classify displaced and marginalized individuals. When categories are nebulous and include people that the state deems as illegal, there is less incentive for a state to provide adequate resources. Furthermore, by providing sufficient resources and investing in these populations, the state must contend with its role and responsibility in these particular types of victimization. Civil society actors are less bound by codified language and are in a good position to serve displaced individuals who fall through the cracks of government protection. In addition, civil society actors can often act quicker than government bureaucracy. For instance, though there was a lack of government initiatives and assistance for human trafficking victims after the passage of the U.N. Protocol and U.S. TVPA, anti-trafficking NGOs organized

quickly and took the lead in tackling this issue (Tzvetkova, 2002). Thus, they may be an ideal site for protecting trafficking survivors and environmental migrants. This dissertation interrogates this theory by examining the preferences of potential donors in supporting different types of trafficking survivors (paper 1), how labor unions advocate for and protect migrant workers from labor exploitation (paper 2), and how NGOs invest in environmental migrants (paper 3).

The first paper is theoretically motivated by the idea that civil society is essential to anti-trafficking work. Thus, donor preferences are important to understand. In this study, I seek to examine whether entrenched narratives about human trafficking align with donor preferences. Human trafficking affects many different types of people. It includes different kinds of exploitation, yet narratives focus on the sex trafficking of women and girls and fail to recognize the complex nature of the problem and the myriad of ways that it can manifest (Rodríguez-López, 2018; Russell, 2018). These narratives are pervasive in the media, academia, and policymaking (Gozdziak & Bump, 2008; Rodríguez-López, 2018; Russell, 2018). To analyze whether civil society internalizes this narrative, I deploy a nationally representative conjoint experiment of potential U.S. donors. I randomly assigned five attributes to individuals and asked them to choose between two fictitious charities to donate to. These attributes describe the type of population the nonprofit serves and the type of service provided by the nonprofit.

I theorize that donors will be most likely to support legal services for young girls who are sex trafficked and are non-U.S. citizens because this aligns with dominant narratives about human trafficking. Though the sex trafficking of young girls is an alarming issue, it often displaces attention from other pervasive forms of exploitation, such as the labor exploitation of boys and men. As Bob (2010) suggests, "donor demand often does not correspond with an objective measure of need, the worst human rights abuses may not spark the most activism" (p. 134). I find support

for three out of five of my hypotheses. Overall, donors are most likely to support housing services for young girls who have been sex trafficked and are U.S. citizens. These findings highlight implications for agency failure, a type of NGO failure. Dolšak and Prakash (2022) explain that this failure occurs because NGOs work for donors, not the community. This is a problem because "When donors reside outside the community, their lack of lived experience probably makes them inadequate judges of community needs" (Dolšak & Prakash, 2022, p. 665). Thus, this finding suggests that donor preferences will continue to perpetuate dominant narratives of human trafficking by motivating anti-trafficking NGOs to focus on the sex trafficking of girls.

While the sub-group analysis did not show any significant differences in who respondents were more likely to donate, it did show a slight but notable difference in preferences among respondents with different attitudes towards sex work. Respondents who see sex work as illegitimate and inherently dangerous are more likely to want to donate to organizations that help survivors of sex trafficking. This difference illustrates that those who view sex work as legitimate work are more likely to see their donation as useful for survivors of labor trafficking. This conflation of sex work and sex trafficking dominates the media and political discourse in human trafficking narratives. It is dangerous for victims of sex trafficking because both the pursuit of "rescuing" women from sex work and the criminalization of it often leads to many women who have been sex trafficked being arrested and charged with prostitution before being identified as a victim of exploitation (Weitzer, 2007).

Given that anti-trafficking work is focused mainly on sex trafficking, my second paper considers the role of labor unions in advocating for the safety of migrant workers in the United States. In this paper, I argue that in addition to the traditional human rights and carceral frameworks for addressing human trafficking, a labor rights approach should also be a central strategy. The

human rights and carceral frameworks tend to position the state as the leading actor in addressing the crime through policy and law enforcement strategies (Shamir, 2012). The focus on these frameworks highlights state failure, where government intervention may have unintended consequences. In this case, many victims of labor trafficking, particularly, migrant works, go unnoticed. Wolf (1979) argues that "derived externalities" come from the effects of government intervention, which do not affect the government itself. Because government operations are far-reaching, these externalities have significant and long-term consequences.

In addition, the anti-trafficking NGO movement also focuses on conceptualizing human trafficking through a gendered human rights lens by individualizing the experience of survivors and by trying to restore their rights (and are often focused on aiding women and girls) (McSherry and Kneebone, 2008; Segrave, 2009). Labor trafficking in the United States, particularly of migrant workers is missing from the dominant human trafficking discourse. I argue that through a labor rights framework, labor unions are a particularly promising actor for action on fighting labor trafficking. This paper seeks to highlight how labor unions can address market failures. One form of market failure is the failure of unregulated labor or weakly enforced labor regulations, which can lead to labor exploitation (Andrees & Belser, 2009). Through a qualitative analysis of 100 U.S. labor union websites, this study explores whether and how these unions address labor trafficking and provide specific migrant protections.

I propose two hypotheses. The first hypothesis (H1) is that labor unions in sectors with high immigrant salience are more likely to provide substantial engagement with and concern for migrant workers and labor exploitation. Because unions aim to represent the interests of their members, I expect to find that unions in sectors with high numbers of migrants will be more likely to provide information and programming for migrant workers around the threat of labor

exploitation. The second hypothesis (H2) is that labor unions with the highest annual receipts are more likely to provide substantial engagement with and concern for migrant workers and labor exploitation because they have more resources.

Through a qualitative, descriptive analysis, I find that only unions in high immigrant sectors show substantial engagement in migrant and labor exploitation issues. However, this finding only partially supports H1 because other unions in my dataset in sectors with high immigrant salience do not engage with these issues. I find even less support for H2 as only two of these five top unions for annual receipts contain information about these issues on their websites. Overall, I argue that including a labor rights approach as central to anti-trafficking work, in addition to the human rights and carceral frameworks, would be particularly beneficial for filling in analytical and practical gaps that could help prevent the labor exploitation of migrant workers. A labor rights approach may extend beyond labor unions to include revising immigration and employment laws as well (Costa, 2022). I argue that labor unions should prioritize these issues and the fact that more labor unions do not engage with these topics could be a type of NGO representation failure. This type of failure occurs when NGOs neglect to represent the preferences of the underprivileged individuals. In this case, NGOs risk reproducing and perpetuating inequalities in conjunction with the state and market, which often also fail to prioritize these populations (Dolšak & Prakash, 2022).

Lastly, the third paper turns to the issue of environmental migration by examining how existing migration and refugee organizations in the United States invest in the link between climate change and migration. Climate change increases the rate of natural disasters and changes in weather patterns. This includes the slow onset of drought and sudden disasters like flash flooding and wildfires (Pachauri & Reisinger, 2007). These extreme and changing weather events

contribute to environmental degradation, displacing families and entire communities (Oliver-Smith, 2009; Eckersley, 2015). This type of migration is already happening. For example, Bangladesh has seen increased rural-urban migration over the last two decades due to the consequences of extreme and irregular climate-related weather (Ahsan & Warner, 2014). In this study, I compiled an original dataset of 110 migration and refugee organizations based in the United States. I used the organization's 990 tax forms to gather data on annual revenue, headquarters location, and number of employees. I used the organizations' websites to collect data on types of service; the number of other countries the organization works in; the average climate vulnerability score of those countries; whether the organization focuses on providing services, advocacy, and policy, or both; how many countries it works in; the year of establishment; whether or not it is religious; the current climate engagement index score; climate engagement index score five years ago; and the climate engagement index score ten years ago.

I propose two hypotheses. The demand-side hypothesis (H1) posits that organizations working in countries more vulnerable to climate change are more likely to invest in environmental migration. If an organization is working in an area highly susceptible to climate change, it may have to respond to demand-side pressures and invest in and provide services for environmental migrants. In contrast, the supply-side hypothesis (H2) theorizes that organizations with a significant revenue stream are more likely to invest in environmental migration. In this case, NGOs with more revenue, and thus more operational capacity, can afford to invest in environmental migration and highlight that on their websites. Through a quantitative analysis, the amount of revenue an organization has is the most significant determinant of investing in environmental migration in a meaningful way. This may be a form of representation failure because not all

migration and refugee organizations represent the reality of climate-related migration. It also highlights how resource constraints shape outcomes for NGOs.

To elaborate on this finding, I conducted four interviews: two with organizations that did not indicate investing in environmental migration on their websites and two with organizations that did. As one interviewee said, "Climate migrants don't self-identify that way. But it is a funding strategy - it's funding for climate adaptation." Thus, organizations facing resource scarcity are likely to have to focus on programming and services. Because environmental migrants don't necessitate different services than other migrants, organizations can invest in this issue when they have enough resources to engage in funding strategies and education campaigns dedicated to the connection between climate change and migration.

Overall, these papers present both optimistic findings and important limitations of civil society actors in addressing issues like human trafficking and environmental migration. Etzioni (1973) coined the term "third sector." He predicted that it would become increasingly important in the coming decades. Rather than replacing the public or private sectors, he conceptualized the third sector as one that could match and balance them. This dissertation highlights the important role that the third sector occupies. Though still limited by resources and individual preferences, these papers highlight how the third sector supports, advocates for, educates, and protects marginalized populations. As Etzioni knew in 1973, "The most promising solutions to our domestic problems are among the third sector approaches now evolving" (p. 315).

This dissertation proceeds as follows. My first paper, "Entrenched Narratives and the Politics of Deservingness: Assessing the Willingness to Donate to Survivors of Human Trafficking," focuses on the role of donor preferences in anti-trafficking work and highlights a source of civil society failure as these preferences align with entrenched, but not necessarily

accurate, narratives of human trafficking. The second paper, "The Role of Labor Unions in Fighting Exploitation: A Labor Rights Approach for Supporting Migrant Workers," explores whether labor unions address market failures through advocacy around labor trafficking and migrant workers. Then, "Investing in Environmental Migration: An Analysis of Migration and Refugee NGOs" examines how migration and refugee organizations fill in the gaps left by the state in addressing environmental migration and reveals resource constraints as a limitation of NGOs. Lastly, I conclude with a section on theoretical contributions, practical implications, and areas for future research.

Entrenched Narratives and the Politics of Deservingness: Assessing the Willingness to Donate to Survivors of Human Trafficking

2.1. Introduction

Donors frequently have to choose between nonprofits to donate to. Previous studies suggest that donors choose whether to donate based on subjective dispositions such as empathic concern for the nonprofit's mission (Neumayr & Handy, 2019), the location of the nonprofit (Tremblay-Boire & Prakash, 2017), the donor's personal values (Sneddon et al., 2020), and religious affiliation of the charity (Tremblay-Boire & Prakash, 2019). Specific demographic characteristics such as gender, marital status, and religion influence an individual's propensity to donate to charities (Eagle et al., 2018). This paper examines how donors perceive the deservingness of different recipients through the issue of human trafficking. In the last several decades, human trafficking in the United States has received growing media attention and bipartisan policymaking. It has sparked a new wave of anti-trafficking activism and large-scale fundraising efforts. Because human trafficking is difficult to quantify and gather reliable data on, narratives perpetuated by the media, government, and awareness campaigns have come to shape the public's understanding of the issue (O'Brian, 2018). Do donor preferences align with these entrenched narratives? Boswell (2011) argues that narratives such as these play a significant role in the public's ability to recognize a problem and how the public understands what policy responses should be. Though the U.S. government provides funding and grants to anti-trafficking initiatives, civil society organizations are on the front line of anti-trafficking work, providing expertise to policymakers, services to survivors, and educating the public (Amahazion, 2015). It's important to understand donor willingness to donate to different groups because donors increasingly have more control over

nonprofit activities (Ostrander, 2007), and civil society plays a vital role in policymaking through political activism and consulting (Castellano, 2022; Toepler et al., 2020).

Human trafficking affects many different types of people and includes different kinds of exploitation, yet most political discourse, media attention, and trafficking scholarship is focused on the sex trafficking of women and girls and fails to recognize the complex nature of the problem (Rodríguez-López, 2018; Russell, 2018). While it's necessary to provide resources and support for this group, the hyper-focus on this form of trafficking leaves other types of trafficking and survivors in the shadows, rendering them unseen by funders, social services, and policymakers. Though there is a dearth of data on labor trafficking (which is partly due to the lack of attention or funding directed towards it), the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates that there are at least 21.2 million people worldwide caught in forced labor (ILO, 2021). However, accurate prevalence numbers regarding human trafficking generally, but labor trafficking in particular, are hard to come by.

This is partially due to defining labor trafficking. The term 'human trafficking' can mean different things to different institutions, governments, and agencies. It is often conflated with 'human smuggling,' a different crime altogether. A lack of shared understanding of its definition and several large hurdles in collecting reliable data hamper obtaining reliable estimates of labor trafficking. For example, there is a "lack of systematic information about the existence of victims," leading many law enforcement agencies to doubt the presence of trafficking in their jurisdictions (Zhang, 2012, p. 474). The myriad of ways labor trafficking is defined, as well as a lack of systematic data collection on labor trafficking, hinders reaching potential victims and establishing prevention measures. A leading scholar on labor trafficking in the U.S., Denise Brennan, argues

that “the low numbers of individuals found thus far in forced (non-sexual) labor nationwide has been, in part, a consequence of not looking” (Brennan, 2014, p. 46).

The same prominent narratives about human trafficking show up in the media, politics, and academia. The sexual exploitation of women and girls, often deemed “sexual slavery,” is overrepresented in the media (Rodríguez-López, 2018; Lobasz, 2018). One reason for this is that victims in media stories tend to portray an ideal victim type, where women and girls are forced into prostitution and require saving. Austin and Farrell (2017) argue that these victims fit society’s definition of a pure person. However, most trafficking victims are not white (Valenti, 2010), and labor exploitation is also a rampant issue in the United States (Brennan, 2008). The media also frames human trafficking through a law enforcement lens. Shows like *Criminal Minds, NCIS, Law & Order, CSI,* and *The Wire* have made human trafficking the main plot points and render police and prosecutors the rescuers of the story. While fictional accounts, these shows are important for how the public understands human trafficking because, in place of personal experience with this issue, this is how many people learn of and form their opinions on human trafficking (O’Brian, 2018).

The overt focus on sex trafficking over labor trafficking is also partly due to what Weitzer (2007) describes as a ‘moral crusade’ that conflates anti-prostitution policies with sex trafficking, garnering support to fight sex trafficking from both the religious right and women’s rights advocates. He traces this narrative to President Bush’s agenda in the 1990s, which, because of the influence of evangelicals in politics, “significantly altered the political opportunity structure for anti-prostitution forces” (p. 449). Since the end of the twentieth century, political discourse around trafficking in the United States has been replete with images of women and girls who are victims of sex trafficking (Srikantiah, 2007). Similarly, academic research focuses a disproportionate

amount of attention on the sexual exploitation of women and girls as this is the primary topic for published research (Russell, 2018). A review of human trafficking literature argued that "there is a clear need to expand the current focus to include labor trafficking" (Dimas et al., 2022, p. 13). These trafficking narratives lack complexity and perpetuate the repetition of a singular, dominant narrative, which has significant implications for public consciousness and policymaking (O'Brien, 2018).

The focus on the sex trafficking of girls and women renders other demographics invisible to the public and, therefore, may be considered less deserving of help. Brennan (2008) argues that government-sponsored "anti-prostitution" views shape who trafficking victims are and who the public recognizes as worthy of aid. This paper interrogates this point. How do potential donors in the United States perceive who most deserves their help? Gauging the willingness to help survivors of trafficking will illuminate whether the American population internalizes these narratives perpetuated by the media, politics, and the academy. The United States is an important case in which to investigate this question because of its role and influence on global anti-trafficking initiatives through international regulations, monitoring standards, and NGO funding (Lobasz, 2018).

While there have been several theoretical and policy-focused studies on the attention discrepancy between sex and labor trafficking, there are no in-depth studies that explore whether and in what capacity American donors are willing to help different types of trafficking survivors. I conducted a nationally representative survey experiment in the United States to test what factors affect donor willingness. I ask individuals to choose between two fictitious charities to donate to, each serving a different type of trafficking survivor. This question is important because there is little empirical work testing public opinion on human trafficking, and the analyses in the literature

tend to focus on whether individuals understand human trafficking without connecting this to which groups are deemed worthy of charitable aid. Thus, this paper considers the concept of deservingness among different groups to show who American donors want to support. My theoretical motivation for this survey is that the mainstream discourse about human trafficking influences potential donors.

I expect that these narratives prime donors to think about survivors in terms of which groups are more deserving of their charitable aid. This would lead donors to be most likely to support young girls who are victims of sex trafficking and non-U.S. citizens because prior studies confirm that this is how Americans conceptualize who is vulnerable to trafficking, as well as who fits into an ideal victim type (Austin & Farrell, 2017; Bonilla & Mo, 2019). Furthermore, I theorize that donors may also follow trafficking narratives in terms of the best approach to help survivors. I argue that they will be most likely to support prosecution efforts (as opposed to protection or prevention measures) because human trafficking is most often framed through a criminal justice framework. This is true in international political discourse, where states frequently prioritize legal remedies to human trafficking (Merry, 2016), and the media often highlights law enforcement officials as the heroes in the story (Gulati, 2010).

This paper proceeds as follows. First, I describe the definition of human trafficking and point out the main misconceptions that surround it. Notably, the definition does not require movement and the common conflation of human trafficking, human smuggling, and sex work. Next, I provide a literature review of relevant scholarship and present my theory on entrenched narratives of human trafficking and how that might affect who potential donors want to support. I then explain my methodology, which includes my survey design and the limitations of this approach. My analysis focuses on average marginal component effects (AMCEs) and subgroup

analysis. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of the implications of my findings, particularly the power of popularized narratives of human trafficking, but also the limitations of these narratives as they relate to the support of immigrants and the lack of support for survivors of labor trafficking.

2.2 What is Human Trafficking?

The U.S.'s 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) and its subsequent reauthorizations outline the legal definition of human trafficking as:

> a) Sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or
> b) 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 (TVPA, 2000).

Though many forms of human trafficking fit into the definition above, common narratives of human trafficking only include a few. This is one of the reasons that there are so many misconceptions about it. While human trafficking does include sex trafficking and forced labor, it also contains state-sponsored trafficking, child labor, bonded labor, and domestic servitude. Perpetrators of human trafficking may gain power over victims via force, fraud, or coercion and then exert intermittent psychological, physical, and emotional abuse to force victims to work.

There are a few main misconceptions and conflations that many people have about the definition of trafficking: human trafficking requires movement (Richmond, 2015), and human trafficking is close to if not the same thing as human smuggling (Barnes & Gibbs, 2018) and sex work (Brennan, 2008). Despite what its name suggests, transportation across county or state lines is not a requirement of human trafficking. The definition above includes transportation as one of the methods of trafficking, but recruitment, harboring, provision, and obtaining of a person are also included. Thus, an individual can experience trafficking in the town that they live in without

any transport. Relatedly, many people think that human trafficking and human smuggling are the same thing.

In contrast to human trafficking, human smuggling is when an individual pays for services (like transportation or documents) to cross into another country illegally. Due to their inherently vulnerable position, migrants sometimes face exploitation and trafficking during smuggling, but this is not always the case (Goehrung & Castellano, 2023). Lastly, consensual sex work has been linked to sex trafficking, producing "a kind of moralizing sex panic within the trafficking debate" (Brennan, 2008, p. 49). However, sex work involves consent, and one must prove a lack of consent for something to amount to human trafficking. Although there may be gray areas around consent and choice, trafficking is typically beyond the gray area (Haynes, 2004).

2.3 Literature Review and Theory

2.3.1 Entrenched Narratives

What shapes public opinion? In Lippman's seminal 1922 book, *Public Opinion,* he argues that public opinion is shaped and constructed by the news media, which he suggests is a lens by which the public can access the world beyond direct experiences. Furthermore, the media is typically the only source of information for the public about events or issues they have not experienced, such as human trafficking (Rodríguez-López 2018). McCombs and Reynolds (2009) extend this thinking by arguing that the media influences the public's perceptions of the most salient issues. They also highlight the importance of attributes, or the characteristics, that describe the main topic in the news story: "Both the selection of objects for attention and the selection of attributes for picturing those objects are powerful agenda-setting roles" (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009, p 6). This is relevant for the case of human trafficking because the attributes of those depicted as survivors of trafficking shape the way the public conceptualizes the issue and,

subsequently, who needs help. A content analysis study of human trafficking stories in U.S. news suggests that "the policy agenda influence the news agenda and that the news coverage served to legitimize the consensus in Washington while marginalizing alternative perspectives" (Gulati, 2010, pg. 374-375).

In addition to the media, anti-trafficking policy initiatives at the international level also contribute to a discourse around trafficking that focuses on the sex trafficking of women. Suchland (2015) traces international anti-trafficking discourse through genealogical analysis and finds that the rise of human trafficking as an issue of concern was conceptualized as a "global women's rights issue." In doing so, she focuses on the racialized "white" figure of the post-socialist trafficking victim, called "Natasha." Similarly, Merry (2016) critiques the international framework on trafficking as it focuses on addressing human trafficking through a criminal justice approach (as opposed to a feminist or human rights approach), which blames exploitation on organized crime rather than structural inequalities. In comparison to labor trafficking, sex trafficking fits neatly into this framework as it evokes images of an innocent victim and a malicious criminal. On the other hand, labor trafficking is inextricably linked with immigration policies and labor laws, muddying the public's understanding of its root causes.

The framing of human rights issues influences public knowledge, interest, and willingness to support said issue (Iyengar, 1987). Given the dominant frames and narratives about who human trafficking affects, I suggest that, on average, donors will choose the charity that best fits this narrative. My theory aligns with scholars such as Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) and Tremblay-Boire and Prakash (2019), who identify awareness of need as a driving factor for individual-level giving. Donors become aware of a particular need through charitable solicitations and stories in the mass media (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011). I extend this argument also to include domestic and

international political discourse. Overall, news stories, government reports, and the media serve an educative function without reliable trafficking data and education (O'Brien, 2018).

Much of the literature on human trafficking focuses on issues with the definition and conceptualization of human trafficking in a broad, theoretical sense. For example, feminist scholarship tends to concentrate on the conflation between sex work and sex trafficking, highlighting the harm that anti-trafficking work can have on sex workers (Bettio et al., 2017; Cavaleri, 2011). Though there is ample literature debating how the definition of human trafficking is either too broad or too narrow (Chapkis, 2005; Dahlstrom, 2020), Lobasz (2018) provides a different perspective in which she argues that an objective definition of human trafficking is impossible to create because it is constructed, rather than inherent. She contends the concept of human trafficking is constructed through interconnected fields of anti-trafficking policy and research. Scholarship on civil society organizations that focus on human trafficking examines the activities of these nonprofits and often critiques a savior approach to the work (Limoncelli, 2016; Shih, 2016). However, there is little empirical work that analyzes how the definitions (even if constructed) and potential misconceptions of human trafficking manifest in the public.

Several public opinion studies examine attitudes towards human trafficking in the United States, yet none of them examine if individuals are willing to support survivors of trafficking financially. De Vries et al. (2019) focus on the relationship between anti-immigration sentiment and opinions on human trafficking. While they find that anti-immigration sentiments do not impact public support for a general governmental prioritization of human trafficking policies, it is related to less public support for victim services for non-citizen trafficked persons. Bouche, Farrell, and Wittmer-Wolfe (2018) analyze what types of sex trafficking victim frames produce the strongest response among the American public through levels of concern the respondent has for a particular

victim, as well as whether they believe the government should increase the penalty for trafficking. They conduct a survey experiment that manipulates the age, gender, and citizenship status of a victim and find that the age of the victim has the greatest impact on the responses to human trafficking but that these victim frames are conditional on the amount of exposure an individual has had to the issue of human trafficking. Lastly, Bonilla and Mo (2019) study how the public defines human trafficking and find that the average citizen equates human trafficking with the smuggling of women for sex trafficking. My study builds on this finding to examine how these perceptions might translate into an individual's willingness to give to different trafficked populations.

I theorize that the following factors influence the willingness of respondents in America to donate to a nonprofit focused on human trafficking: (1) the type of trafficking the nonprofit focuses on, (2) the gender of survivors, (3) the age of survivors, (4) the citizenship status of survivors and (5) which service the nonprofit offers. The dominant narratives in the media, politics, and news all work to perpetuate a story about who is most vulnerable to human trafficking. Furthermore, because of the connections between funding for anti-trafficking initiatives, lobbying, and media coverage, narratives from these seemingly disparate sectors reinforce one another in a closed loop where any critique or diversion from the dominant frame is ignored or discouraged. Therefore, I expect potential donors to choose which nonprofits to donate to in a way that aligns with these narratives.

2.3.2 Hypotheses

Most of the existing academic literature on human trafficking focuses heavily on sex trafficking and perpetuates a dominant perspective grounded in "mythology rather than evidence" (Gozdziak & Bump, 2008). Thus, sex trafficking has seemingly come to stand in for all forms of

human trafficking (Brennan, 2008). This is evidenced by Bonilla and Mo's (2019) study, which found that the public equates human trafficking with sex trafficking. In addition to sex trafficking, labor trafficking is also widely pervasive in the United States (Brennan, 2008; Zhang, 2012). Labor trafficking can take the form of forced labor, indentured servitude, debt bondage, and child labor and is more common in sectors like agriculture, manufacturing, domestic work, fishing, and mining (Weitzer, 2014).

Acknowledging the reality of labor trafficking in the United States is potentially uncomfortable and a more politically sensitive than discussing sex trafficking. Labor exploitation intertwines with the standard of living Americans are accustomed to, including the culture of buying fast fashion or electronics with minerals that are manufactured with unfree labor. Fighting against labor trafficking also means taking a critical view of U.S. immigration policy. Misra (2007) highlights how increased globalization and neo-liberal economic policies have led to a "degradation of work," where workers are increasingly vulnerable due to increased demand for work in informal economies. Furthermore, the adversarial relationship between migrants and law enforcement in the U.S. decreases the willingness of exploited migrants to come forward to seek help (Goehrung & Castellano, 2023). Thus, rather than considering the complex political and economic conditions that perpetuate labor exploitation, it's easier to rally behind the public discourse around sex trafficking, which invokes images of a helpless female who needs rescuing.

Sex trafficking may be dominant in media representation because sex trafficking victims tend to be minors and women, which matches American perceptions of victimization. Weitzer (2007) argues that sex trafficking has become such a politicized issue in the United States because there are often "grand and unverifiable claims about the nature and prevalence of a particular "social evil" (p. 450). In this case, the moral outrage against sex trafficking (and sex work more

broadly) perpetuates claims that experts in the field often challenge. For example, the stereotype of an innocent, young girl "dragged off against her will to distant lands to satisfy the insatiable sexual cravings of wanton men" (McDonald 2004, p. 135) does not resemble a substantial group of human trafficking survivors (adults, men and boys, and survivors of labor trafficking). Furthermore, sex trafficking may be easier to cover in a news story because it provides a clear and straightforward violation of the law. In contrast, labor trafficking cases are more complex and debated as civil issues and not law enforcement issues. Whatever the specific cause of media bias, labor trafficking cases have remained largely invisible to the public because of underrepresentation in the media and existing research (Austin & Farrell, 2017; Gozdziak & Bump, 2008).

Hypothesis 1 (H1): Respondents are more likely to donate to nonprofits that focus on sex trafficking.

Narratives about human trafficking most often depict women and girls as the victims, partly because of the reduction of human trafficking to sexual exploitation. The U.N. Protocol on human trafficking also distinguishes women and children as the primary victims of this crime (U.N. Protocol, 2000). In line with Lobasz (2018), who claims that there is a highly gendered logic of world order, I argue that the imagery of "sexually violated feminine innocence" (p. 16) is a normalized marker of deservingness.

The sex trafficking of women and girls tends to be overrepresented in the media because this victim type "perfectly fits audiences' perceptions of victimization" (Rodríguez-López 2018, p. 62) and fits society's definition of an innocent, pure person (Austin & Farrell, 2017). In analyzing which victim frames produce strong responses, Bouche, Farrell, and Wittmer-Wolfe (2018) find that the age of the victim has the greatest impact on the responses to human trafficking. Furthermore, most anti-trafficking nonprofits focus on children (Foot et al., 2015). Overall, there is typically a lack of agency for the survivors in narratives about human trafficking, which instead

highlight vulnerability and innocence (Uy, 2011; Vance, 2012). The combination of the preconceived assumption that victims of trafficking are involved in the sex trade and the pervasive "ideal victim type" in trafficking narratives push women and children to the forefront of the efforts to address the crime and help survivors.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): Respondents are more likely to donate to nonprofits that serve women and girls.

Hypothesis 3 (H3): Respondents are more likely to donate to nonprofits that serve minors of any gender.

In a public opinion survey conducted by Bouche et al. (2018), they found that Americans believe that human trafficking victims are predominantly illegal immigrants. This may be partly because international narratives about human trafficking have moved away from a story about white Western women to include women and girls from developing countries "who are kidnapped or tempted to travel to the city or another country with the promise of a well-paid job" (Rodríguez-López 2018, p. 65). The media often portrays human trafficking through the lens of migratory sex work, where the dominant image is of young migratory sex workers of color (Kempadoo, 2001; Agustín, 2008). Though the definition of human trafficking does not require movement, it is still a persistent area of discord among policymakers and researchers. Thus, irregular migration is commonly used as a framework to understand human trafficking (Lobasz, 2018). In addition, images of victims depicted in campaigns published by the Department of Homeland Security depict young women of Latina and Asian descent, indicative of the stereotype about helpless women from developing countries who need saving (Balgamwalla, 2016). Americans likely view non-U.S. citizens as most at risk for human trafficking because of the conflation between human smuggling and human trafficking (Bonilla & Mo, 2019). While I hypothesize that respondents will want to support non-U.S. citizens, it is possible that rising nationalism and anti-immigrant

sentiment in the United States may counteract these dominant narratives (Tremblay-Boire, 2022; Hendricks, 2022).

Hypothesis 4 (H4): Respondents are more likely to donate to nonprofits that serve non-U.S. citizens.

In addition to manipulating the characteristics of the type of trafficking survivors each nonprofit serves, I also vary the kind of services the nonprofits provide. Outlined in the U.N. protocol, the "3-P" index is an international anti-trafficking framework that highlights the importance of prosecuting criminals, protecting survivors, and preventing the crime (U.N. Protocol, 2000). Thus, I manipulate this variable in the survey to reflect these three approaches: supporting legal proceedings for survivors (prosecution), housing for survivors (protection), and outreach to vulnerable populations (prevention).

Human trafficking is most typically framed through criminal justice stories in the U.S. media (Gulati, 2010), and anti-trafficking activists often consult with legislators on legislation around law enforcement issues (Castellano, 2022). This narrative exists at the international level as well. Merry (2016) highlights how human trafficking has been framed through a criminal justice lens, where the international community prioritizes law enforcement measures. In addition, the U.S. State Department's Trafficking in Persons (TIP) reports focus most of their narratives on criminal justice approaches as well and prioritize statistics on arrests and prosecutions over statistics on survivors who accessed services or the prevalence of prevention trainings. Thus, if donors internalize this framework and perceive human trafficking through a criminal justice lens, perhaps they want to support victims through that lens as well.

Hypothesis 5 (H5): Respondents are more likely to donate to nonprofits that offer support during legal proceedings.

2.4 Methodology

The survey follows a choice-based conjoint experiment design, where I present individuals with five randomized attributes (with 2-3 levels each) of two nonprofits that support survivors of human trafficking. These attributes describe the type of population the nonprofit serves and the type of service provided by the nonprofit. Respondents then choose which nonprofit they would rather donate $50 to. This design allowed me to vary nonprofit attributes simultaneously to investigate which attributes make nonprofits more worthy of charitable donations. A conjoint design limits social desirability bias because respondents' attitudes are evaluated indirectly by evaluating multiple choices with various attributes. This differs from a standard survey question in which respondents might need to state their attitude on a sensitive or controversial topic directly. A study by Horiuchi et al. (2021) confirms that conjoint analysis can reduce social desirability bias.

A third-party digital software company with access to survey panelists in the United States recruited subjects for this survey.[1] Respondents included people between 18 and 65 years old with access to a device and the ability to take an online survey. To have a nationally representative sample, we put quotas in place for the age, gender, and region of the respondents. After removing responses that answered the comprehension incorrectly, I ended up with 1,738 complete responses. My sample is equally split among women and men and approximately follows the national breakdown along political party lines.

This survey asked respondents how much they would be willing to donate to a fictitious charity focused on serving different types of human trafficking survivors. Following a brief

[1] The experiment has obtained ethical approval from the IRB of University of Washington (STUDY00014853) and was pre-registered on March 28, 2022.

explanation and description of what human trafficking could look like (Appendix A1), the survey puts the respondent in the shoes of a donor with $50 to donate to one of two anti-trafficking nonprofits (Figure 2.1). I code this response as a binary variable, my primary outcome of interest. Table 2.1 lists the attributes which respondents were randomly assigned. The survey also asks respondents questions about their attitudes on the effectiveness of nonprofits, attitudes towards sex work, specific risks of exploitation faced by immigrants, as well as demographic questions.

Figure 2.1: Example of the Choices Presented to Respondents

	Nonprofit 1
Type of Trafficking	Sex trafficking
Gender	Men and boys
Age	Adults
Citizenship Status	Non-U.S. citizens
Type of Service	Support during legal proceedings

	Nonprofit 2
Type of Trafficking	Labor trafficking
Gender	Women and girls
Age	Minors
Citizenship Status	U.S. and non-U.S. citizens
Type of Service	Housing

Note: The nonprofit attributes in these tables are randomized for each respondent.

Suppose you budgeted $50 to give to a human trafficking non-profit. Which would you choose to donate to?

Nonprofit 1

Nonprofit 2

Table 2.1: Manipulated Attributes of Nonprofits

Attributes	**Values**
Type of trafficking	*Labor trafficking*; Sex trafficking
Gender of survivors	*Men and boys*; Women and girls; All genders
Age of survivors	*Adults*; Minors; All ages
Citizenship status of survivors	*non-U.S. citizens*; U.S. citizens; U.S. and non-U.S. citizens
Service offered by nonprofit	*Housing*; Support during legal proceedings; Outreach to vulnerable populations

Note: Levels used as reference categories are italicized.

2.5 Limitations

Several limitations in this study design highlight areas for further research. Though a conjoint design decreases social desirability bias, it's possible that respondents chose the nonprofits they thought they were supposed to choose rather than the one that reflected the nonprofit they would donate to. A future project could compare the fundraising potential for real anti-trafficking nonprofits that serve different demographics. Second, all the respondents are in the United States. Because the international anti-trafficking movement also includes these narratives, exploring whether these preferences hold in other countries would be worthwhile. Another potential limitation could be that the narrative about what human trafficking means primed donors (see Appendix A1 for the text included in the survey). My intention for including this was to provide donors with a bit more background on the issue, but this does not reflect most donation scenarios. It's possible that this description influenced who donors felt they should donate to. Regardless of whether this is true, I believe my results are more conservative than they would be otherwise since I highlight that the definition of human trafficking also includes labor trafficking.

2.6 Analysis

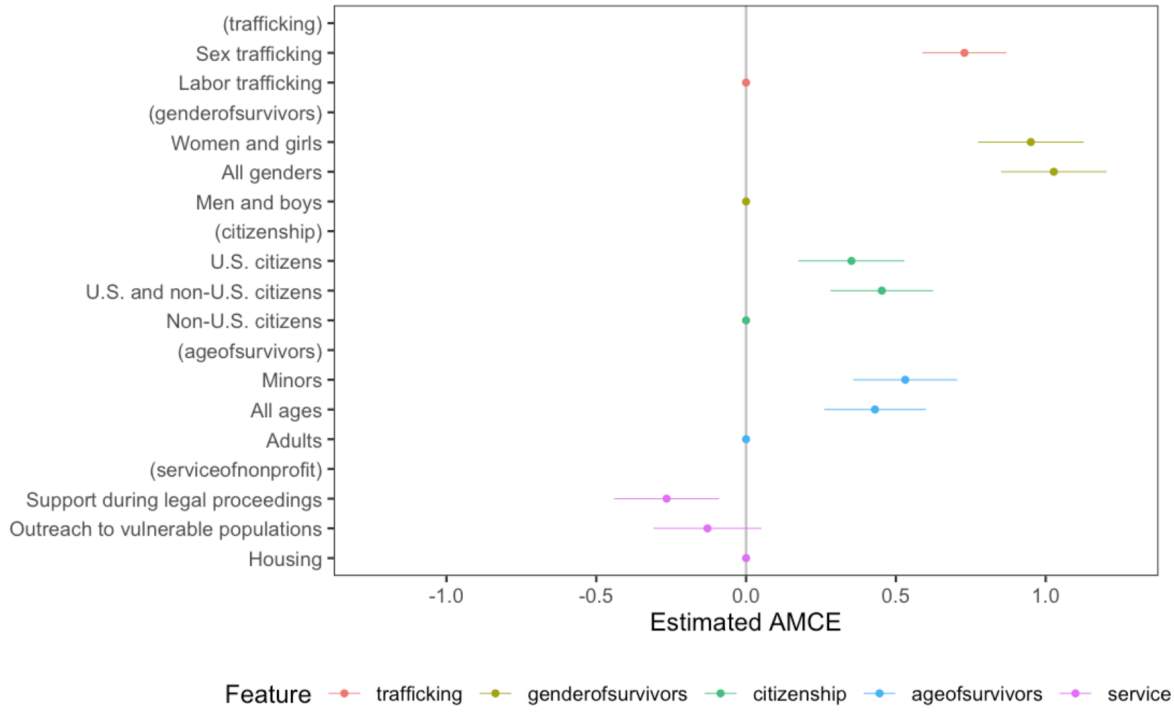
To analyze this data, I follow the statistical approach of Hainmueller et al., 2014 by estimating the average marginal component effects (AMCEs), shown in Figure 2.2. The AMCE is the average change in the probability that a nonprofit will be chosen when it includes a particular attribute value (Hainmueller and Hopkins, 2015; Hainmueller et al., 2014). In this model, the nonprofit each respondent chooses to donate to is the dependent variable, and the attributes are coefficients. Hainmueller et al. (2014) show that this model is nonparametric and does not require assumptions about the choice probabilities (given the independent randomization of the attributes).

Figure 2.2 displays responses for all respondents where a point estimate and 95% confidence interval indicate the value of each attribute. The value indicates the probability that a respondent chooses a nonprofit with this attribute for their donation. For example, the line at the top of the plot shows that nonprofits that focus on sex trafficking are 73 percentage points more likely to be chosen for a donation. Appendix (A2) displays the full regression model.

I find partial support for three of my hypotheses. In line with prior research and the most common framing for narratives on human trafficking, respondents are more likely to want to donate to nonprofits that focus on sex trafficking rather than labor trafficking. In addition, nonprofits that serve either women and girls or all genders are more preferred than ones that focus on just men and boys. Nonprofits serving all genders are slightly more preferred than those serving just women and girls (though the confidence intervals show the similarity between the support of these attributes). Nonprofits that serve just women and girls are about 95 percentage points more likely to be supported than one focused on men and boys, and nonprofits that serve all genders are about 103 percentage points more likely. Following a similar pattern, respondents are more likely to want to donate to a nonprofit that serves minors (+53 percentage points) or all ages (+43

percentage points) rather than one that exclusively focuses on adults. I claim this is partial support because when nonprofits include the perceived most vulnerable group, respondents support all genders, all ages, and all citizenship statuses.

Figure 2.2: Effects of Nonprofit Attributes on Probability of Being Chosen for Donations



Note: Dots indicate point estimates, and the lines show the 95% confidence interval. Dots with no lines are the reference category (i.e., labor trafficking).

Contrary to my hypothesis, respondents prefer to donate to nonprofits that serve U.S. citizens (+35 percentage points) or all citizens (+46 percentage points) rather than one that serves only non-U.S. citizens. Like the pattern with the gender and age attributes, respondents are more willing to aid non-U.S. citizens only if the organization also serves U.S. citizens. Lastly, respondents are least likely to choose nonprofits that focus on helping survivors with legal proceedings (27 percentage points less than housing). This could be because respondents are

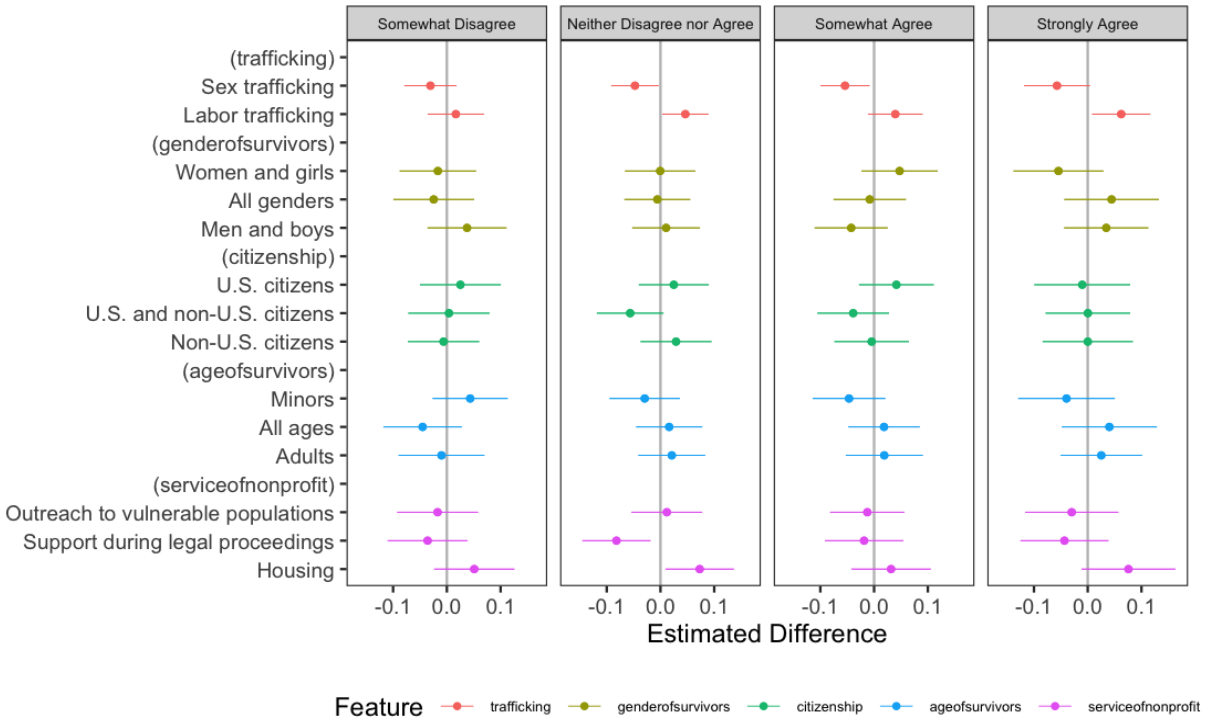
concerned that survivors were also involved in breaking the law and do not want to support this type of service. Nonprofits that provide outreach to vulnerable populations are about 13 percentage points less likely to be supported than housing. However, the confidence interval crosses 0, indicating that there could be no significant difference between the housing and outreach attributes.

2.6.1 Sub-Group Analysis

I then examine differences across subgroups according to Leeper et al. (2020). Their study challenges the use of AMCEs across respondent subgroups because the choice of reference categories may create issues with the size, direction, and statistical significance of AMCE results. Instead, they suggest using marginal means to analyze differences across respondent subgroups. Marginal means represent a descriptive depiction of the mean outcome across all instances of a particular attribute level. This quantity measures the favorability toward a given attribute.

None of the sub-groups reveal significant differences in preferences for attributes and nonprofits (Appendix A4 illustrates a plot of the marital status sub-groups). This lack of differentiation among different sub-groups (such as political affiliation, religion, gender, income, and age of the respondent) demonstrates the pervasiveness of how human trafficking narratives are framed. One might expect groups to have different preferences based on shared values and identities. For instance, it would be reasonable to assume that men might be more willing to donate to a male survivor or that religious people have different giving practices (Moon & Choi, 2013; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011). The results do not support these differences, but this possibility certainly deserves more interrogation in future research.

Figure 2.3: Differences in Conditional Marginal Means, by Attitudes on Sex Work



Note: This plot compares nonprofit choices as differences in subgroup marginal means between respondents based on their attitudes towards sex work, with 95% confidence intervals.

However, there is a slight but notable difference in preferences among respondents with different attitudes towards sex work (Figure 2.3). Respondents indicated their attitudes by reacting to "Sex work is a legitimate form of work" on a scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. As the plot shows, respondents who answered "Strongly agree" with that statement are more likely to prefer nonprofits that focus on labor trafficking than those who answered "Strongly disagree." Those who strongly disagree with the sentiment that sex work is a legitimate form of work appear to be the least likely to prefer organizations that focus on labor trafficking. These results align with the literature that highlights the conflation between sex work and sex trafficking. Respondents who are concerned with sex work are more likely to want to donate to organizations that help survivors of sex trafficking. Those who view sex work as legitimate are more likely to see their donation as

useful for survivors of labor trafficking. This conflation of sex work and sex trafficking dominates the media and political discourse in human trafficking narratives. It is dangerous for victims of sex trafficking because both the pursuit of "rescuing" women from sex work and the criminalization of it often leads to many women who have been sex trafficked being arrested and charged with prostitution before being identified as a victim of exploitation (Weitzer, 2007).

2.7 Discussion and Conclusion

Entrenched narratives about human trafficking are deeply pervasive and influence how Americans want to support survivors. "Narrative's greatest power lies in the ability to set and reinforce the societal rules by which we conduct ourselves, but also in its power to spark collective action for political and social change" (O'Brien, 2018, p. 11). This study illustrates that the narratives perpetuated by the media and political discourse partially align with philanthropic priorities regarding the type of trafficking, gender, and age of survivors that anti-trafficking nonprofits serve. Americans prefer to donate to organizations that serve young females who were sex trafficked. These preferences align with previous research on who garners the most support in the fight against human trafficking (Austin, 2016). The results from this survey highlight a type of NGO failure, agency failure, where donors outside of the community they are donating to may not be adequate judges of needs (Dolšak & Prakash, 2022). This is problematic because NGOs often prioritize the desires of donors (upward accountability) rather than the communities they serve (downward accountability) (Ebrahim, 2005). However, donors are willing to support males, adults, survivors of labor trafficking, and non-U.S. if the other group is also included. This suggests that if nonprofits include the groups they perceive as most vulnerable or deserving of help, Americans are not inherently opposed to donating to the less supported groups.

Contrary to my hypothesis, donors are more likely to support U.S. citizens over non-U.S. citizens (though, as with the other groups, donors will support non-citizens if U.S. citizens are also in the organization's mission). This may be because of a common perception that survivors of trafficking who are not from the U.S. are here illegally. Wittmer and Bouche (2013) even found that states with larger undocumented populations are less likely to invest resources into addressing human trafficking. This reasoning aligns with other public opinion research, which found that willingness to donate decreases when beneficiaries are undocumented (Tremblay-Boire et al., 2022). Aradau (2008) theorizes that state framing of human trafficking as a security issue leads to an ordering of individuals into groups based on who is deemed dangerous (such as undocumented immigrants) and who is deemed worthy (U.S. citizens). Even though some public opinion studies suggest that most Americans see human trafficking through the lens of illegal immigration, anti-immigration sentiment likely leads individuals to want to financially support U.S. citizens over non-U.S. citizens financially. In addition, I did not find support for my last hypothesis, where I theorized that donors would be most likely to support legal fees for survivors. Instead, they are most likely to support housing, which I fit into the protection framework. This suggests that while states are overly focused on prosecution efforts when addressing human trafficking through a carceral framework, donors are more interested in protecting survivors from further harm.

This study highlights several important areas for future research. First, a qualitative approach to understanding how the American public understands human trafficking could supplement this survey. Interviewing potential donors could illuminate where their information comes from and what has shaped their views. Findings from this study might point to a promising avenue for better educating the public. Second, the lack of variability in my sub-group analyses warrants further investigation. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, more research on labor

trafficking in the United States is desperately needed. While this is a difficult population to engage with, it could be possible for a researcher to partner with a nonprofit that serves survivors of labor trafficking.

The results from this study are important for both theoretical and empirical reasons. Theoretically, these results illustrate the power of entrenched narratives about social issues. When the media, news, and political discourse align with how issues are framed, donors will likely follow these frames when choosing who to support through donations. Bob's (2010) notion of rights activism as a marketplace explains that the supply of human rights abuses interacts with donors' demand for rights issues. Because donor demand often does not always correspond with an objective measure of need, the worst human rights abuses do not always inspire the most activism. Furthermore, he argues that rather than the needs of the aggrieved, it is donor preferences that typically influence which groups and issues receive the most advocacy.

Empirically, these results suggest negative consequences for groups of survivors of trafficking that are missing from the dominant narrative. This has particularly significant implications for adult male survivors of labor trafficking who are not U.S. citizens. Not only is this group vulnerable due to the criminalization of immigrants in the U.S., but they seem to be missing in philanthropic efforts as well. This study indicates that framing for nonprofits matters and perhaps contains some lessons for the anti-trafficking movement. In the short term, if an anti-trafficking nonprofit wants to include men, adults, and survivors of labor trafficking, it might be in their best interest to serve the groups that the dominant frames focus on as well. In the long term, it's clear that the media, policymakers, academia, and NGOs need to be thoughtful and conscientious about the human trafficking narratives they are perpetuating. These results are important because anti-trafficking philanthropy plays a role in policymaking as these donations

support nonprofits that often provide political input. For instance, NGOs played a major part in developing the United Nations protocol on human trafficking (Desyllas, 2007). Thus, donor preferences impact anti-trafficking services but are also important for the future of anti-trafficking policy because of civil society's role in policymaking.

The Role of Labor Unions in Fighting Exploitation: A Labor Rights Approach for Supporting Migrant Workers

3.1 Introduction

Unbeknownst to many Americans, labor trafficking is a persistent problem in the United States. While sex trafficking has become synonymous with human trafficking in the general public's understanding, scholars suggest that labor trafficking is likely a bigger problem than sex trafficking (Merry, 2016; Brennan, 2008; Hepburn & Simon, 2010). Labor trafficking can take many forms, including withholding of pay, confiscation of passports, threat or use of violence, inhumane working conditions, and more (Weitzer, 2014). Though researchers and the federal government acknowledge the prevalence of labor exploitation in the U.S. (Bracy et al., 2021; Brennan, 2008; Zhang et al., 2014; Hepburn & Simon, 2010; Dept. of Labor, n.d.), studies suggest that there is a shortage of data, academic articles, media attention, and funding directed toward addressing it (Rodríguez-López, 2018; Russell, 2018; Weitzer, 2007; Austin & Farrell 2017; Gozdziak & Bump, 2008). Thus, many victims of labor trafficking remain vulnerable and unnoticed, and survivors often receive little to no form of redress (Goehrung & Castellano, 2023). This study seeks to add to critical trafficking studies, which interrogates the focus on human trafficking as almost exclusively sex trafficking of young women while other forms of exploitation are left underrepresented and understudied (Musto, 2013).

Labor exploitation in the United States affects U.S. citizens, visa-holding immigrants, and undocumented migrants. However, because of the inherent threat of deportation, visa revocation, language barriers, and lack of community support, migrant workers, both documented and undocumented, are one of the most vulnerable groups to labor exploitation (Norwood, 2020). Because of the immigration enforcement system in the U.S., policies that target undocumented

migrants breed distrust of law enforcement in immigrant populations, which dissuades undocumented workers from reporting abusive conditions (Brennan, 2008; Sampaio, 2015). A recent four-year analysis of labor trafficking in the U.S. found that 80 percent of victims were migrant workers (Bracy et al., 2021). Another study of migrant workers in California found that 30 percent of undocumented migrant workers were victims of labor trafficking, and 55 percent were victims of other labor abuses (Zhang et al., 2014). Brennan and Plambech (2018) argue that so few labor trafficking survivors are identified partially because of the lack of political will to address this form of exploitation. Identifying labor trafficking survivors would call attention to abusive labor conditions and the vulnerabilities that migrants face in the U.S., which may benefit influential stakeholders like corporate leaders and lobbyists. Furthermore, an overemphasis on sex trafficking and the misunderstanding that it is more prevalent than labor trafficking (Weitzer, 2014; Merry, 2016) causes most agencies, organizations, and the general public to ignore the crime completely.

Human trafficking, which encompasses both sex and labor trafficking, has traditionally been addressed through human rights and carceral frameworks. A human rights approach focuses on individual rights and freedoms violations and typically advocates for state remedies through policy and international law, emphasizes the role of inter-government organizations (IGOs) to coordinate action between states, and encourages non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to provide services to victims (Birkenthal, 2012; Obokata, 2006). Over the last two decades, this approach has gained momentum as more anti-trafficking NGOs have emerged, advocating for a victim-centered approach focusing on post-trafficking actions through rescue, rehabilitation, repatriation, and reintegration programs (Shamir, 2012).

A carceral approach, which became the dominant frame after the passage of the U.N. Trafficking Protocol, is also state-centered, focusing on individual cases through law enforcement remedies and centers the criminal justice system as imperative when addressing human trafficking (Merry, 2016). One consequence of this approach is that victims are often arrested, detained, charged, and even prosecuted for unlawful activities such as entering the United States illegally, working illegally, or engaging in sex work (Gallagher, 2010). It is important to note that while it's important to differentiate between these frameworks, there is significant overlap between them. For example, both frameworks address the aftermath of trafficking, are focused on individual victims and criminals, and are bolstered by policies, often within the same statutes and international protocols.

In addition, Musto (2011) argues that advocacy efforts to protect the rights of trafficked persons have become increasingly appropriated by the criminal justice system and the law enforcement paradigm of anti-trafficking initiatives. One consequence of what Musto calls "carceral protectionism" is the marginalization of undocumented migrants. For example, protections for some survivors of trafficking come with mandates for law enforcement intervention. The T Visa, a humanitarian visa designed to provide legal status for non-citizens trafficked in the U.S., requires applicants to show that they have cooperated with law enforcement. The required law enforcement certification can be challenging to secure and retraumatize applicants, and stokes apprehensions toward police and the ever-present threat of deportation (Goehrung & Castellano, 2023). As I explain in more detail below, I align with the literature which argues that a third approach, a labor rights approach, should also be central to the strategy for addressing human trafficking generally and labor trafficking specifically (See Table 3.1) (Gallagher, 2010; Kolben, 2010; Shamir, 2012).

A labor rights approach can potentially address state and market failures leading to worker vulnerability. A market failure perspective highlights the importance of collective action among workers and positions the labor market and structure as the main adversary/exploiter rather than a singular criminal or organized criminal enterprise. In response to state failure, this approach also emphasizes the need for institutional reform to immigration law and worker visa programs. This analysis focuses on one potential avenue for addressing market failure.

I argue that the labor rights approach would be useful for addressing both theoretical gaps and offering practical solutions (see Table 3.1). Theoretically, a labor rights approach could help academics, practitioners, and policymakers better understand labor trafficking. In contrast to sex trafficking, in which an individual or group of criminals are painted as the exploiters, a labor rights approach emphasizes legal, social, and labor structures that marginalize workers. For example, the immigration enforcement system in the United States is essential to understanding the prevalence of labor trafficking of migrants because the fear of detention and deportation greatly reduces the likelihood that victims will come forward (Agarin et al., 2014; Barrick et al., 2014; Brennan, 2014; Cavalieri, 2010; Owens et al., 2014). A labor rights approach also offers new avenues for addressing this crime, which is important because the traditional state-centric approaches are not doing enough. For example, a study on the victimization process of labor trafficking in the United States found that most victims came into contact with embassy or consulate officials. Still, those officials did not distribute information regarding workers' rights or screen for human trafficking indicators (Owens et al., 2014). A labor rights approach would identify the temporary worker visa process as an essential site of anti-trafficking efforts. While further analysis and reform of the U.S. visa process is an important and necessary aspect of a labor rights framework, this analysis focuses on labor unions as a pathway to addressing these market failures.

Table 3.1: Frameworks for Addressing Human Trafficking

	Human Rights	**Carceral**	**Labor**
Theory of Change	- Trafficking should be addressed by implementing policies that restore a victim's human rights	- Trafficking should be addressed by successful prosecution and investigation of criminal activities	- Trafficking should be addressed by identifying the structural market conditions and labor regulations that shape workers' vulnerability
Main Actors	- Policymakers - International institutions (treaty enactment) - NGOs	- Law enforcement officials - Policymakers - International institutions (treaty enactment)	- Labor unions - Private sector - Policymakers
Primary Actions	- Implementing policies aimed at protecting victims and allocating funding to services - International law which establishes human rights - Providing rehabilitation services for victims	- Criminal investigations and prosecution - Strengthening immigration law and tighter border control - International treaties which obligate states to prosecute traffickers	- Emphasizing unionization and collective bargaining - Expanding protectionist workplace policies - Protections for victimized migrants - Reform of worker visa programs
Main Contributions	- Obligates states to address violations through international law - Provides protection for victims after trafficking - Ensures victims have access to important services	- Ensures accountability for traffickers - Important in the identification of traffickers and victims - Disrupts organized crime	- Establishes safe working conditions to avoid exploitation - Acknowledges a range of exploitation - Directs attention to structural conditions that enable worker vulnerability as well as to the exploitation of men
Main Limitations	- Focus is on the individual victim after trafficking occurred - Often a gendered focus - Lacks a deep analysis of the structural labor market conditions and inequalities that shape vulnerabilities	- Focus is on the individual victim after trafficking occurred - Criminalization survivors - Lacks a deep analysis of the structural labor market conditions and inequalities that shape vulnerabilities	- Path is less clear for addressing sex trafficking when sex work is illegal - Corporate incentives to cut costs - May exclude non-union workers

Because of its position as a central actor in protecting labor rights, this analysis will focus on the labor union as a site for protecting migrant workers from labor exploitation. Labor unions can play an important role in preventing labor exploitation by providing legal help for migrant workers. When migrants feel empowered with knowledge about and assistance with their visa status, it's unlikely that an employer will be able to use their worker status against them. For example, the Laborers' International Union of North America provides comprehensive information about H-2B visas and explains that workers with them are vulnerable to exploitation. This union also engages in political advocacy to fight for regulations protecting H-2B visa holders (Liuna, 2024). Unions also engage in other ways to prioritize labor exploitation. For instance, The International Union of Painters and Allied Trades pledged $25,000 to support an app that makes it easier for day laborers to report wage theft (Robbins, 2016).

Even when unions just provide general information about labor exploitation to their members, this benefits all workers who may be vulnerable. Unions prioritize collective action, and members are more likely to spot exploitation when they are empowered with information. If unions do not prioritize labor trafficking, it's more likely that exploited workers will go unnoticed and that migrant workers may be taken advantage of. While there have been several theoretical and policy-focused studies on the relationship between immigration and labor exploitation in the U.S. (Bouche et al., 2018; Chacon, 2017; Hepburn & Simon, 2010; Väyrynen, 2003), I am unaware of any studies examining specific unions through a labor rights approach in fighting this form of exploitation in the United States. Through a qualitative, descriptive analysis, I examine the websites of 100 labor unions in the United States to examine whether and how they demonstrate concern for and provide information about labor exploitation and specific protections for migrants.

Throughout this paper, I will use the terms labor trafficking and labor exploitation interchangeably. Labor exploitation exists on a spectrum where labor trafficking is on the extreme end. While labor trafficking is a codified legal term, many migrant workers find themselves in situations with abuse and exploitation that might not arise from the legal definition of trafficking. Scholars such as Brennan and Plambech (2018) argue that research on labor exploitation in the U.S. should not be limited to individuals who fit into this definition because this obfuscates the bigger issue of forced labor and labor exploitation in the United States. Many migrant workers find themselves in "labor purgatory," where they are working in exploitative situations that don't quite meet the definition of trafficking (Brennan, 2017). To focus solely on those who fit neatly into this definition would ignore many individuals who experience daily abuse, violence, and unfair practices at the workplace. Furthermore, because I focus on the role of unions, which do not distinguish between protecting workers who are legally trafficked and those who are not, I consider the full spectrum of labor exploitation relevant for this paper.

This paper proceeds as follows. First, I explain labor trafficking and exploitation in the U.S. Next, I provide a brief literature review of relevant scholarship on human trafficking and labor exploitation, including common misconceptions about how it manifests. In this section, I pay particular attention to the diversity of opinions about the most effective approaches and frameworks to address human trafficking. I then present my theory on the importance of a labor rights approach as being central to addressing the labor exploitation of migrant workers and highlight the importance of the role of unions in this approach. Furthermore, I offer two hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 (H1) theorizes that unions in sectors with higher immigrant populations will be more likely to provide information and programming about labor trafficking generally and guidance for undocumented immigrants specifically. Hypothesis 2 (H2) theorizes that unions with

the highest annual receipts will be more likely to prioritize these issues. My methodology and analysis follow, which is a descriptive, qualitative analysis of labor union websites. Finally, I highlight the limitations of this approach and conclude with a discussion of the implications of my findings, including the optimistic potential of labor unions fighting the labor exploitation of migrant workers in the U.S.

3.2 Labor Trafficking and Exploitation

The U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act defines labor 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" (TVPA, 2000). There are three important aspects to this definition. The "acts" element refers to the method a trafficker uses: recruits, harbors, transports, provides, or obtains a person for labor or services. The "means" element includes a trafficker's use of force, fraud or coercion: threats of force, debt manipulation, psychological coercion, reputational harm, manipulation of the use of addictive substances, and more. Lastly, the "purpose" element refers to the trafficker's goal of exploiting a person for their labor or services. These three elements are necessary for a situation to constitute the crime of labor trafficking. Labor trafficking encompasses a widely diverse array of situations. Hepburn and Simon (2010) provide a few case examples of labor trafficking. In one instance, a group of Thai citizens were forced to work and live in buildings damaged by Hurricane Katrina. Brought into the U.S. on temporary H-2A visas, their passports were confiscated and they were forced to work on farms. An armed trafficker guarded their subhuman living quarters. In another example, a 10-year-old Egyptian girl was forced into domestic servitude in Irvine, California. The couple who she worked for confiscated her

documents, forced her to work as the nanny to five children and as the housekeeper with no pay, physically and verbally abused her, and threatened her with deportation.

Reliable estimates of the prevalence of labor trafficking are hampered by a lack of shared understanding of its definition, as well as several significant hurdles in collecting reliable data. There is a "lack of systematic information about the existence of victims," leading many law enforcement agencies to doubt the presence of trafficking in their jurisdictions (Zhang, 2012, p. 474). The myriad of ways labor trafficking is defined, as well as a lack of systematic data collection on labor trafficking, hinders reaching potential victims and establishing prevention measures. A leading scholar on labor trafficking in the U.S., Denise Brennan, argues that "the low numbers of individuals found thus far in forced (non-sexual) labor nationwide has been, in part, a consequence of not looking" (Brennan, 2014, p. 46). A recent study by Farrell et al. (2020) confirms that U.S. police efforts are focused more heavily on sex trafficking. This study also explains that during investigations of labor trafficking cases, identifying victims is difficult because trafficked workers are often working alongside legitimate workers. Further complicating the issue, labor trafficking is frequently conflated with human smuggling. Due to their inherently vulnerable position, migrants sometimes face trafficking during the smuggling, but this is not always the case (Goehrung & Castellano, 2023).

The crime of labor trafficking encapsulates the worst instances of labor exploitation. Still, many migrants find themselves in horrendous and exploitative conditions that may not amount to labor trafficking as defined by U.S. law. There are few to no labor protections for migrant workers in the informal sector, leading to a normalized culture of exploitative labor. Migrants disproportionately work in unsafe jobs that pay very little. In the United States, migrant workers are overwhelmingly employed in the following sectors: natural resources, construction and

maintenance, agriculture, production, and transportation. These industries report much higher injury rates than others (Moyce & Schenker, 2018). When exploitation and hazardous conditions are the norm, labor trafficking can blend into the background of abusive, but not illegal, labor practices (Brennan, 2008; Orrenius & Zavodny, 2009).

While migrant workers, including those who are undocumented, are protected by U.S. labor laws, immigration law often undermines these protections. Though migrant workers, particularly from Mexico and Central America, have become increasingly central to the U.S. economy, migrants have also become increasingly vulnerable in the post-9/11 period of immigration policy. Paret (2014) argues that the increased focus on deporting illegal migrants is directly linked to their vulnerability to labor exploitation. Some scholars even argue that stricter immigration laws are directly related to higher rates of labor exploitation and trafficking because more sinister forms of criminality are required to overcome border security (Väyrynen, 2003). Overall, migrant workers in the United States are particularly vulnerable to labor exploitation. In the worst scenarios, they may experience labor trafficking. This paper considers labor unions a particularly promising site to intervene and provide migrant workers with information, prevention measures, and protection from labor exploitation.

3.3 Literature Review and Theory

Human trafficking is a research topic that spans multiple disciplines. Legal scholarship questions whether the legal definition of human trafficking is too narrow or too broad (Dahlstrom, 2020), feminist scholarship tends to focus on the conflation between sex work and sex trafficking, highlighting the harm that anti-trafficking work can have on sex workers (Bettio et al., 2017; Cavaleri, 2011), while criminal justice studies are concerned with law enforcement tactics and constructing ideal victim types (Wilson & O'Brian, 2016; Villacampa & Torres, 2017). Third-

sector research typically focuses on the activities of anti-trafficking nonprofits and often critiques a savior approach to the work (Castellano, 2023; Limoncelli, 2016; Shih, 2016). Political science scholarship frequently questions policy effectiveness, compliance with international treaties, and the relationship between borders, markets, and exploitation (Cho & Vadlamannati, 2012; Peksen et al., 2017; Zhang et al., 2014). Overall, studies on sex trafficking dominate research on human trafficking (Russell, 2018; Dimas et al., 2021; Gozdziak & Bump, 2008; Sweileh, 2018).

This focus sidelines labor trafficking. Not only is labor trafficking under-studied, but it's also underfunded and is largely absent in policy discussions about human trafficking and NGO programs aimed at helping survivors (Lobasz, 2018; Weitzer, 2007). While few studies focus exclusively on labor trafficking, even fewer focus on the labor trafficking and exploitation of migrant workers in the U.S. (Bracy et al., 2021). One such study focuses on the labor trafficking of undocumented migrant workers in San Diego and found that there are notable variations across the different business sectors that typically hire undocumented migrant workers (Zhang et al., 2014). This paper seeks to add to the literature that highlights the vulnerabilities of migrant workers to labor trafficking and exploitation as well as highlight potential avenues to address it.

Some scholars argue that human trafficking is primarily framed as a human rights issue as it's easy to point to many individual human rights violations that victims of trafficking face, including but not limited to the right to freedom, the right to safety, and the right to movement (Birkenthal, 2012; Obokata, 2006). A traditional human rights framework concerns an individual's rights relative to the state's power (see Table 3.1). Thus, solutions to this problem should be state policies and international resolutions designed to curb this power and to help individual victims whose rights have been violated (Shamir, 2012). For example, a human rights approach to human trafficking highlights the tendency of states to criminalize survivors for sex work or illegal

immigration and calls on them to stop. However, these policies involve high technical and political costs for governments because they require deep policy changes around anti-prostitution policies and immigration enforcement (Castellano, 2022).

Birkenthal's (2012) article highlights the multilateral approach for state governments and inter-governmental organizations to best protect and provide services for survivors through policymaking and institutional reform. For example, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime launched a campaign to raise awareness and fight trafficking, which coordinated action among states and NGOs. In addition, the United Nations Human Rights Council passed a resolution in 2012 advocating for access to effective remedies for trafficked persons. The resolution urges states "to recognize trafficked persons as victims with specific protection needs from the moment they are trafficked, and to ensure the promotion, protection, and fulfillment of their human rights (U.N. Human Rights Council, 2012, p. 3). One such policy that emerges from this framework is allocating funds to rehabilitation services to restore a victim's right to housing, security, and health. This differs from the criminal justice framework, which usually seeks to use the victim's experience for investigative purposes, a practice that may undermine a victim-centered human rights approach. (Desyllas, 2007). Neither framework includes a deep analysis of and recommendations for the structural labor market conditions and inequalities that shape worker vulnerability. In contrast, a labor rights approach emphasizes the right to unionize, collective bargaining, and labor regulations as the main avenues for improving working conditions (Shamir, 2012).

Other scholars argue that rather than a human rights approach, human trafficking is primarily approached through a criminal justice lens. Segrave (2009) claims this approach goes unquestioned and overshadows other potential avenues. This framing typically focuses on a

narrative about law enforcement raids and sting operations for rescuing victims of sex trafficking in a "good guys vs. bad guys" tale (Hill, 2016). Pointing to the emphasis on prosecuting criminals in the U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) and the U.N. Protocol on Trafficking, scholars such as Merry (2016) and Todres (2013) assert that the current approach to human trafficking is a criminal framework. This argument is convincing because the U.N. Protocol on trafficking is attached to the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, a major international crime convention.

Unsurprisingly, the subsequent anti-trafficking framework in the U.S. blames human trafficking on organized crime rather than systems of oppression, economic disparities, violence in families, or a lack of legal modes of migration (Merry, 2016). Furthermore, the U.N. Protocol on Trafficking contains obligatory language around prosecutorial actions (Gallagher, 2010) but weak language around protecting victims. For example, Article 6 says that states 'shall consider' implementing measures for physical, psychological, and social recovery for victims (Obokata, 2006). Though many scholars distinguish between the human rights and carceral frameworks (Shami, 2012; Lobasz, 2018; Merry, 2016; Youngdahl, 2009; McSherry & Kneebone, 2008; Schwart, 2023), violations of criminal law and human rights are often interlinked through international frameworks and criminal justice responses to human rights violations (Obokata, 2006). However, it's still important to acknowledge the different approaches as they highlight different priorities and actors to address it.

This study aims to fit into the literature which argues that while the acknowledgment and protection of individual human rights and ensuring a just and effective criminal justice system are important in the fight against human trafficking, labor rights must also be a central strategy for addressing labor trafficking (Chuang, 2014; Gallagher, 2010; Kolben, 2010; Pope, 2010). This is

particularly true for migrant workers as a labor rights approach "does not insist that morally blameworthy individuals be identified and punished" (Pope, 2010, p. 1859), such as undocumented individuals. The underground nature of working in informal labor sectors and incentives to remain invisible to law enforcement compounds their vulnerability to exploitation.

A human rights approach that centers the individual as the victim and which focuses on the sex trafficking of women and girls (McSherry and Kneebone, 2008; Segrave, 2009) isn't adequate for protecting this population. As Lisa Chaco argues in her 2014 book *Social Death,* human rights have limited potential for mobilizing people to demand structural changes for populations deemed "illegal." Undocumented migrants are inherently violating the law and thus are refused the right to demand other legally supported rights. Because migrant workers are often treated as a reserve of flexible labor, they are outside the protection of labor safety and healthy workplace standards. While U.S. labor laws generally apply to all workers regardless of citizenship status, migrants, both undocumented and documented, face a difficult decision regarding reporting exploitation. For undocumented migrants, there is an inherent threat of detention or deportation. For documented migrants, their work status may be tied to their employer (Shamir, 2012).

In addition, many migrants work in sectors that the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), a U.S. law that prosecutes labor violations, does not protect. The NLRA excludes independent contractors, domestic workers, and agricultural workers. Migrants are frequently employed in domestic work and agriculture (Pope, 2010), and employers of low-income workers often misclassify their employees as independent contractors (NELP, 2005). Furthermore, migrant workers suffer from the juxtaposition between the migrant and refugee categories. The refugee regime is based on a set of rights that particular migrants are deemed to deserve. However, migrants who do not fit into that category do not enjoy this set of rights and international concerns,

including a more straightforward path to citizenship, specific services to aid in resettlement, and non-refoulement (Motomura, 2020). Without this set of guaranteed rights, the international approach to migration tends to be one of control rather than one where human rights are a fundamental basis (Taran, 2001). Relatedly, Ruhs (2012) argues that the role and interest of the state must be central to analyzing migrant rights. These rights are a subset of citizenship rights derived from a relationship with a particular nation-state rather than universal notions of humanity or human dignity.

A law enforcement approach to human trafficking is also inadequate for protecting migrant workers from labor trafficking as it is often framed as a threat to border security and focuses on increased border control, which may increase the vulnerability of migrant workers (Lobasz, 2018). Chaco (2014) argues that people with illegal and criminal statuses are excluded from the law's protection but are still subject to the law's discipline and punishment. Though violence against undocumented migrants falls under the jurisdiction of law enforcement, scholars argue that a system of "crimmigration" converges immigration and criminal law, leading to dangerous consequences for interacting with law enforcement (Rosenbloom, 2018; Macías-Rojas, 2016). This fear is likely justified as law and immigration enforcement often sees undocumented workers through a criminal justice lens as people who "choose" to move to the United States and take exploitative work. Thus, undocumented migrants are less likely than documented workers or citizens to report crimes to law enforcement (Macías-Rojas, 2016; Rodriguez et al., 2021; Wong et al., 2021). "Interpreted through a neoliberal value system, "illegal" status is a choice made by rational individuals who are ultimately resigned to being underpaid, cheated, and abused because after "calculating" the risks or "gambling" against the odds, each person presumably decided that undocumented status would still be "worth" it" (Chaco, 2014, p. 19).

The immigration enforcement system, as well as governmental anti-trafficking work in the U.S., is actively perpetuating the precarious work situations migrants find themselves in. For example, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) aims to protect the U.S. from illegal immigration and enforce laws related to smuggling and trafficking (Lobasz, 2018). Thus, it is not in the best interest of an undocumented migrant experiencing trafficking to involve law enforcement. Though the U.N. Protocol on human trafficking calls on states to change an identified trafficking survivor's status from an illegal migrant to a victim of a crime, governments often use trafficking as a justification for stronger border control. While law enforcement may still crack down on employers who exploit migrants, increased immigration enforcement sometimes interferes with this process. In one example, ICE arrested 23 migrants who were trafficking victims in North Dakota even though these individuals worked with federal investigators to bring a case against their trafficker, Signal International (Hepburn & Simon, 2010). Fear of this type of retaliation breeds distrust in the legal system and increases the likelihood that exploited migrants will not engage with the legal system at all (Merry, 1990; Nielsen, 2004; Gleeson, 2010). Furthermore, as many states increase border security and immigration policies, migrants resort to riskier methods to cross borders, increasing their vulnerability to exploitation and trafficking (Amahazion, 2015).

Centering a labor rights approach in addressing the labor exploitation of migrant workers works to fill in the theoretical gaps and potential solutions left by the traditional human rights and criminal justice frameworks by addressing how the market structures, work status, and power imbalances in the workplace render workers vulnerable to trafficking and exploitation (see Table 3.1). Shamir (2012) argues that "incorporating a labor approach into the prevailing anti-trafficking framework will fix many of the current deficiencies in contending with human trafficking" (p.

104). Most notably, these deficiencies include addressing exploitation primarily after it occurs, focusing on individual victims and criminals rather than groups of vulnerable people and systems of oppression, centering the experiences of female survivors, and failing to identify market inequality and the state-sponsored visa system as structures that perpetuate exploitation.

Chuang (2014) asserts that a "labor lens brings into focus both the broader economic and social structures that foster vulnerability to trafficking in the first place and the power disparities between individual victims and their trafficker" (p. 639). Thus, anti-trafficking regimes should include a framework that prioritizes targeting the structure of labor markets and exploitative labor practices. Unlike the traditional human rights or criminal justice approaches, a labor rights approach focuses on the power of groups of workers relative to employers and acknowledges that workers are exploited in a market context. This approach might offer new solutions, which is important because the current paradigms identify "only an alarmingly small number of individuals designated as trafficking victims and offers little to the rest of the trafficked population" (Shamir, 2012). Youngdahl (2009) claims that framing labor struggles as human rights struggles is misplaced because human rights discourse individualizes the struggle at work. This obfuscates the importance of solidarity and unity, central to the union movement. Centering labor rights transforms the narrative of individual passive victims whose rights are violated and who need rescuing into one where victims are agents who can work collectively to change their working conditions (Shamir, 2012).

Furthermore, a labor this approach highlights how states and corporations play an important role in perpetuating labor exploitation through their roles in profiting off goods produced with forced labor as well as the state-sponsored guest-worker programs in which labor exploitation often occurs (Chuang, 2014). While the government is obligated to protect all these workers, the

current temporary work visa programs in the United States require much reform to adequately address the vulnerabilities of workers. For example, most temporary worker visas are tied to employers. Thus, exploited workers face a risk of losing their jobs and subsequent deportation if they choose to speak up (Shamir, 2012). In addition, many visa-seeking migrants connect with recruiters who connect them to employment in the United States. They are sometimes subject to enormous fees, leaving them in debt before they start working. Costa (2022) highlights that sometimes migrants arrive in the U.S. to find out the promised jobs do not exist. He provides several recommendations for state reform, including legislation that would require employers to pay temporary visa holders no less than the local average wage, providing a clearer pathway to citizenship that is not tied to an employer, and increasing transparency in the recruitment process by requiring that recruiters register with the Department of Labor.

In addition to actions that the state can take to rectify limitations in its labor laws, a labor rights framework offers additional promising and understudied avenues for preventing the labor exploitation of migrants, such as the potential for labor unions to protect their members. In Freeman and Medoff's (1984) seminal piece, *What do Unions Do*, they argue that collective action and bargaining are the most effective ways to give workers a voice in the workplace. Furthermore, unions provide a safety net for bringing grievances against an exploiter. Thus, I argue that unions are an ideal site to study a labor rights approach to migrant exploitation. Unlike the human rights and criminal justice frameworks that highlight an individual victim's wrongdoing, unions conceptualize the worker's collective. Unions aim to solve collective action problems through bargaining units to correct power imbalances between the worker and employer. This is particularly important for workers in precarious positions, such as migrants. The solidarity with other workers and the structure of collective bargaining help workers fight for better working

conditions. A global study of labor trafficking conducted by Bowersox (2022) found that labor trafficking is less likely to occur in countries with greater union density.

Because unions aim to represent the interests of their members, I expect that unions in sectors with high numbers of migrants, both documented and undocumented, will be more likely to provide information and programming for migrant workers around the threat of labor exploitation. Furthermore, a union solidarity framework often emphasizes protecting the most vulnerable of its members, which may be migrant workers in these sectors. 2022 data from the Census Bureau indicates that the construction, service, and agricultural industries have the largest share of migrant workers (Census Bureau, 2022). Similarly, Pew Research data from 2014 shows that undocumented migrants are overrepresented in agriculture, construction, and the leisure and hospitality industries (Pew Trust, 2014). Lastly, 2015 Pew data found that immigrants are more likely than U.S.-born workers to work in administrative services, agriculture, construction, leisure and hospitality, and manufacturing (Pew, 2015).[2]

Hypothesis 1 (H1): Labor unions in sectors with high immigrant salience are more likely to provide substantial engagement with and concern for migrant workers and labor exploitation.

On the other hand, whether unions prioritize the labor exploitation of migrant workers might be more related to the amount of resources unions have to dedicate to an issue like this. The U.S. government categorizes labor unions as nonprofit, tax-exempt 501c(5) organizations. Though their mandate is not to make a profit, raising money still matters for their ability to organize, support members filing grievances, provide outreach about core issues, invest in technology, and lobby for political causes. Labor unions raise most of their funds from membership dues and

[2] Pew Research Center uses the U.S. Census Bureau's North American Industry Classification System. For example, administrative services are defined as sector 56, which "comprises establishments performing routine support activities for the day-to-day operations of other organizations…Activities performed include: office administration, hiring and placing of personnel, document preparation and similar clerical services, solicitation, collection, security and surveillance services, cleaning, and waste disposal services" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2024).

initiation fees. These amounts can differ from union to union (Masters & Gibney, 2023). They may also receive money through investments, loans, item sales, and grants (Office of Labor-Management Standards, 2022).

Ford (2015) argues that while labor unions are mandated to oppose all forms of exploitation, they have limited resources that may be better used elsewhere. Furthermore, "Remediating individual cases of forced labor is particularly resource-intensive, and often controversial, especially in contexts where trade unions have difficulty servicing the needs of their core membership" (Ford, 2015, p. 8). Thus, trade unions might experience pushback from members if they feel that substantial resources are used to support such issues when finances are scarce. If this theory is supported, I expect labor unions with the highest annual receipts from the last fiscal year will prioritize labor exploitation on their websites. The Department of Labor defines annual receipts as all financial receipts of the labor organization during the fiscal year, regardless of the source (Office of Labor-Management Standards, 2022). The unions with the highest annual receipts in 2023 are the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, United Steelworkers, the National Education Association of the United States, the Professional Athletes Federation, and the United Food and Commercial Workers.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): Labor unions with the highest annual receipts are more likely to provide substantial engagement with and concern for migrant workers and labor exploitation.

3.4 Methodology

To examine whether and how labor unions inform and protect their members, particularly migrants, from labor exploitation, I compiled a dataset of the 100 labor unions in the United States. To generate this list, I consulted the Department of Labor's database of annual forms that labor unions must submit. I generated reports for the last fiscal year through the Department of Labor's union search function for LM-2, LM-3, and LM-4 forms. These forms are annual reports that the

government requires labor unions to submit (which form a union submits depends on the union's total yearly receipts) (Dept. of Labor, 2023). I then sorted these lists by membership and included the top 100 unions by membership in my dataset. I first documented the number of members in each union, the total receipts for 2023, and the year the union was established.

Once I had my list of unions, I thoroughly searched each union's website. I used several strategies for finding information on these websites. First, I used the search function on the website if there was one to search keywords such as "trafficking," "exploitation," "exploit," "immigrant," "migrant," "undocumented," and "citizenship." I used the same keyword search if an organization had another search function for articles or media posts on its website. I then cross-referenced these results with a more general and comprehensive word search of the website through Google. This search returns all instances of a keyword or phrase on a website.[3] I then documented brief notes about the results (if any), including links to the corresponding web pages. I also noted what type of engagement I saw. I categorized the engagement into reporting, political advocacy, union mission, resolutions, charity, and programming. Reporting refers to an article, write-up, or blog post which reports on a topic or event. Political advocacy indicates that the union supports or condemns a particular law or elected official. Union mission is when the topic of migrant workers or labor exploitation is central to the union mission, as stated on the website. Resolutions are typically formal statements that are voted on by union members. Charity refers to charitable events or fundraising campaigns that union members lead. Lastly, programming refers to specific trainings, education, or other programs that the union organizes specifically designed to help their members in some way.

[3] To conduct a keyword search of a website through Google, you type site:, enter the domain of the website, add a space, and then enter the word or phrase you want to search for on the website (i.e. site:https://ufw.org/ trafficking).

I am particularly interested in the programming category of engagement because it indicates an active effort by the union to engage with, provide information for, and protect migrant workers through support on their visa status, advice on ICE interactions, and staying protected from labor exploitation. An example of programming is from United Food and Commercial Workers, a union representing workers in grocery and retail stores, pharmacies, manufacturing facilities, and food processing industries. The website has a webpage titled "Protecting your constitutional rights during a workplace raid," which provides detailed tips and advice about what to do if a worker is stopped by ICE or if ICE comes to their home (UFCW, 2020).

As I started my analysis, it became clear that labor unions often take positions about social issues that are not explicitly connected to their members. A union might take a position against human trafficking generally, but not specifically directed at protecting their members from it. For example, the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers highlights January as human trafficking awareness month. It explains how its members are trained to spot human trafficking in their places of work (IAMAW, 2024). This is important for the overall anti-trafficking movement but is notably different than a labor union protecting its workers from labor exploitation. Thus, I needed to categorize engagement with labor exploitation and migrant workers by external and internal concerns. External refers to any union activity, reporting, or engagement about the issue outside of their labor union. Internal refers to this activity explicitly about or directed to the union's members. Lastly, I used the Wayback Machine to document whether there was a difference in union engagement with labor exploitation and migrant workers between the Biden and the Trump administrations. The Wayback Machine is an internet archive that allows users to see internet data from previous versions of websites on specific days and times in the past.

Table 3.2: Measuring Union Engagement with Labor Exploitation and Migrant Workers

None/Low Engagement	No mention of migrants and labor exploitation OR only low external concern (typically demonstrated through political advocacy) for labor exploitation and migrants
Medium Engagement	Some mention of internal concern for migrants and labor exploitation OR just substantial external concern
High Engagement	Substantial programming and education for migrant members and for labor exploitation

3.5 Analysis

To examine each labor union's engagement with and concern for the labor exploitation of migrant workers, I developed a 3-tier scale (Table 3.2). I assigned the none/low category to unions that did not mention migrants and labor exploitation or only did so through low external concern (typically demonstrated through political advocacy) for labor exploitation and migrants. For example, the National Rural Letter Carriers' Association does not mention migrant workers or labor exploitation on its website. As Table 3.3 shows, over half of the unions in my dataset (56 unions) had no mention of migrants or labor exploitation on their websites. This is a surprising result, given the mandate of labor unions to fight labor exploitation. The medium engagement category is for unions with some mention of internal concern for migrants, labor exploitation, or substantial external concern. For example, the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers, and Helpers has substantial information on its website supporting Biden's plans to protect workers from exploitation. They also have a report about the rates of exploitation of bricklayers in India. However, the only internal concern for the exploitation of its members is that they identify fighting exploitation as central to the mission of the union but do not go into detail about what this exploitation looks like, how to spot it, or what to do about it (Boilermakers, 2019). The high engagement category is for unions with substantial programming

and education for migrant members and labor exploitation. For example, the website for United Farm Workers has a full page (and more) dedicated to educating migrant workers about their rights and immigrant member advocacy. The website also has substantial information, advocacy, and reporting about the relationship between labor exploitation and policies around temporary work visas (UFW Foundation, 2017).

Because this study focuses on labor exploitation, a union could not be in the high category if it only discussed or reported on sex trafficking, even if the engagement was substantial. Table 3.3 delineates how many unions fall into each of these categories. Seven unions fall into the high/high category, where there is significant programming, education, and/or reporting on issues related to labor exploitation within the union's sector and for migrant workers. Table 3.4 lists these unions.

Table 3.3: Number of Unions that Fit into None/Low, Medium, and High Categories

	Labor Exploitation			
Migrant Workers		None/Low	Medium	High
	None/Low	56	5	1
	Medium	12	7	3
	High	2	7	7

Notably, a few unions fall into the High Labor Exploitation/Medium Migrant Workers and High Migrant Workers/Medium Labor Exploitation categories. This suggests that these unions are actively engaged in this issue, but not to the same extent as the seven unions in the High Labor Exploitation/High Migrant Workers category. For example, the International Union of Bricklayers

and Allied Craftworkers published an article about the rampant exploitation of undocumented migrants in the construction industry (BAC, 2023). This union did not fall into the High Labor Exploitation/High Migrant Workers category because it just reports on this exploitation and does not provide substantial programming and/or education for its members about this issue. This kind of reporting is important because it spreads awareness about a problem that does not typically receive enough attention. Still, it is not a sufficient intervention in working to end the exploitation of migrant workers.

Table 3.4: List of Unions in the High/High Category

Name and Abbreviation of Union	**Sector of the Union**
Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union (BCTGM)	Food processing
Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC)	Migrant farm workers
International Union of Painters and Allied Trades (IUPAT)	Construction-industry painters, drywall, sign workers, glaziers
Laborers' International Union of North America (LIUNA)	Miscellaneous construction workers, other trades
United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW)	Grocery and retail stores, pharmacies, health care, manufacturing facilities, food processing, and meatpacking industries
UNITE HERE	Hotel, casino, restaurant, commercial food service, garment manufacturing
United Farm Workers (UFW)	Farm workers

I do not find a significant difference in how unions engaged with their members on labor exploitation or issues related to migrants during the Trump and Biden administrations. However, unions were likelier to advocate for immigration issues during the Trump administration. For example, the Airline Pilots Association did not engage with immigrant issues except for guidance

about what green card-holding members from banned countries should do during Trump's Muslim ban (ALPA, 2017). Similarly, the National Union of Healthcare Workers only engaged with issues related to its immigrant members during the Trump administration. It passed a resolution dedicating the union as a "sanctuary union," which means it pledged "to do everything within its power to ensure the safety and security of all members of our community regardless of their immigration status" (NUHW, 2017). This pattern suggests that labor unions will take a stand and speak out when some members face new and unsafe legislation or other political threats.

3.6 Limitations

Several methodological and theoretical limitations highlight areas for future research and deserve further consideration. Theoretically, some scholars argue that labor unions are limited in what they can achieve regarding labor exploitation, suggesting that there should be other avenues for fighting this exploitation through a labor rights framework. For example, Ford (2015) argues that organizing and fighting exploited migrant workers can be difficult because labor exploitation is rampant in sectors where it's hard to reach workers, such as in domestic work. In addition, labor unions are limited because of the decline in labor union membership. There has been a downward trend in union density (defined as the proportion of wage and salary workers who are union members) since the 1950s. However, a renewed interest in and favorable attitudes towards unions resurfaced in the 2010s (Milkman, 2020). Recent wins for organized labor include Starbucks and Amazon warehouse workers unionizing. A 2020 Gallup poll revealed that 70 percent of Americans approve of unions (Naidu, 2022).

Furthermore, a labor rights approach that focuses on the power of labor unions and the need for immigration and labor reform may exclude other vulnerable workers, such as non-union migrants and vulnerable U.S. citizens. However, it is important to note that unions may raise wages

and influence standards for non-union workers as well because non-union employers might take action to avoid unionization and signals industry norms which employers should not ignore (Weeden & Grusky, 2014). I do not advocate for a labor rights approach to replace existing frameworks. In this way, a human rights framework that considers all humans' rights might be more expansive. Instead, I argue that a labor rights approach should be a central strategy in addition to human rights and criminal justice approaches. Methodologically, some labor union websites are underdeveloped. For example, the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers (AWPPW) website does not contain a search function, and some website pages are locked for members only. This limited my ability to thoroughly analyze their programs and priorities. Interviews with union leaders would greatly supplement this research. In addition, I relied on manual search techniques, which are subject to human error. While I used a variety of methods to search these websites, it's possible that I overlooked key information regarding their commitment to educating their members about labor trafficking and providing specific resources for undocumented workers.

3.7 Discussion and Conclusion

Given that exploitation makes goods and services cheaper, it's unlikely that it will ever be entirely eradicated because companies will continue to cut corners, leading to unsafe workplaces and abusive labor practices (Bowersox, 2022). Thus, labor exploitation and trafficking are issues worthy of more attention and discussion than they have historically been afforded. As Inglis (2001) argues, "Without a true commitment to undermining the substantial economic benefits of trafficking while bolstering economic opportunities for vulnerable persons, trafficking may prove to be extremely difficult to stop" (p. 103). The overemphasis on sex trafficking and the disregard for populations most vulnerable to labor trafficking has resulted in less research, government

action, and NGO funding directed toward labor trafficking and exploitation than is needed to address the issue adequately.

This is also partially due to the traditional frameworks through which human trafficking is typically addressed - human rights and criminal justice. I align with previous scholars who argue that labor rights must also be a central strategy for addressing labor trafficking and exploitation, particularly for migrant workers (Shamir, 2012; Youngdahl, 2009; Chuan, 2014). I argue that labor unions are one promising site for fighting labor exploitation through this lens because of their emphasis on solidarity and collective bargaining. This analysis highlights areas of improvement for the human rights and criminal justice frameworks. The human rights framework should do more to protect the rights of trafficked migrants, including pushing for a more comprehensive victim identification protocol that identifies survivors before detention and deportation proceedings begin. The carceral approach should focus more on adequate training for law enforcement and should do more to separate immigration enforcement from criminal investigations.

The results of this analysis follow previous scholarship on migrant work exploitation, which identify factories (Bonacich & Appelbaum, 2000; Ross, 2004; Misra, 2007), agriculture (Norwood, 2020; Zhang et al., 2014), meat processing (Striffler, 2006; Lever & Milbourne, 2017), day labor (Buckley et al., 2016; Valenzuela et al., 2006), and hospitality services (Bracy et al., 2021) as common sites of labor exploitation. The labor unions engaged in substantial programming for migrant workers and around labor exploitation are those in the agricultural, construction, retail, hospitality, and manufacturing sectors. This finding partially supports H1, that labor unions in sectors with high immigrant salience are more likely to provide substantial engagement with and concern for migrant workers and labor exploitation. This hypothesis is not fully supported because

other unions in sectors with high immigrant salience do not engage with these issues. For instance, two unions in the construction sector, the International Union of Operating Engineers and the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry do not engage with these topics on their websites.

I find less support for H2, that labor unions with the highest receipts are more likely to provide substantial engagement with and concern for migrant workers and labor exploitation. Only two of these five unions contain information about these issues on their websites. Most notably, the United Food and Commercial Workers union is the only union that falls into both categories: a union in a sector with high immigrant salience and the group with more financial resources. The National Education Association of the United States had medium engagement with issues related to migrant workers but no engagement with labor exploitation. Lastly, United Steelworkers, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the Professional Athletes Federation had no engagement with issues related to migrant workers or labor exploitation. The Professional Athletes Federation result is not surprising, but as mentioned earlier, it's surprising that the unions in the construction industry do not engage with these issues.

While I make the case that migrant workers are particularly vulnerable to labor exploitation and trafficking, it can happen to any worker in any industry. Overall, it's surprising that more unions did not substantially prioritize protecting their members, particularly migrant workers, who are inherently more vulnerable, from labor exploitation. This suggests a type of NGO failure, representation failure, where the agenda of NGOs does not represent the underprivileged (Dolšak & Prakash, 2022). Because states and markets often overlook these populations as well, this type of failure risks reproducing the inequities they are mandated to alleviate. In an ideal world, all

labor unions would dedicate time and resources to provide information and programming to protect their members from exploitation.

This research highlights several pathways for future research. First, from a longitudinal perspective, this study only covered the Trump and Biden administrations (2017-2023). This analysis highlights an uptick in immigration advocacy when stricter immigration laws were introduced. However, there was no notable difference in substantial engagement with the labor exploitation of migrant workers between the two administrations. Further research should study trends of when this topic has been of concern to labor unions in the U.S. In addition, micro-level research focusing on detailed case studies of labor unions engaged in protection from labor exploitation would help develop a deeper understanding of labor union strategies. Not all labor unions embrace the labor rights approach to addressing the labor exploitation of migrant workers, as advocated in this paper. A deeper analysis, including speaking with union leaders, might highlight union priorities and gaps in their strategies for addressing labor exploitation. It would also be worthwhile to interview migrant workers to examine their experiences working with unions and whether they interpret the types of union activities analyzed in this study as beneficial. In general, more research on the prevalence of labor exploitation is needed. The lack of this data contributes to the dearth of research on the topic.

Theoretically, this article contributes to the literature on human trafficking by highlighting the limitations of traditional frameworks in addressing the labor exploitation of migrant workers. Not only are there far too few articles that discuss labor trafficking at all, but there are even fewer that highlight the specific vulnerabilities of migrant workers. Practically, it highlights the work of unions in addressing address labor trafficking and exploitation of migrant workers. While many scholars criticize the lack of attention paid to labor trafficking in the media, academy, policy

discourse, and NGO work (Rodríguez-López, 2018; Russell, 2018; Weitzer, 2007; Austin & Farrell, 2017; Gozdziak & Bump, 2008) labor unions which represent sectors with high numbers of migrant workers are more likely to work to fight labor exploitation. This finding sheds a small, but important optimistic light on a distressing topic. Labor unions play a positive role in promoting equality, diversity, and safety in the workplace. Unions also play an important role in lobbying governments for improved labor laws and temporary visa programs (Alberti et al., 2013).

Overall, labor unions should be a central research topic for the study of labor trafficking, particularly of migrant workers. This research highlights the important work that some labor unions are engaged in, including providing essential information for migrant workers on ICE raids, visa status, and fighting labor trafficking and exploitation within its sector. It also highlights areas where more union learning should occur. Existing organizations, such as the Union Learning Fund, support union-led projects and training (Clough, 2012). Organizations like this should prioritize programming which fights labor exploitation, as well as guidance and programming for migrant workers.

Investing in Environmental Migration: An Analysis of Migration and Refugee NGOs

4.1 Introduction

Climate change poses a multifaceted threat to planet Earth through environmental devastations such as a loss of biodiversity, rising sea levels, and food shortages (Oliver-Smith, 2009; Pachauri & Reisinger, 2007). These changes impact individuals, communities, and entire states. One of the most visible ways that climate change manifests is through an increase in natural disasters (Banholzer, 2014). The most recent report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) states: "Evidence of observed changes in extremes such as heatwaves, heavy precipitation, droughts, and tropical cyclones, and, in particular, their attribution to human influence, has strengthened" (IPCC, 2023). Due to an increase in these extreme weather events and environmental degradation, climate change will displace families and even entire communities (Oliver-Smith, 2009; Eckersley, 2015). While the exact number of environmental migrants is difficult to predict due to complications with isolating climate change as a primary driver of movement (Ferris, 2020), a commonly cited number from environmentalist Norman Myers is 200 million people by 2050 (IOM, 2008). This is particularly concerning because even in the most optimistic carbon emission scenarios, greenhouse gases already emitted into the atmosphere will cause climate change to continue for several decades or even centuries (Van Aalst, 2006).

In some regions, an increase in natural disasters is already uprooting communities and livelihoods, causing many to migrate to new areas in search of work and a new home. Climate change disproportionately affects low-income countries, particularly in the global south, where some countries already see large-scale migration and degradation due to climate-related changes (Connell, 2013; Marino & Ribot, 2012; Nishimura, 2015). For example, Pacific Islands such as

Tuvalu face substantial risks from climate change because of rising sea levels (Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012). Alternatively, as one of the first countries to suffer obvious effects of climate change, Bangladesh has seen increased rural-urban migration over the last two decades due to extreme climate events, soil salinization, and river erosion (Ahsan & Warner, 2014). While these areas and other low-income countries are the most cited in the discourse on environmental migration, coastal communities in the United States also face climate-related vulnerabilities (Supekar, 2019). In addition, some indigenous communities have faced relocation efforts over the last decade (Shearer, 2012; Maldonado et al., 2013). For example, because Alaska has been warming at least twice as fast as the global average, 86 percent of Alaskan native villages are affected by flooding and erosion (Bronen, 2013). On the other side of the country, the Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw community is often cited as the first officially recognized environmental migrants in the United States. In January 2016, the United States government awarded a $48 million grant to fund the relocation of this community from the Isle de Jean Charles in Louisiana. This was due to rising sea levels and subsequent uninhabitable land (Táíwò, 2022).

The categorization of environmental migrants encompasses many different types of people and lived experiences. For example, some migrants may relocate due to a slow disruption in their livelihoods, such as changing rainfall patterns. In contrast, others may relocate because of an acute natural disaster, such as flash flooding. Changes in desertification, drought, and irregular rainfall pose a particular threat to individuals already vulnerable to socioeconomic factors such as poverty (Ahsan et al., 2014). In this study, I will use the term environmental migrants to encompass those who cannot stay in their communities because of a sudden climate-related disaster or destruction to their ways of living due to the long-term consequences of climate change. As I discuss in the literature review, ample debate exists about the best way to categorize and label these individuals.

I follow the terminology the International Organization for Migration (IOM) uses because it casts the widest net for who belongs in this category. The IOM defines environmental migrants as:

> Persons or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive change in the environment that adversely affects their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad (IOM, 2007, p 33).

While most environmental migrants will face internal displacement, climate change also affects international migration (McAdam, 2011; Beine & Parson, 2015; Coniglio & Pesce, 2015). This study focuses on organizations that serve cross-border environmental migrants rather than internally displaced persons. When climate change causes cross-border displacement, states face increased pressure to accommodate these migrants. However, most environmental migrants do not fall under the international framework of refugees because the international refugee treaty encompasses individuals who fear persecution due to their race, religion, nationality, or political opinion. Thus, states do not have legal obligations to accommodate environmental migrants (Ide, 2017; Abrahams, 2020).

Instead of a strong state response, I theorize that NGOs will likely become the main providers of aid and advocacy to environmental migrants. This aligns with government failure theory or the twin failures theory, which argues that NGOs arise due to failures of the market and the government and act on behalf of citizen preferences not represented elsewhere (Weisbrod, 1988; Dolšak & Prakash, 2022; Matsunaga et al., 2010). Furthermore, nonprofit organizations play a key role in addressing the multifaceted challenges associated with migration (Garkisch, 2017) and climate change (Kagan & Dodge, 2023). When given the opportunity to fill a gap in aiding environmental migrants, are U.S.-based organizations focusing on migration and refugees adapting to and investing in the needs of migrants imposed by climate change? If so, to what

extent? Does this vary by factors such as the region in which organizations function or the organization's size?

To examine the investment into programs, research, and advocacy for environmental migrants, I compiled an original dataset of 110 U.S.-based migrant and refugee nonprofit organizations. Through website scraping and text analysis, I collected data on the types of organizations, services they provide, religious affiliation, size, budget, location, and whether they actively invest resources in supporting environmental migrants (as communicated on their website). I consider actively investing resources to mean that organizations do more than simply mention climate change or natural disasters on their websites. They must engage in education and research about environmental migration or provide direct outreach and programming to environmental migrants. This is because it is relatively low cost to virtue signal to donors and stakeholders that an organization is committed to environmental justice. It is more significant to separate organizations engaged in this signaling from organizations actively investing financial resources or employee time to engage with this issue.

In addition to this dataset, I further explore underlying mechanisms by conducting in-depth interviews with representatives from two organizations that indicate they invest in environmental migration on their websites and two that do not. Due to the resource-scarce environment nonprofits typically occupy, I theorize that nonprofits are either driven by supply-side constraints (resources) or demand-side pressure (needs of their clients). If environmental migrants require different services than other types of migrants and refugees, NGOs located in places vulnerable to climate change might be driven to invest in environmental migration programming because of the demand to do so by their clients (environmental migrants). In this scenario, organizations with an international footprint working in countries most vulnerable to climate change are driven to

implement programs specific to environmental migration and, thus, will actively invest resources in this issue. If environmental migrants do not necessitate specific services, I theorize that whether an NGO invests in environmental migration would be due to supply-side constraints, specifically financial security, and higher annual revenue. My results support the latter argument, as revenue is highly associated with whether an organization invests resources in environmental migration. My interviews support the notion that environmental migrants do not necessitate different services than other migrants. Thus, organizations with more significant financial capacity can afford to invest in the environmental social movement by educating the public about environmental migration, lobbying for climate mitigation and legal protections for environmental migrants, and linking climate change and migration in their fundraising strategies.

4.2 Literature Review

4.2.1 Climate Change, Natural Disasters, and Migration

Climate change will cause a growing frequency of natural disasters, such as heat waves, droughts, and tropical cyclones. By the end of the twenty-first century, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) predicts that heavy precipitation events will increasingly lead to floods and landslides, and the "one-in-20-years hottest day" event will likely occur every other year (Banholzer et al., 2014). Berlemann and Steinhardt (2017) argue that migration may be the most direct adaptation strategy to climate change as populations in vulnerable areas make long-term plans to move to safer places. However, climate change may also force individuals and communities to relocate quickly because of sudden livelihood threats.

The discourse around environmental factors in migration is not new. It dates back to the 19th century with Friedrich Ratzel's 1882 "Anthropogeographie" (Piguet, 2012). Since then, there has been an abundance of literature focused on the connection between climate change, natural

disasters, and migration (Ferris, 2020; Oliver-Smith, 2009; Pachauri & Reisinger, 2007; Burleson, 2010; McAdam, 2011; Cohen & Bradley, 2010). This literature is important as it makes these connections explicit. As climate change worsens natural disasters, some people will either choose to or will need to migrate to find safe and economically prosperous living conditions. However, several scholars critique the literature that uses an apocalyptic tone to discuss environmental migration. For example, Bettini (2012) critiques what he calls the 'doom and gloom narratives' that could be counterproductive to garnering support for climate mitigation. In addition, Farbotko and Lazrus (2012) reject the image and discourse of 'climate refugees' because it's a term not supported by people affected by climate change in the Pacific Island of Tuvalu. Similarly, activists and politicians in affluent countries often depict environmental migration as a threat to national security to encourage mitigation and adaptation policies. However, Gonzalez (2021) argues that this approach may stoke xenophobia as it portrays "climate refugees" as dangerous individuals who may threaten borders.

4.2.2 Categorizations and Migrant Governance

The term environmental refugee is often credited to Essam El-Hinnawi's UNEP's 1985 paper (El-Hinnawi, 1985). Since then, much of the literature on environmental migration has been concerned with what label is appropriate for environmental migrants and how those individuals may or may not be protected by international law. Who counts as an environmental migrant? Are environmental migrants refugees? Some scholars argue that working within the framework of refugees as established by international law is important (Biermann & Boas, 2010), while others call for a new framework altogether (McAdam, 2011; Betts, 2010). Furthermore, scholars primarily focus on addressing the needs of environmental migrants through a state-centric

framework by highlighting issues around employment, legal and asylum status, and border control (Marin, 2010).

Within the category of environmental migrants, scholars argue that it's important to distinguish between rapid-onset disasters and disasters with a slower onset. For instance, Bardsley and Hugo (2010) classify environmental migrants into three categories: 'Environmentally motivated' migrants are people who choose to move and environmental factors play a role in this decision. 'Environmentally forced' migrants are displaced when environmental change has destroyed or will destroy their livelihood. They will have to move but have some choice in when they move. Lastly, 'environmental refugees' have no choice about when or if they move. Typically, forcibly displayed migrants are the group that receives the most attention from the international community and policymakers. While these distinctions may help us understand legal rights and the diverse plights that environmental migrants face, they do not aid in understanding the sources of aid for such migrants. In an analysis of this literature, Morrissey (2012) explains that there is very little debate about how environmental change impacts decisions on human migration. The real debate, he argues, is about how the relationship between environmental change and human mobility is represented and, thus, how this relationship should shape discourse and international law.

Under the 1951 Refugee Convention, a person can become a refugee if they 1) are outside their country of nationality or former habitual residence; (2) fear persecution due to race, nationality, religion, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion; and 3) their fear is well founded (Refugee Convention, 1951). Climate change and natural disasters are not explicitly included in this list, leaving environmental migrants who cross borders in an even more vulnerable position. Eckersley (2015) distinguishes between the responsibilities of states to receive

environmental migrants into their countries and the responsibilities to assist these migrants with financial and technical assistance. The former should be based on relative capacity and the latter is a responsibility that all states face given the collective nature of climate change.

Though this scholarship is important because states will face increasing pressures to accommodate environmental migrants, there is a shortage of literature on the non-state actors involved and may be incorporating climate change into their work. International organizations and local NGOs must expand their focus to new and exacerbated migration patterns caused by climate-induced disasters. Because environmental migrants do not have an international framework to aid them and do not currently meet the qualifications of refugees, states lack the political will or capacity to address this issue sufficiently. Instead, NGOs have emerged as essential actors in addressing these complexities through delivering various social, humanitarian, political, and cultural services to migrants (Garkisch et al., 2017).

Hall's (2016) book, "Displacement, Development, and Climate Change: International organizations moving beyond their mandates," focuses on how three large IOs respond to climate change and displacement (International Organization for Migration, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and the UN Development Program). Her main finding is that international bureaucrats play a decisive role in mandate expansion. This study differs from Hall's because I look across a larger group of organizations, which vary in size, budget, and region. Rather than selecting on the dependent variable, I seek to uncover variation among a much larger sample of migration organizations to uncover what types of organizations are investing in environmental migration.

There are a few things to be wary of when researching this topic. One is the tendency of humanitarian narratives of environmental migrants to depict environmental migrants as passive, helpless victims who do not understand their own experiences. These narratives produce what

Gonzalez (2021) calls an "eco-colonial" narrative, which casts the North as the savior of the world's environmental migrants. One way to avoid this is acknowledging the politicized nature of climate displacement that emphasizes the North's responsibility for climate change and the need to mitigate its emissions. Thus, my motivation for highlighting the work of U.S.-based organizations is not to cast them in a savior light, but to highlight the importance of this mission expansion for organizations that already work with migrants and refugees in a country that is disproportionately responsible for climate change.

4.3 Theory and Hypotheses

Because there are no internationally binding treaties that obligate states to aid environmental migrants, some countries have given temporary protection to individuals fleeing natural disasters. For instance, Temporary Protected Status (TPS) has been given to displaced persons in the United States after natural disasters in Haiti, Honduras, and Nicaragua. However, this will not suffice for displaced people whose countries become permanently uninhabitable (Gonzalez, 20121). On the international level, the Organization of American States (OAS) released a 2022 report addressing the effects of climate change and the ethical dilemma of accepting environmental migrants. The report provides general recommendations, including financing a study to address environmental migration, but does not provide specific instructions to member states.

Further complicating this issue, the rise of migrant securitization, xenophobic policies, and border control in Western countries (Arrocha, 2019) likely decreases the chances that states will welcome environmental migrants with open arms. As these factors contribute to a lack of political will to provide aid, non-governmental organizations will likely emerge as leaders in aiding environmental migrants because NGOs often represent values that conflict with the status quo

(Rohrschneider & Dalton, 2002; Dalton et al., 2003) and fill in the gaps where governments and markets have failed (Weisbrod, 1997). Furthermore, NGOs are crucial in addressing climate-related disasters through mitigation, preparation, and rebuilding (Treskon & Morales-Burnett, 2023).

Though I theorize that NGOs will emerge as leaders in the effort to aid environmental migrants in host countries, various factors may affect whether existing migration and refugee NGOs invest resources in environmental migration through research, education, events, lobbying, or fundraising strategies. If the demand-side needs of their clients (migrants and refugees) drive the priorities of migration and refugee NGOs in the United States, a country's vulnerability to climate change may affect whether an organization invests in this issue. Though headquartered in the United States, about 35% of the organizations in my dataset also work in other parts of the world. I only include organizations in this category if the organization has established programs in other countries. If an organization is working in an area highly vulnerable to climate change, it may have to respond to demand-side pressures and invest in and provide services for environmental migrants.

This may be partially due to how individuals update their beliefs on climate change. Sloggy et al. (2021) found that the frequency and intensity of climate-related natural disasters such as floods, wildfires, and hurricanes affect public opinion and policy preferences related to climate change (hurricanes have the strongest impact). Experience with these natural disasters impacts beliefs about whether climate change is occurring and if it is caused by humans. Thus, organizations working in areas overseas where natural disasters are increasing might face more

pressure to invest in the connection between climate change and migration.[4] This may also be true if environmental migrants require different services and programs than other migrants because these organizations may have to invest in different programs and services to serve this population.

Hypothesis 1 (H1): Demand-side theory: Organizations working in countries more vulnerable to climate change are more likely to invest in environmental migration.

On the other hand, supply-side constraints such as financial capacity may drive organizations since NGOs depend on resources to survive more than anything else (Malatesta & Smith, 2014). In this case, NGOs with more revenue, and thus more operational capacity, can afford to invest in environmental migration and highlight that on their websites. This capacity means organizations can go above and beyond what is necessary for their programming to educate the public, lobby for environmental migrant protection, and incorporate environmental migration into their fundraising strategies by producing reports and conducting research. Brown et al. (2016) argues, "Financial capacity is critical to the strategic success of a nonprofit and reflects a significant advantage which allows organizations to move into new service areas" (p. 2893).

Perhaps environmental migrants do not require different programs and services than other migrants. In this case, organizations might invest in environmental migration simply because they can do so. As Prakash and Gugerty (2010) demonstrate in their volume on advocacy and collective action, NGOs are often limited by the same forces as firms, such as resource constraints. Greater organizational capacity may be related to the ability of NGOs to invest in environmental migration because "an organization needs resources to survive and to pursue its goals" (Malatesta & Smith, 2014, p. 14). Thus, if organizations provide the same services to all migrants and refugees they serve, regardless of the reason for migrating, organizations with greater revenue can extend their

[4] To account for variation in the United States as well, I include a regression model that tests whether the region that an NGO is headquartered in makes a difference in their messaging about climate change. The results of my model do not change (Appendix B1).

work to invest in environmental migration.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): Supply-side theory: Organizations with a large revenue stream are more likely to invest in environmental migration.

Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics of Regression Variables

Descriptive Statistics of Variables

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
Current Climate Index Score	110	1	0	1	1	2	2
2017 Climate Index Score	81	1	0	1	1	1	2
2012 Climate Index Score	62	1	0	1	1	1	2
Immigrant/Refugee Rhetoric	110	2	1	1	1	3	3
Year Established	107	1,991	24	1,881	1,982	2,008	2,018
Revenue	106	15	2	2	13	16	20
Number of Employees	109	77	227	0	6	64	2,172
Headquarters Location	109	2	0	1	1	2	2
Number of Other Countries	109	4	13	0	0	3	118
Average Climate Vulnerability Score	106	60	11	34	52	67	67
Religious	110	1	0	1	1	1	2

4.4 Methodology

To examine which types of migration and refugee NGOs in the United States incorporate climate change into their work, I put together an original data set of 110 organizations. I identified organizations using Charity Navigator, which evaluates 501c(3) charities in the U.S. I initially sorted NGOs using the following search terms: migrant, immigrant, and refugee. I then sorted through the results and deleted any organizations that did not have 501c(3) status and available 990 tax forms. I subsequently filtered my list for organizations that had the highest rating. Charity Navigator's Encompass Rating System gives nonprofits a score based on four metrics: finance and accountability, impact and results, leadership and adaptability, and culture and community. My purpose for including organizations with the highest rating is to look at organizations that are likely to have the most impact and longevity. According to Charity Navigator's methodology, organizations that achieve this rating are "likely to be a highly effective charity" (Charity

Navigator, 2023, p. 7). The organizations in my dataset engage with migrant and refugee issues in various ways. Some organizations focus on services, including legal, health, education, shelter, and resettlement. Others focus on policy and advocacy.[5]

I visited each organization's website and 990 tax forms to build my dataset. I gathered the following data from each organization's 2019 990 form (I did not look at later 990s because some organizations had not yet published them): revenue, headquarters location, and number of employees. I calculated an organization's average climate vulnerability score by taking the average of the scores provided by the ND-GAIN Country Index for each country where the organization works. The organizations in my dataset that work in other countries provide on-the-ground services to refugees and migrants, such as resettlement services, education, shelter, and natural disaster relief. Lastly, I looked through the website for the following data: whether the organization focuses on providing services, advocacy and policy, or both; how many countries it works in; the year it was established; whether or not it is religious; current climate engagement index score; climate engagement index score five years ago; and the climate messaging index score ten years ago.[6]

I used several strategies for finding information on an organization's website. First, I used the organization's search function to search keywords such as "climate," "climate change," "disaster," "environment," "flood," "fire," and "drought." I used the same keyword search if an organization had another search function for articles or media posts on its website. I then cross-

[5] 33 percent of organizations focus on providing services like housing, education, and/or legal assistance. 17 percent of organizations focus on advocacy through awareness events, education, and/or policy work. 50 percent are focused on both.

[6] B2 shows the output of a regression which includes the past engagement scores as covariates. The results of my analysis do not change.

referenced these results with a more general and comprehensive word search of the website through Google.[7] This search returns all instances of a keyword or phrase on a website.

I initially created a 4-level index to measure investment in environmental migration. A score of 1 indicates no mention of climate change or environmental factors on the organization's website. Organizations with a score of 2 mentioned climate change or environmental factors on their website but did not explicitly connect this to migration. A score of 3 indicates that climate change explicitly connects to the issue of migration or the organization's work through articles or updates on the website. Lastly, a score of 4 indicates that an organization actively lobbies for climate change mitigation as it relates to migration, holds events to spread awareness about environmental migration, or demonstrates that climate change is central to its work in another way.

I collapsed this variable and ended up with a binary outcome variable where 0 is levels 1 and 2, and 1 is levels 3 and 4. This new delineation creates two categories - one where organizations do not invest in including messaging around environmental migration in their work and one where organizations highlight that they spend time, resources, and expertise to connect climate change to migration. For example, Choose Love, a global organization supporting refugees, produced a video connecting climate change to displacement. In addition, Integrated Refugee and Immigration Services, an organization based in Connecticut, has articles on its website highlighting the connection between migration and climate change. This organization also hosted a panel of experts in April of 2023 titled "Climate-Induced Migration: A Community Conversation."

[7] To conduct a keyword search of a website through Google, you type site:, enter the domain of the website, add a space, and then enter the word or phrase you want to search for on the website (i.e. site:https://sarefugees.org disaster).

In addition to the quantitative analysis of the variables described above, I conducted four in-depth interviews with employees from organizations in my dataset to further understand underlying mechanisms. I interviewed two employees from organizations that did not indicate investing in environmental migration on their website and two from organizations that did indicate investing resources in this issue. All interviews were conducted via video and were 60-90 minutes long. I received an IRB exemption since I was interviewing professionals. Each participant consented to be recorded but requested anonymity for their identity and the organization's identity. I then transcribed the interviews verbatim and used the cutting and sorting technique for theme identification, as outlined by Ryan and Bernard (2003).

4.5 Analysis

Due to the binary nature of my dependent variable, I ran a logistic regression model. In addition to my main independent variables (revenue and average climate vulnerability score), I include whether the organization focuses on services for migrants, advocacy, or both. This is because the type of programming an organization offers may relate to which activities the organization invests in. I also include the year the organization was established and its number of employees as covariates, as these structural differences may impact how the organization approaches its work. Lastly, I include how many other countries besides the United States an organization is working in, whether the headquarters is in a blue state or red state,[8] and whether the organization has a religious affiliation.[9]

Because the coefficients of the variables in Table 4.2 are logged odds, I also include odds ratios to facilitate interpretation in Table 4.3. Odds ratios are measures of association between an

[8] I determined this by looking at the results of the last presidential election. 73 percent of organizations in my dataset are headquartered in blue states.

[9] I also ran a model where I coded by religion, rather than a binary variable that indicates whether or not the organization has a religious affiliation. This does not change results (B3).

exposure and an outcome. They represent the odds that an outcome will occur given a particular exposure compared to the odds of the outcome occurring without that exposure (Szumilas, 2010). If an odds ratio is larger than one, it indicates a positive relationship (Ward & Ahlquist, 2018). With a one-unit increase in revenue, while other predictors are held constant, the odds of a migration or refugee organization investing in environmental migration are 2.762 the odds of the same outcome without this increase in revenue. Therefore, the amount of revenue an organization has is an important determinant of investing in environmental migration in a meaningful way.

Table 4.2: Regression Estimates on the Determinants of Climate Engagement

Logistic Regression Results

	Dependent variable:
	Climate Engagement
Year Established	-0.005
	(0.017)
Number of Employees	0.001
	(0.004)
Number of other countries	0.148
	(0.096)
Religious	-0.711
	(1.037)
Programming:Advocacy	1.345
	(0.998)
Programming:Services and Advocacy	0.674
	(0.866)
Average Climate Score	0.062
	(0.047)
Revenue	1.003***
	(0.285)
Blue State Headquarters	0.011
	(0.795)
Observations	103
Log Likelihood	-37.899
Akaike Inf. Crit.	95.798
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 4.3: Odds Ratios for the Determinants of Climate Engagement

Odds Ratios

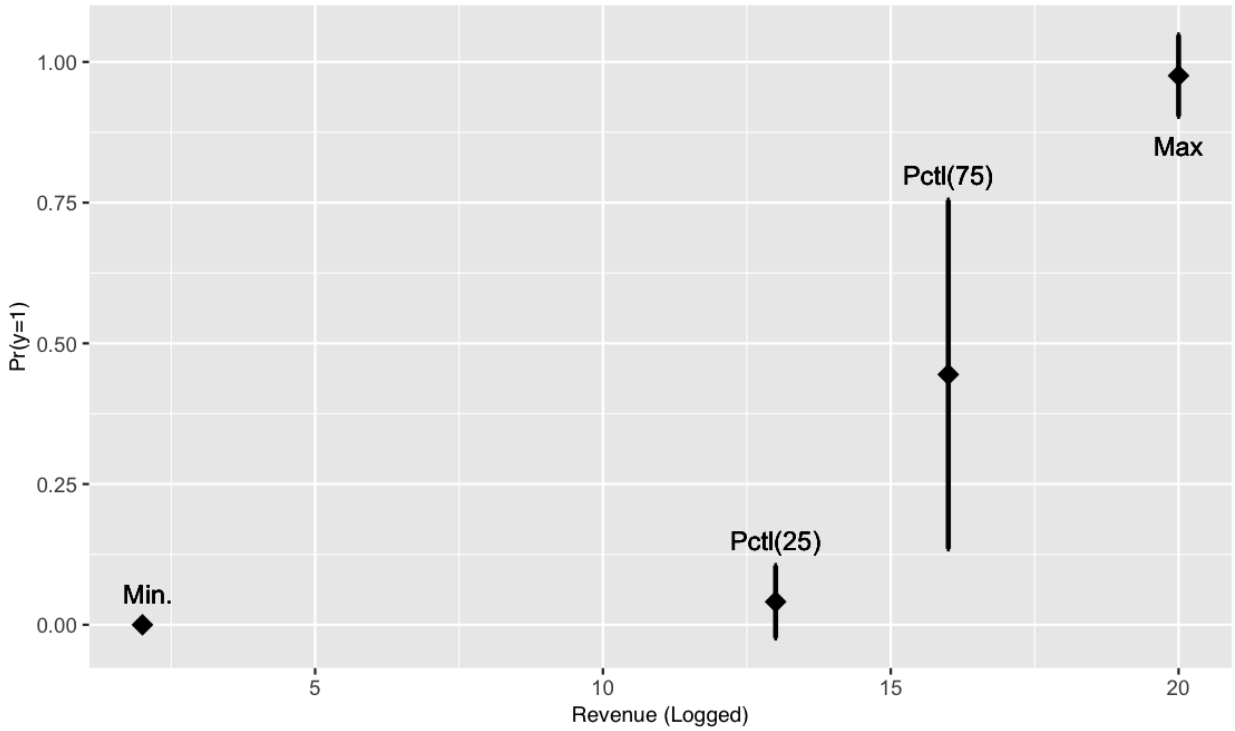
	Dependent variable:
	Climate Engagement
Year Established	0.995
	(0.962, 1.027)
Number of Employees	1.001
	(0.993, 1.008)
Number of other countries	1.159
	(0.971, 1.347)
Religious	0.491
	(-1.541, 2.523)
Programming:Advocacy	3.838
	(1.881, 5.794)
Programming:Services and Advocacy	1.961
	(0.265, 3.658)
Average Climate Score	1.064
	(0.972, 1.157)
Revenue	2.726***
	(2.167, 3.286)
Blue State Headquarters	1.011
	(-0.546, 2.569)
Observations	103
Log Likelihood	-37.899
Akaike Inf. Crit.	95.798
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

To facilitate further understanding of these results, Figure 4.1 shows the predicted probabilities that an organization indicates investing in environmental migration on its website based on four revenue values. Because the distribution of revenue is right skewed, I based my analysis on logged revenue. The plot of predicted probabilities estimates the probability that the

outcome variable occurs (in this case, investment in environmental migration) given four revenue values. The values of revenue (logged) that I include are the minimum, 25th percentile, 75th percentile, and maximum. This plot demonstrates the increase in the likelihood of the outcome variable occurring as revenue increases.

Because the effect of revenue on the likelihood that an organization invests in environmental migration in some capacity is highly significant, and none of the other covariates are, I conducted four interviews to investigate further. These interviews aimed to learn more about how organizations conceptualized environmental migrants and how this informed their programming and services. The interviews supported my second hypothesis that serving environmental migrants or including climate change in advocacy campaigns did not change the organization from a programmatic perspective. As one of the interviewees explained, "If they were displaced because of climate change or war, or they just chose to move for better job opportunities. It doesn't change the work at all because, first and foremost, they are people." An employee of one of the organizations that does not indicate investing in environmental migration on its website explained that their work is not informed by the reasons that people migrate: "Our work is not focused on reasons for migration and we do not require people to tell us why they migrated to participate in our programs. Climate-induced migration does not inform our services, although we may have some program participants displaced due to climate." Thus, organizations might still serve environmental migrants even if they don't signal their understanding of or commitment to climate change initiatives on their websites. These organizations still play a role in providing services to environmental migrants but do not have the financial capacity to invest in additional research, education, or programming around environmental migration specifically.

Figure 4.1: Predicted Probabilities of Climate Engagement Based on Revenue



Based on the results of my analysis, the amount of revenue an organization has seems to be highly related to its capacity to invest in the connection between climate change and migration. If an organization's priority, its programs, isn't substantially impacted by why people migrate, organizations that include this messaging are likely doing so for other reasons. As one of the interviewees from an organization with substantial environmental migration messaging pointed out, an organization's commitment to environmental initiatives is sometimes used as a fundraising strategy:

> Climate migrants don't self-identify that way. But it is a funding strategy - it's funding for climate adaptation. And a lot of what I have been writing about academically is how refugee resettlement is the type of climate adaptation…And so I have been toying around with that language quite a bit and trying to see how we might try to diversify some of our funding streams because that is the work that we're doing…We applied for a grant from a

> large bank a while back. I think it was like a million dollars. The grant was about climate adaptation.

This employee also called climate communication "an educative piece," explaining that the general public still grapples with the meaning of climate change. Thus, their organization sees its investment in the link between migration and climate change as a way to educate those who visit its website. An organization with less revenue likely does not have the resources and organizational capacity to dedicate staff time to working on creative fundraising approaches like this one.

Similarly, organizations with less capacity likely only include what is necessary to communicate to donors on their website. One of the employees from an organization that does not actively invest in environmental migration reiterated this point about climate change as a driver of migration not being a high priority for those focused on programming. When discussing whether individuals at his organization consider climate change in his work, he said, "For the people who are on the program side of things, very little. For the people receiving the services, probably not at all." Overall, these conversations help explain the underlying mechanism behind why more revenue is associated with investment in environmental migration. Because organizations do not base their programs on whether individuals are migrating because of climate change, they likely include environmental migration messaging on their websites if they have the financial capacity to do so with educative and fundraising goals in mind.

4.6 Limitations

There are several methodological limitations in this study which highlight areas for further research. First, this is a relatively small subset of organizations that work on migration and refugee issues in the United States. This sample only includes organizations with strong ratings on Charity Navigator, which omits organizations that may be newer or less established. Future research should expand this sample to include smaller organizations. In addition, four interviews is a small amount

from which to glean underlying mechanisms. While the interviews reiterated the same points, adding validity to them, conducting a larger, qualitative study with these organizations would be worthwhile.

Furthermore, I relied on manual website scraping to collect data on an organization's level of investment in environmental migration. While I used multiple search techniques when analyzing the websites, it's still important to acknowledge the potential for human error when searching for each organization's engagement with climate change. Lastly, I rely only on the websites of these organizations to determine their level of investment in environmental migration. Organizations may engage in work that isn't highlighted on their website. Thus, it's important to acknowledge that this study analyzes the work the organization is intentionally sharing with the public but may not encompass its work in its entirety.

In addition, there are several conceptual limitations to this kind of research on environmental migrants. First, only a small proportion of refugees migrate to the Global North. Instead, most migrants and refugees stay within their borders or move to a neighboring country (Martin, 2010; Gonzalez, 2020). Thus, the migration and refugee organizations in my dataset may interact with far fewer environmental migrants than organizations in other countries. Lastly, while environmental changes may be a reason for individuals to migrate, there is often an interaction of environmental, political, and economic forces that push people to migrate (Hulme, 2008). This overlap poses challenges when assuming that organizations are only investing in environmental migrants when they explicitly connect climate change to migration. It's possible that even if climate change is not central to an organization's mission, it still makes a difference for environmental migrants through outreach and support of other migrant populations.

4.7 Discussion and Conclusion

There is reason to be optimistic when considering the role of NGOs and environmental migration. Since the adoption of the Paris Climate Accords in 2015, NGOs have become increasingly important and influential in climate change advocacy and shaping environmental policy (Mukhtarov & Matthews, 2019; Guzman & Lamadrid, 2020). In addition, one of the NGO employees I interviewed explained that the Black Lives Matter protests during the summer of 2020 led to new conversations in the social justice field where different groups were talking to one another: "I think in general, that was just catalyst for a lot of different discussions and introspection. And I think that's where a clear link was made between our organization and environmental justice. People started to talk to each other because all of a sudden there was a sense of what is just."

While this is promising, there is a need for much more awareness about and funding for increased migration due to climate change. In the last decade, the number of international migrants has doubled (Özdemir, 2023). Environmental degradation due to climate change will continue to displace individuals and communities. Many of these migrants, whether they migrate within or across borders, will need assistance settling in a new place. Because environmental migrants do not qualify as refugees under international law, states are not obligated to provide residency or aid. Thus, it's likely that non-state organizations will fill this service gap. This study analyzed which factors are associated with U.S.-based migration and refugee organizations, indicating an investment in the link between climate change and migration on their websites. I only counted organizations that went beyond just mentioning climate change or environmental causes and instead demonstrated investing resources into this link by researching and writing articles about environmental migration, holding events to educate the public, lobbying for particular protections

for environmental migrants, or doing specific outreach and programming in areas with environmental migrations. Results from this analysis suggest that revenue is significantly related to investment in environmental migration. As an organization's revenue increases, it is more likely to invest resources in addressing this type of migration. I theorize that this is due to increased organizational and financial capacity. Resource dependency theory explains that NGOs depend on resources to survive (Malatesta & Smith, 2014). Though it may be an inherent weakness of NGOs, it may also be a type of NGO failure as it often limits NGOs in their impact and the populations they can reach.

Some of the previous research on environmental migration (Hulme, 2008; Bettini, 2013; Black, 2001), as well as the interviews I conducted, highlight that it is not a simple task to disconnect environmental degradation from other political, economic, and social factors that induce migration. Because of this, it's unlikely that nonprofits implement different services for environmental migrants than other types of migrants. However, nonprofits are at the forefront of climate change advocacy and programming. Thus, refugee organizations with greater organizational capacity want to invest resources in climate communication on their websites, educate the public about environmental migration, and utilize it as a fundraising strategy.

The implications of this analysis highlight areas for future research. For example, it's possible that including investments in environmental migration on its website is also a financial decision regarding an organization's donor base. Stanley et al. (2022) found that people tended to support resettling international climate refugees to a lower extent than other refugees. However, more research is needed to determine donor preferences on this topic. Furthermore, this study only considers NGOs working on environmental migration from a focus on migration and refugee-

focused organizations. Future research should consider how other types of NGOs, such as those focused on climate change, conceptualize and communicate about this issue.

Overall, this article's contribution is two-fold. First, there is a shortage of research on non-state actors responding to environmental migration. Theoretically, this study suggests that NGOs may only correct for government failure when they have adequate resources. Second, it highlights the fact that migrant and refugee NGOs are not overly concerned with many of the debates that the academy is preoccupied with, such as the label of climate refugee or migrant (Farbotko & Lazarus, 2012; Hartman 2010), whether the categorization of a separate environmental migrant should exist at all (Hulme 2008; Black 2001), or whether there should be a new international legal framework for those displaced by climate-related reasons (McAdam, 2011; Biermann & Boas, 2010). This study suggests that NGOs, at the forefront of climate advocacy, programming, and education, are concerned with resources. As climate change worsens, the number of environmental migrants needing aid will increase. Thus, to increase the capacity of organizations already established to provide services and advocacy for migrants and refugees, there should be a greater focus on strategies for generating revenue and establishing secure fundraising streams for these organizations.

Conclusion

Civil society often steps in when the state and market fail to serve vulnerable groups adequately. This dissertation examines how ambiguities in defining human trafficking and environmental migration, coupled with complexities in addressing displacement, create barriers to providing essential services for these populations. I analyze the preferences of three distinct civil society actors—potential donors, labor unions, and NGOs—to discern their impact on shaping outcomes for survivors of human trafficking and environmental migrants. My findings suggest that while civil society plays a vital role in filling these gaps left by the state and the market, shaped narratives, resource constraints, and non-state actors' own priorities limit its potential. These papers highlight how civil society can offer promising pathways for addressing complex human rights issues while simultaneously facing significant limitations that inhibit their potential.

Like firms, resource constraints and internal preferences limit non-state actors. For instance, my study of potential donors demonstrates how their preferences for supporting specific victim profiles shape the work of anti-trafficking NGOs. Unfortunately, these priorities often fail to align with the complex realities on the ground. In addition, my analysis of U.S. labor unions showed that surprisingly few are heavily engaged in issues relating to labor exploitation and the specific vulnerabilities of migrant workers. Over half of the unions in my dataset did not engage with these topics, and only seven deeply engaged with both topics. Only labor unions in sectors with high immigrant salience are highly involved in educating and protecting their members about labor exploitation, particularly of migrant workers. I theorize that this is because unions aim to represent the preferences of their members. Lastly, migration and refugee organizations based in the U.S. are more likely to invest in environmental migration when they have substantial resources to dedicate to this issue. I theorize that this is due to increased organizational and financial capacity.

More optimistically, these three papers also illustrate promising ways civil society addresses human trafficking and environmental migration which should not be ignored. Through a the survey of potential donors in the U.S., I find that donors are most likely to want to support services for young girls who are sex trafficked and are U.S. citizens. This is concerning because there is a lack of funding for boys and men who experience labor trafficking (particularly for non-U.S. citizens). However, the results also show that respondents are more likely to donate to survivors of labor trafficking, boys and men, adults, and non-U.S. citizens, when NGOS also include the preferred victim type. This finding suggests that Americans are willing to support a broader range of survivors under certain circumstances and offers practical implications for nonprofits when considering framing their issue areas. My analysis of U.S. labor unions showed that while only a few labor unions displayed high levels of engagement in labor exploitation and the vulnerabilities of migrant workers on their websites, they still provide more guidance and programming for migrant workers than many other actors. These unions displayed innovative methods to address labor trafficking, such as educating their members about labor rights, what to do during an ICE raid, and how to spot labor exploitation. This paper highlights why a labor rights approach should be a central strategy for addressing this crime. Lastly, my analysis of migration and refugee organizations indicates that some organizations are expanding their missions to invest in environmental migration. Even though these organizations have high revenue levels, it's encouraging that some organizations prioritize this increasingly concerning and growing issue as states fail to address it adequately.

Overall, this research contributes to the literature on how non-state actors aim to fill gaps left by state and market failures, though they are also imperfect in their approaches. It highlights particular types of NGO failure related to agency, representation, and resource dependency issues.

More specifically, each paper contributes to topic-area literature as well. The first paper builds on previous human trafficking public opinion research (Bonilla & Mo, 2019; Bouche et al., 2018) to examine how dominant narratives are related to which types of survivors potential donors are most likely to support. It also contributes to critical trafficking studies (Musto, 2013), which interrogates the focus on human trafficking as almost exclusively sex trafficking of young women. This study's results illustrate the power of entrenched narratives about social issues. The second paper builds off these findings to analyze how another non-state actor, labor unions, might address labor exploitation and trafficking. It contributes to the relatively small amount of research that highlights the vulnerabilities of migrant workers in the U.S. This study also contributes to the debate around the dominant human trafficking frameworks and argues that labor rights should be a central strategy alongside carceral and human rights approaches. Lastly, the third paper contributes to the literature on environmental migration but bypasses common questions about labels and categorizations to investigate how nonprofits in the U.S. are investing in this issue. It also contributes to the literature on resource dependency theory, as the findings suggest that NGOs may only correct for government failure when they have adequate resources.

There were three main unexpected findings from these papers, which warrant further research. First, it was initially surprising the donors were more likely to want to donate to U.S. citizens than non-U.S. citizens given that most narratives depict women of color as victims (Balgamwalla, 2016) and because of the conflation between human trafficking and human smuggling (Bonilla & Mo, 2019). Furthermore, it is surprising that the sub-group analysis of the survey respondents did not illuminate different preferences among donors. It would be worthwhile to investigate this further, perhaps with a larger sample size or different survey framing. Lastly, as mentioned earlier, it was surprising that more labor unions did not engage with labor exploitation

or trafficking on their websites. Whether or not they relate this issue to migrant workers, only 11 unions were highly engaged with labor exploitation on their websites. Future research should include other ways of measuring whether unions prioritize this issue, as websites might not be the most reliable source.

In addition to elaborating on these findings, future research should consider whether collaboration between civil society and states results in more effective responses. Civil society's ability to serve marginalized groups, combined with the state's regulatory power, offers a promising avenue for investigation. Additionally, comparative studies could illuminate whether civil society responds more effectively to some human rights issues than others. In addition, future research should incorporate a labor rights approach to analyzing sex trafficking in places where sex work is legal. This could extend the labor rights approach to apply to all forms of human trafficking. All three studies would benefit from more profound engagement with qualitative research methods. Interviewing potential donors could illuminate where their information comes from and what has shaped their views, which could point to promising avenues for educating the public. Similarly, interviews with union leaders and members could supplement this research with a deeper understanding of how unions set their priorities and how they understand the risks of labor exploitation. Lastly, the perspective of displaced people who must move because of climate-related weather or environmental degradation is missing from most research on environmental migration.

In conclusion, this dissertation highlights the complexities in addressing the needs of marginalized populations when they fall out of the scope of clearly defined categories and frameworks. I underscore the importance of civil society in addressing these challenges through the lens of human trafficking and environmental displacement. While each paper illuminates how

non-state actors such as donors, NGOs, and labor unions are essential in addressing these issues, they also highlight how preferences, entrenched narratives, and resource constraints limit these actors. This dissertation illuminates some of the promises and pitfalls of civil society in addressing social issues. While civil society actors play a vital role in advocating for vulnerable populations, findings from this dissertation highlight potential avenues for institutional reform.

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Appendix A

A1: Survey Wording

"Human trafficking, which encompasses both labor and sex trafficking, is a widespread human rights issue in the United States.

Sex trafficking involves the use of force, fraud or coercion to induce another individual to sell sex, unless the victim is a minor, in which case the presence force, fraud or coercion is not necessary for the act to amount to trafficking. Labor trafficking occurs when individuals are made to provide services through the use of force, fraud, or coercion. Common forms of labor trafficking include, but are not limited to, inhumane factory work with minimal or no pay, forced domestic work (cleaning, cooking, etc.), and agricultural workers coerced to work through threats and violence.

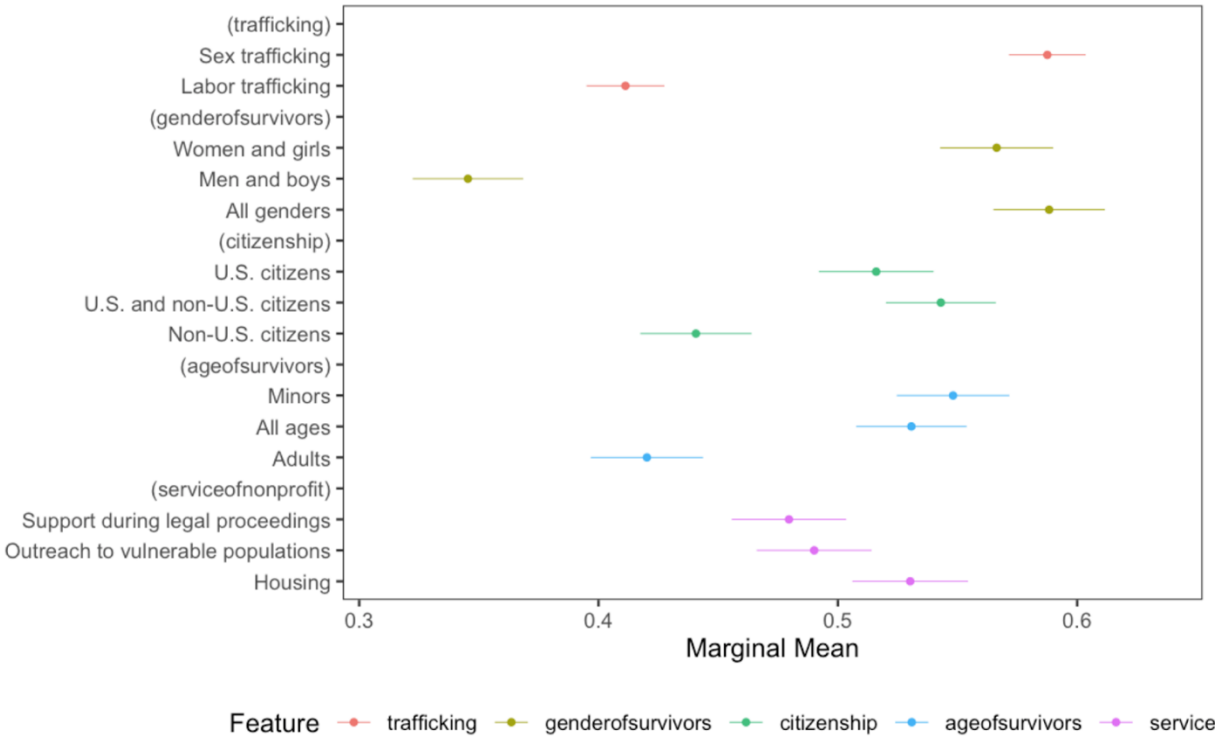
Despite misconceptions, human trafficking does not require that someone is transported across country or state lines. While the government provides vital funding for services, many survivors of human trafficking seek support and resources from non-profits. These non-profits are on the frontline of anti-trafficking efforts and provide a range of services including temporary shelter, assistance with legal and therapeutic fees, and job training. Many are also focused on advocacy (lobbying the government for specific policies) and educating the public (through media campaigns, workshops, and public events) about human trafficking and exploitation."

A2: Regression Estimates for Survey Variables

Regression Coefficients

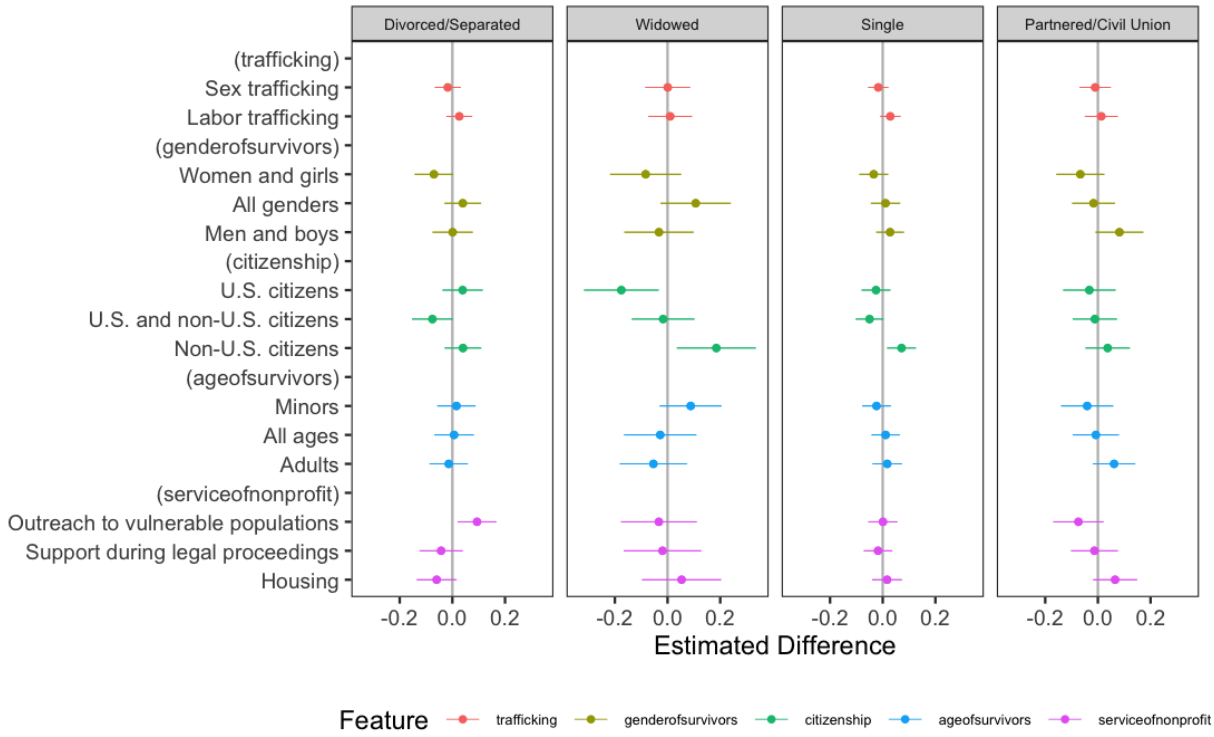
	Dependent variable:
	Chosen Nonprofit
Sex trafficking	0.167***
	(0.016)
All genders	-0.237***
	(0.020)
Men and Boys	-0.018
	(0.020)
U.S. and non U.S. citizens	0.104***
	(0.020)
Non-U.S. citizens	0.080***
	(0.020)
All ages	0.097***
	(0.020)
Adults	0.120***
	(0.020)
Housing	-0.030
	(0.020)
Outreach to vulnerable populations	-0.060***
	(0.020)
Constant	1.397***
	(0.026)
Observations	3,476
R^2	0.098
Adjusted R^2	0.096
Residual Std. Error	0.476 (df = 3466)
F Statistic	41.835*** (df = 9; 3466)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

A3: Full Marginal Means of Survey Respondents



Note: Dots indicate point estimates and the lines show the 95% confidence interval.

A4: Marginal Means of Subgroup: Marital Status



Note: Dots indicate point estimates and the lines show the 95% confidence interval.

Appendix B

B1: Regression Estimates on the Determinants of Climate Engagement with Separate U.S. Regions

Logistic Regression Results

	Dependent variable:
	Climate Engagement
Year Established	-0.003
	(0.018)
Number of Employees	0.002
	(0.004)
Number of other countries	0.156
	(0.098)
Religious	-0.735
	(1.092)
Programming:Advocacy	1.326
	(1.041)
Programming:Services and Advocacy	0.620
	(0.885)
Average Climate Score	0.072
	(0.052)
Revenue	1.135***
	(0.352)
Blue State Headquarters	-0.496
	(0.982)
Location: Mid-Atlantic	-0.610
	(1.297)
Location: South	-0.398
	(1.116)
Location: Midwest	-0.210
	(1.283)
Location: Southwest	-1.825
	(1.693)
Location: Rocky Mountains	-13.697
	(1,354.141)
Location: Pacific Coast	0.498
	(1.108)
Observations	103
Log Likelihood	-36.434
Akaike Inf. Crit.	104.868
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

B2: Regression Estimates on the Determinants of Climate Engagement with Climate Messaging Index Score 5 and 10 Years Ago

Logistic Regression Results

	Dependent variable:
	Climate Engagement
Year Established	0.004
	(0.024)
Number of Employees	-0.001
	(0.005)
Number of other countries	-0.015
	(0.150)
Religious	-0.975
	(1.214)
Programming:Advocacy	1.194
	(1.219)
Programming:Services and Advocacy	1.367
	(1.104)
Average Climate Score	-0.017
	(0.069)
Revenue	0.975**
	(0.421)
Blue State Headquarters	0.454
	(1.016)
Climate Score: 5 Years Ago	16.609
	(1,918.604)
Climate Score: 10 Years Ago	0.336
	(4,396.863)
Observations	54
Log Likelihood	-23.531
Akaike Inf. Crit.	71.062
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

B3: Regression Estimates on the Determinants of Climate Engagement with Separate Religions

Logistic Regression Results

	Dependent variable:
	Climate Engagement
Immigrant Rhetoric	0.955
	(1.195)
Refugee/Immigrant Rhetoric	0.901
	(0.987)
Year Established	0.0001
	(0.018)
Number of Employees	0.001
	(0.004)
Revenue	1.007***
	(0.308)
Blue State Headquarters	0.408
	(0.753)
Number of other countries	0.131
	(0.091)
Average Climate Score	0.038
	(0.055)
Religion:Christianity	-1.832
	(1.451)
Religion:Catholicism	16.646
	(3,956.180)
Religion:Islam	-1.756
	(4.218)
Religion:Judaism	14.455
	(3,956.181)
Religion:Interfaith	-14.202
	(2,729.524)
Observations	100
Log Likelihood	-36.146
Akaike Inf. Crit.	100.292
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01