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# We Name It So We Can Repair It

Rethinking Harm,  
Accountability, and Repair  
in the Anti-trafficking Sector



LIVED AND PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE  
MOVEMENT-BUILDING WORKING GROUP

# Acknowledgements

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# Introduction

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In recent years, research and dialogue about best practices for incorporating survivor input into anti-trafficking programming and policies have come to the forefront of work to end human trafficking. Historically, the infrastructure of addressing any form of violence emerged out of the work of impacted people organizing to advocate for their needs.\* For example:

- Early work to eliminate sexual and partner violence emerged from the efforts of survivors finding ways to care for each other. It eventually formalized into nonprofits and government agencies that address sexual and partner violence.
- Early work to end labor exploitation emerged out of worker organizing and the development of unions. This includes a variety of factory and trade workers, as well as farmworker organizing. The Department of Labor emerged in response to demands from the labor movement, which was led by impacted workers.

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\*It is important to note the power funding has to shape how “the work” is done. For example, the powerful activism of movements often leads to the creation of sector structures, but government funding does not fund activism that continues the movements’ work (which often challenges government’s power) and private funding is often guided by the values of the donor rather than the values of the movement. This is a power dynamic that must be acknowledged, especially among sector professionals trying to bridge the movement-sector gaps.

- The sector that arose to address civil rights and modern anti-racism emerged out of African American grassroots organizing. The NAACP (and eventually the Office on Civil Rights) did not spearhead the movement to address anti-Black racism; rather, those organizations were developed in response to the movement, to advocate for its needs. Still, it took 20 years for the NAACP to have its first Black executive leader.

While all of these sectors and organizations have struggled at times, they have always been driven by the work of impacted people.\*

The modern anti-trafficking sector has not historically had the same responsive relationship with impacted people. In the United States, much of the momentum from the chattel slavery abolition movement has continued through anti-racism activism critiquing oppressive systems and structural racism (such as policing, the prison system, and forced prison labor), but the anti-trafficking sector has historically leveraged these same systems. Such anti-trafficking efforts were developed by people without lived experience, with the stated aim to help people and communities of which they had limited understanding. In the US, much of the modern anti-trafficking approaches echo messaging from the racist White Slave Panic in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Abroad, many anti-trafficking efforts are directed and funded by Western nonprofits working in Global South countries, often without regard for the ways in which

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\* See: [https://www.ncjrs.gov/ovc\\_archives/ncvrw/2005/pdf/historyofcrime.pdf](https://www.ncjrs.gov/ovc_archives/ncvrw/2005/pdf/historyofcrime.pdf) for a more detailed history of the crime victims' movements.

colonial legacies created the very conditions that allow human trafficking to flourish.

Policy research demonstrates that when anti-violence initiatives and accountability structures are developed largely by people who are not part of the communities they want to help, these initiatives are far less likely to succeed. Further, there is the risk of causing additional harm by using oppressive practices, principles, and messaging to try to “help” people recover from harm they experienced as a result of similar oppressive practices, principles, and messaging. To quote Audre Lorde, “the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house.”\* Because colonial intervention to “civilize” indigenous populations created famine, war, and poverty, colonial intervention cannot “fix” those problems; rather, decision-making power must be in the hands of those who are closest to the problems. Because oppressive systems (financial, carceral, housing, etc.) created the conditions of poverty, de facto segregation, mass incarceration, and historical trauma that are now risk factors for human trafficking, those oppressive systems will not themselves “fix” those problems. Radical transformation must be led by the people most directly impacted.

People can do good, be good, and still cause harm. Similarly, the anti-trafficking sector can engage in powerful advocacy, support many victims of human trafficking with essential services and support, and

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\**Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Ed. Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press. p. 110. 2007.



to the survivors who work in its initiatives. While not all survivors have experienced such harm, many have indeed been hurt by an anti-trafficking movement that states its aim as supporting and serving survivors. It harms them through prevention strategies that replicate the very stigmas, power dynamics, biases, and cultural oppressions that make people vulnerable to violence (including trafficking), or by not speaking out when “bad actors” within the movement do so. It harms them through forced services that don’t meet clients’ needs, or by telling survivors and other clients the service organizations know their needs better than they do. In order to stop causing this harm, we must first understand these actions and many others as harm, fully acknowledge the harm, commit to making repairs, and change our approaches.

We recognize that we are a small number of the many survivors who are working in the movement. As such, we do not reflect the numerous perspectives, needs, and concerns held by all survivors of human trafficking. However, we made intentional choices to increase the diversity of our work. Survivors were selected for our project based on their extensive skills, knowledge, and diverse experiences working in the anti-trafficking sector. These survivors also bring their own identity-based and cultural knowledge, based on their lives as queer and trans survivors; Black, Indigenous, migrant, and Mestizo survivors; survivors of both sex and labor trafficking; survivors who are neurodivergent, disabled, or have chronic illnesses; survivors who have worked in corporate positions, government, philanthropy, nonprofits,

and as community organizers and activists.\* Almost all of us work in positions mentoring and supporting newer survivor leaders, and as such we are familiar with the challenges faced by people currently moving into leadership. Additionally, we are drawing on existing research exploring survivors’ experiences of leadership, and by doing so, we expand the perspectives brought into this conversation. Not all of the harms described in this document have been experienced by all survivors nor even all survivors on our project team. However, these harms are common enough that most of us have either experienced them personally, or we know someone who has.

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\*Some individuals prefer person-first language, such as “people with disabilities” or “person with autism.” For a while, this was broadly recommended in social services and advocacy spaces to highlight that all people are people first, and that their humanity isn’t defined by their disabilities, health conditions, or other experiences or identities. Some self-advocates have pushed back on person-first language due to a concern that it downplays the extent to which their identities or experiences impact their daily lives and self-understanding, or that person-first language somehow makes their disabilities or identities feel like something of which to be ashamed. Identity-first language might be worded as “disabled person” or “autistic person.” It is important to always remember that changes in language norms (person-first, identity-first, “survivor,” “victim,” “thrivor”) must always be paired with changes in perceptions and biases to have more-than-superficial impact. It’s always important to follow the lead and language preferences of the person with whom one is speaking. Learn more at: <https://educationonline.ku.edu/community/person-first-vs-identity-first-language>

We recognize that all of us are doing work in the United States; in fact, this working group emerged out of a convening of US-focused anti-trafficking leaders. This document was written specifically with our colleagues in the United States in mind. We cannot write effectively and authoritatively about harms and repairs needed in other regions. We have heard from our global partners that the US's export of its definitions and approaches to trafficking, as well as its models for survivor leadership, have caused harm to communities abroad. This is often the case when Western NGOs and governments establish interventions in Global South countries without strong leadership from local groups closest to the problem and its solutions. For this reason, we caution our global partners from taking this document and modeling global solutions on it. Rather, we present the findings from our own process of research, discovery, and discussion, and we have included an appendix outlining "lessons learned," so that those in other regional contexts who wish to hold similar working groups can conduct their own processes of research, discovery, and discussion. Survivor-centered processes in other regions of the world will likely lead to unique findings and recommendations, which will be far more effective and impactful for the local populations than anything our group could create.

We offer our gratitude to Philippe Sion and our other partners at Humanity United for supporting our project with continued encouragement, a willingness to engage in dialogue, and through financial support.

Finally, we recognize that our readers come from different backgrounds, different levels of familiarity with either grassroots accountability expectations or nonprofit norms, varying degrees of the lived experience of exploitation, and different roles in our sector (funder, executive leadership, direct service provider, or activist). While we hope that this complete resource will be useful and spark an innovative transformation of sector norms, we have provided a full table of contents so that those with limited time or capacity can easily find sections specifically relevant to their work.



"People can do good, be good, and still cause harm. Similarly, the anti-trafficking sector can engage in powerful advocacy, support many essential initiatives, provide many victims of human trafficking with essential services and support, and still cause harm—both to the recipients of their services and to the survivors who work in their initiatives... In order to stop causing this harm, we must first understand these actions and many others as harm, fully acknowledge the harm, commit to making repairs, and change our approaches."

View the executive summary and additional resources for this report here:  
<https://nationalsurvivornetwork.org/harmandrepair/>



# Recommendations

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When we initially conceived this project, we anticipated making recommendations on harm and repair and separate recommendations on interweaving meaningful survivor engagement across the spectrum of a survivor's engagement with the anti-trafficking world. However, as we met to discuss and develop this report, we realized that these recommendations are the same. Ultimately, failing to foster meaningful survivor engagement through investing in survivors' development is itself a harm that leads to additional harm when programs and policies fail to meet the prevention and recovery needs of survivors and impacted communities. Our recommendations section will weave together possible solutions for addressing all the challenges we discuss throughout this document.

We recognize that this list is long and that it is impossible to enact all these changes at once. Changes of this number and magnitude do not happen overnight and are not often easy to move toward, especially when other, more harmful practices have been normalized for so long. We provide an extensive list because the harm has been extensive. Simultaneously, we hold each other with grace as professionals working to end human trafficking as we take collective steps, even small steps, toward a survivor-led movement and sector. For organizations determining where to start, we recommend using a priority matrix to facilitate the collaborative assessment of 1) potential impact, 2) required resources/staffing, and 3) sustainability. We recommend the development of survivor-driven training and technical assistance to implement these recommendations, and of research to explore prevalence, dynamics, and effective prevention.

View the Priority Matrix in *Meaningful Engagement of People With Lived Experience* for an example.

[nationalsurvivornetwork.org/meaningfulengagement/](https://nationalsurvivornetwork.org/meaningfulengagement/)



## Priority Matrix for Collaborative Assessment

- **Potential impact**
- **Required resources or staffing**
- **Sustainability**

# 1. Continue this dialogue with your resources & power



**Understand this document and our work as starting a broad conversation, and understand this as a living document, so that we can move the conversation forward rather than repeating the same conversation annually.**

Consider holding a US convening annually to advance that conversation, and fund this working group between convenings to continue the implementation of recommendations and provide guidance. Allow this group to grow organically to ensure that group-building and norms-setting are not disrupted. One model might be to have current participants each invite one colleague with lived experience so we can grow the conversation slowly and intentionally. The US-based group will remain in dialogue with global partners as needed, and funder support is essential to facilitating those connections.

**Enable other regions to conduct their own convening-working group models.**



While trafficking can happen across borders, the unique political and logistical needs of each region mean that recommendations must be generated by survivors within those regions in order to be most beneficial and impactful. We have produced a lessons-learned document in Appendix 2 outlining how we came to these conclusions and offering process recommendations, and that will need adapting for local regions as well.



**Fund research into harms experienced by survivors and survivor leaders as a result of their engagements with the anti-trafficking sector.**

When considering the impact of anti-trafficking work on survivors, we need to think more broadly than survivors who connect with client services and recognize the impacts on all survivors who connect with the sector in any capacity. Consider Appendix 1, which details harms experienced or witnessed by members of our self-facilitating and ongoing focus group, and develop instruments to assess the prevalence of these harms, as well as the demographics of who is more impacted by them. This will build the evidence base for future and ongoing recommendations. Ensure that all funded research is conducted in trauma-informed ways and ethically engages survivors at all levels of planning, implementation, and evaluation.

**Consider tracking your implementation and the impacts of any recommendations in this report. Include regular updates in your annual reports and/or regular meetings with on-the-ground collaborators to demonstrate mutual accountability to survivors.**



This also transforms what we think an “impact report” should do by normalizing both investment in and accountability to survivors. Consider shifting to an “impact and integrity” report.



## 2. Decenter yourself as an ally

*This section of recommendations applies to people without lived experience who hope to be allies to survivors. It's also written for survivor leaders working to be good allies to survivors who have different experiences, marginalized identities, or access to power and resources than they do. Throughout this section, remember that even speaking up when you see harm happening can be powerful; your silence is often perceived as approval.*



### **Being a good ally means decentering yourself**

This applies to people in our sector or movement who do not have lived experience of trafficking, as well as to survivors working in our sector or movement who have certain kinds of privilege (white, cisgender, middle class, heterosexual, US-born, survivor of sex trafficking).\*

**Actively work to disrupt the “Survivor Leadership Cycle of Unhealthy Attachment” (described in the “Causing Harm” section of this document) by centering the survivor’s power and agency.**



For example, for times when a survivor may speak about your organization “saving” them, plan a standard response that focuses on their hard work, along the lines of: “I’m so grateful our agency’s work was helpful for you, and also we just opened a door. You had to walk through it to rescue yourself. You saved yourself each time you stuck with

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\*We have included “survivor of sex trafficking” as a privileged identity within the anti-trafficking sector since sex trafficking often receives more interest, media coverage, awareness, and funding, and thus survivors of sex trafficking tend to hold more power, privilege, and representation among the survivors engaged in leadership and awareness efforts. Survivors of labor trafficking have experienced abuse, marginalization, harassment, and invalidation from survivors of sex trafficking who did not acknowledge this power dynamic.



the hard work of healing, showed up at appointments, rescheduled any missed appointments, and never gave up.” Or, more playfully, “we may have given you the horse, but you were your own knight in shining armor!” For times when a survivor might speak about “owing everything they have to you/your organization,” have a planned response that removes all sense of obligation or indebtedness, such as: “I was paid for my work with you, and that’s what our organization is funded to do, so your only debt is to yourself and how you want to invest in your future.” For times when a survivor leader raises a concern about your workplace or organizational dynamics, and you may be feeling too reactive to respond immediately, prepare a response such as: “Thank you so much for trusting me with this feedback. I need a little time to reflect on it before I can really respond fully, because I want to give it the thought and consideration it deserves. I’ll do some self-reflection and review some of our team dynamics, and I’ll do my best to get back to you within a week or two with some more meaningful feedback.” Consider how some of these cyclical dynamics have already shown up in your organization or work, and proactively plan for better ways to handle them in the future.

**Create a capacity-building plan to mentor and develop someone with lived experience (or with less movement privilege) into your position or other similar positions.**



People in positions of power can prioritize continually mentoring people with lived experience (who are not already in similar positions) into their work.



**When you collaborate, be willing to learn from survivors about more than their lived experience; be willing to learn about frameworks, policy ideas, strategies, ways to improve your strategies, and ways in which current or past strategies may be causing harm.**

Avoid hiring or employment practices that assume that survivors are “forever broken” and are not capable of learning new skills, healing, or managing (or learning to manage) workplace dynamics, such as mandated therapy.

**Resist the urge to bring survivors into the rooms without thinking about what they may need.**



This work is done in relationships, relationships are reciprocal, and relationships with power dynamics require thoughtfulness.



**Acknowledge that practices within the anti-trafficking sector have caused harm to survivors.**

Publicly describing practices we no longer use and why we are no longer using them can be scary, but it is also necessary. It's educational for other organizations, reparative for survivors, and impactful in terms of sector norms. Efforts toward accountability will also include sustained, changed behavior and follow-up within your organization and in your partnerships to continue the process of repair.

**Look at models for organizational leadership and funding that share power in new ways.**



Publicly describing practices we no longer use and why we are no longer using them can be scary, but it is also necessary. It's educational for other organizations, reparative for survivors, and impactful in terms of sector norms. Efforts toward accountability will also include sustained, changed behavior and follow-up within your organization and in your partnerships to continue the process of repair.



**Avoid exceptionalizing survivors (reducing them to their trauma), and push back against tokenizing norms of what kinds of work “survivor leaders” should do or how they should show up.**

Let survivors be people first instead of requiring them to “polish” their trauma performance to fit an organizational or sector expectation. Acknowledge and account for the fact that different survivors have different experiences in this field (and our strategies and services) and will have different things they will want to work on or speak about.

**Account for how the context of the trafficking and the particular survivor impacted may be quite different from what we hear and do not ask or expect survivors to shape their experiences or recommendations to fit a broader narrative, even if that narrative is strategic for your organization's work.**



**In hiring processes, develop ways to measure informal learning/education that may not be represented by a certificate or degree.**

Count grassroots organizing, volunteer work, activism, family and community caregiving and other informal experiences when considering “work experience” and project management skills.

**Not all professional or paid engagement with survivors is “movement leadership,” but it still deserves investment.**



Offer skill-building for all kinds of meaningful professional engagement, including administrative work, operations management, direct services, graphic design, database creation and maintenance, etc. Customize skill-building and development opportunities to the interests of survivors. Some may bring these skills into our sector, while others may not. “Survivor leadership” is not the only (or even the ideal) next step for survivors as they heal.



**In hiring, engage survivors with a variety of skill sets and from a variety of fields, including public health, criminal legal systems, health systems, residential and shelter services, community organizing, etc.**

Value the voices, recommendations, and activism of people with lived experience that fits the definition of trafficking whether they choose to identify as survivors (or use our frameworks/language) or not.

**Always include labor trafficking in your dialogue, messaging, frameworks, and resources.**



If you are asked to give a presentation about identifying when sex trafficking is happening, ensure that your introductory slides defining

human trafficking include information about labor trafficking. If you are invited to a survivor panel, ask if there are labor trafficking survivors on the panel and, if they aren't already included, recommend survivors who can be invited. If you create a funding or research call that is focused on professional development needs for survivors, consider how to balance funds among different kinds of trafficking survivors. When speakers, journalists, or written resources describe "human trafficking" while only listing issues in sex trafficking, ask questions, write letters, and offer suggestions to expand the dialogue to include labor trafficking. This is a way we can leverage our privilege (as allies or sex trafficking survivors) to ensure that no one is left behind.



**Ensure that labor trafficking is not framed as an issue exclusively impacting non-citizens or migrants.**

Labor trafficking can happen to US citizens in the US as well, and current state policies enable such exploitation (such as allowing school truancy for field labor).

**Push back against narratives that promote racist stereotypes, harmful immigration policies, or biases against migrants and provide resources addressing what trafficking actually looks like in Black, Indigenous, migrant, and other communities of color.**



Racist harm framed as 'anti-trafficking work' happens in areas ranging from policy/legislation to media awareness campaigns, and it includes assumptions about survivors' intelligence or agency, racist stereotypes about who traffickers are, and misconceptions about which survivors are "worthy" of care.



**Prioritize language access and disability access.**

Provide options for live interpretation and translation at events (including ASL, alt text, and live captioning in addition to non-English languages). Workplace policies, project policies, requests for proposals, and onboarding guides should be fully accessible and

presented in plain language. Include shorter, plain language, and otherwise broadly accessible outputs for any necessarily-complicated products.



**When discussing trauma, always address cultural, intergenerational, and historical trauma, and review existing “trauma-informed care” practices for intentional acknowledgment of these forms of family- and community-level trauma.**

Trauma-informed care that does not explicitly name and provide support for collective trauma will retraumatize many survivors and cause us to lose sight of collective solutions and possibilities for transformation. This recommendation requires you rework your organizational policies and programs as well your products. The diversity of survivors on your team should help ensure your strategies will address structural oppression and harmful frameworks; diversity should be operationalized and not checked off.

**Offer or refer to culturally-specific or identity-specific training and mentoring for marginalized survivors.**



This will encourage them to tap into the power of their communities and feel more comfortable bringing their experiences related to historical and present-day oppression into their work. Mentoring from survivors of similar backgrounds and experiences is essential and transformative.



**Address how the criminal legal system can continue to harm survivors or create challenges with other victimizations.**

For example, child custody in cases of domestic violence, or deportation in cases of undocumented immigration, etc.) Fund research into and development of non-carceral services and justice processes that can allow survivors to avoid systems involvement if they choose. This maintains survivor choice and agency over whether or not they want to involve criminal legal systems. (See the Full Frame Initiative for an example of modeling new frameworks and imagining new systems.)

**Engage survivor leaders who are 2SLGBTQIA+ and/or BIPOC without expecting or asking them to conform to existing narratives and frameworks.**

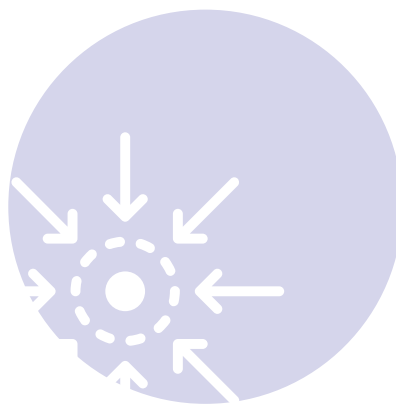


Consider a mutual-learning approach: we do not collaborate with 2SLGBTQIA+ rights organizations or BIPOC anti-racism organizations and communities in order to “educate” them about trafficking; we do it to learn more about those communities’ norms, needs, and values so that we can adjust and change our anti-trafficking frameworks. See the Young Women’s Empowerment Project for an example of community-centered solutions that may not always align with our current narratives.



**Rework materials, trainings, and service expectations to remove heteronormative and racist assumptions.**

Avoid (and intentionally push back against) heteronormative and racist assumptions in your work moving forward.



# 3. Shift funding requirements & expectations



**Provide opportunities for sector leaders and funders without lived experience to support continual learning. This should include education on how to decenter themselves as allies and how to understand the importance of equity to our work.**

**Build meaningful relationships with impacted communities and grassroots organizers (not just select leaders who are reaching out to the anti-trafficking sector) to continually improve understanding of both problems and solutions.**



Some funders want to solve a problem, but by offering a “solution” that does not address root causes.\* Our whole system of funding norms, overly-specific deliverables, unrealistic timelines, and top-down solutions fosters exploitative conditions within organizations that tokenize (rather than invest in) survivors. Timelines for grants are often unrealistic for the kinds of deep work we need to do to effectively transform both the conditions that perpetuate human trafficking and the exploitative norms within our anti-trafficking sector. Always remember: it is not an acceptable or ethical strategy to harm or dehumanize survivor leaders in order to help survivor participants/clients. Learn about and identify how power dynamics between funders, organizations, and impacted communities have shaped existing policies and funding approaches so that you can develop a plan to address or circumvent these dynamics in the future.

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\*For example, advocating for more funding to be poured into universal basic income, supportive community programming (by and for the communities), homelessness and rapid rehousing funds, and refugee/asylee supports would be more likely to produce sustainable results in trafficking prevention than pouring more money into “anti-trafficking.”



**Evaluate anti-trafficking organizations to find out what they would need (funding, mental health support, staff development, etc.) to better invest in meaningful survivor engagement between case management and survivor leadership.\***

Find out what organizations and communities actually need to foster investment in survivors across the span of their relationships with our sector, from newly-identified victims to professionals with lived experience. What is the funding gap preventing investment in survivors' long-term economic wellness? What does your organization need to do that work sustainably? What does it need to be inclusive in such work?

**Have clear objectives, vision, and purpose statement for funding goals so that investment in survivors is prioritized throughout the process of funding disbursement.**



Develop these objectives, this vision, and this purpose statement in partnership with impacted communities. This ensures that your goals are meeting their needs.



**Develop a list of trainings and resources on ethical survivor engagement/ trauma-informed inclusion practices, and provide this list to funded projects. This will support a consistent baseline of ethical practices for effective human trafficking programming.**

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\*Items marked with a circle at the beginning indicate a possible direction or future project for the working group that produced this document or similar lived experience working groups.



Fund positions within organizations or through collaborative grant agreements that provide technical assistance on survivor investment and engagement to funded projects.\*

**Invest in more economic empowerment pathways for survivors beyond case management, both inside and outside the anti-trafficking sector.**



Invest in skill-building for sector work, grassroots organizing, community-building, project management, entrepreneurship, and more. Ensure that funding requirements are flexible and allow for survivor economic empowerment support, as well as economic empowerment-related expenses, such as professional clothing, transportation to and from a newer job, etc.\* \*



**Coach survivors in advocating for funding for collective processes, such as working groups, rather than funding for singular survivor consultants.**

Funding that increases collaborative survivor work is crucial to reducing a sense of ‘fighting over scraps,’ and it helps organizations avoid tokenizing individual survivor perspectives. Peer coaching in funding advocacy can assist survivors in shifting funding culture away from singular line items for one or two survivor consultants and toward collaborative survivor-led group work.

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\*Global Fund to End Modern Slavery and the National Survivor Network developed Meaningful Engagement of People with Lived Experience: a framework and assessment for measuring and increasing lived experience leadership across the spectrum of engagement, released in 2023/ Currently, ICF, the National Survivor Network, and Survivor Alliance are currently collaborating on a set of resources that provide guidance as well as organizational assessments to support this kind of work, and technical assistance is available to all OVC human trafficking grantees through SETTA: Survivor Engagement TTA. See:


<https://nationalsurvivornetwork.org/meaningfulengagement/>

\*\* See: National Economic Justice Report: Beyond Workforce Development for Survivors of Trafficking by Lundstrom, et al.

**Provide short-term funding opportunities to support the initial, investigatory, and planning labor that goes into larger grant applications. This makes the grant application processes more accessible to grassroots organizations.**



Survivors and survivor-led organizations often put intensive labor and a lot of time into preliminary discussions preceding grant funding, whether funding is awarded or not.

 **Fund capacity-building and administrative support for survivors and/or survivor-led organizations in the areas of program management, fiscal management, grant administration, current evidence-based practices and policies, and related skills. This should happen concurrently with or prior to funding other direct interventions or projects.**

While “innovation” is exciting and power must be shared, consistent and continuous service requires capacity-building, ongoing development, and mutual learning. New and untested is not always better. Acknowledge the burden of funding reporting and management, and provide support for these activities so that they are not unnecessarily burdensome for organizations with very little money. Remember, the time needed to administer grant funding is taken from other work, and this has a tangible equity impact on smaller or grassroots organizations that do not have a development or grants department.

**Fund research into and development of standards for reducing lateral victimization of and competition between survivor-led organizations, as well as between other agencies.**



Encourage multi-agency collaboration in funding applications and reporting. Reducing barriers for grassroots and survivor-led projects to receive funds also reduces competition and gives more organizations a place on the “playing field.”

Identify practices that foster and fuel lateral victimization between survivors (see the appendix for some examples), and change funding norms accordingly. At the federal level, un-silo funding (OVC, OVW, OTIP, for example) to ensure cross-department alignment and clarity about whose project area is whose.

**Fund core salaried positions at survivor-led organizations or programs, so that survivors are not continually stressed about funding their own jobs.**



Ensure that core funding for anti-trafficking organizations prioritizes funding for survivor leadership and ongoing professional development.



**Consider the ways funding requirements may exclude some communities and kinds of trafficking, and revise them accordingly.**

For example, familial trafficking survivors may be less likely to report to law enforcement, which should not exclude them from identification, services, funding, or other forms of support.

**Data collection requirements for grantees should be aligned with the needs and definitions of “success” of impacted communities. Requirements should reflect qualitative impacts rather than just numbers, and they should produce meaningful information for the grantee rather than the funder.**



Improve support and treatment of trauma for survivors, but also fund opportunities that zoom out to wellness-promoting and fostering community health and connection. Survivors cannot thrive while reintegrating into communities that are under-resourced and unsupported, and community support and wellness can reduce initial vulnerability to trafficking. These priorities can be tracked through measurement and evaluation, rather than considered peripheral to evaluation.



**Do not fund projects that require survivors to share their trauma narratives, to frame their narratives in specific or overly sensationalized ways, or to do so without ethical guidelines, supports, and appropriate containers (such as a support group or with supportive moderation and debrief).**

Only fund projects that explicitly commit to the above. Survivor narratives should be fully optional and should not need to conform to an organization's narrative. "Trauma porn" should not be used to generate salacious interest or saviorism.

**Share resources for media/comms specialists, journalists, executives, and other narrative change specialists about recommended practices for imagery and language.\***



When preparing training and educational material, consider using (and encourage funded projects to use) non-sensationalized, context-specific composite stories rather than detailed trauma narratives from current or past clients. \* \* Composite stories are not meant to replace survivors' actual stories in all settings, but are meant to be an alternative to asking a current client if you can use their story in a training or asking a past client who has not otherwise voluntarily asked to share their story if you can use their story in a training or toolkit. Both of these have a power dynamic that complicates genuine consent.

**Develop, model, and/ or require safeguarding policies any time a survivor's image or story is shared, even by that survivor in the context of their engagement with an organization.**



This ensures accountability and revocability.

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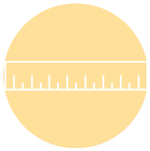
\* See The Irina Project for one example: <http://www.theirinaproject.org/>

\* \* See this example at Freedom Network USA: <https://freedomnetworkusa.org/the-decal-project/>.

The National Survivor Network is currently building a catalog of survivor-written composite stories for royalty-free public use in trainings; more stories will be added over the course of 2023.

<https://nationalsurvivornetwork.org/document-category/composite-stories/>

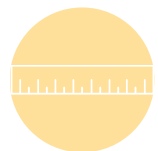
# 4. Reconsider measurement, evaluation, & impact



## Reimagine the way our sector measures impact

Incorporate ways for individual grantees to define success for their programs based upon their clients' and communities' needs, and develop measurement instruments that support those goals. Similarly, programs can evaluate how well the program is meeting the survivor's goals and service needs, and what other services might be helpful. Ensure communication throughout all levels, from participant to funder, so that funding opportunities can be continually improved to meet needs on the ground. Assess the quality of services in addition to the number of participants served or units of services received. Fund and assess services beyond emergent services (such as crisis response, shelter, and case management, all of which parallel triage or urgent care in a healthcare metaphor). This ensures services across a continuum of ongoing client stability and level of support.

## **Schedule strategy meetings with survivors to evaluate change, identify current trends and future focus areas, and appropriateness of current standards.**

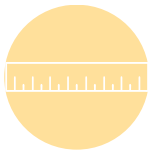


Conduct an equity analysis of the survivors you hire or engage in leadership to account for race, gender, orientation/identity, disability, and diversity of

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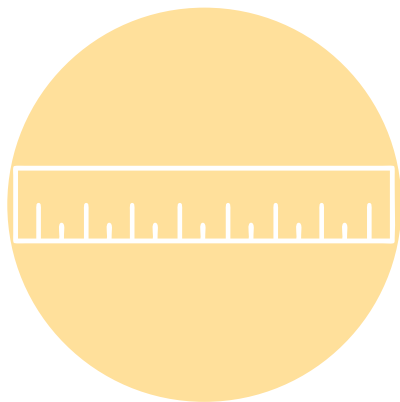
\*Freedom Network USA is currently developing standards of care for OVC-funded human trafficking work, National Survivor Network and Global Fund to End Modern Slavery's Meaningful Engagement toolkit offers model approaches to survivor engagement, and ICF is developing TTA products to support meaningful survivor engagement and building organizational readiness. These products have already started rolling out, and alignment across funders and organizations will be critical to widespread movement change.

ideas. Organizations must acknowledge that 2SLGBTQIA+ survivors and BIPOC survivors exist, and organizations cause harm and leave significant gaps in our research, solutions, and service provision when they ignore this large segment of survivors. After each equity analysis, create policies and strategic steps based upon defined equity practices. This provides space for new perspectives, with equitable power-sharing.



**Clarify how we define our movement and this work, specifically around “human trafficking” and “modern-day slavery.”**

The use of the term “slavery” is not universally agreed upon. Additionally, lumping these issue areas together or conflating them uncritically can harm survivors who do not see their experiences reflected in our language. It can also spread misinformation to the wider public, muddying expectations of potential jurors, donors, preventionists, and victims. Not all forms of human trafficking are “modern-day slavery,” and not all forms of “modern-day slavery” (such as forced marriage) are necessarily human trafficking if they do not include a commercial or servitude component. These two forms of overlapping abuse are best seen as a Venn diagram, and we can do a better job of clarifying that in our messaging.



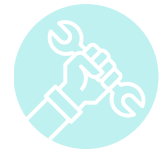
# 5. Directly address harm through prevention, mitigation, & repair



**Understand that harm will happen, and this does not mean you or your organization are bad or untrustworthy; the way you prepare for the possibility of harm, prevent it where possible, mitigate it when it is happening, and intentionally make repair can demonstrate integrity, transparency, and trustworthiness.**

Harm can be collective, communal, organizational, and individual/interpersonal, and the kind of repair or accountability needed may be different on each of these levels.

**While you may not always be able to do exactly what the person or community who was harmed wants, you can maintain a commitment to learning what change they need to feel that accountability has been taken.**



Harm by individuals who represent organizations while in their organizational capacity are organizational level harms (whether against individuals or other collectives) and will involve organizational practice review and change. Remember, even when you are unable to meet a desire or need of a survivor who has been harmed, consider: What does that person need to feel cared for and witnessed in this process?



**Offer survivors genuine choices around how they engage in leadership.**

Don't just mentor or hire survivors into your "survivor leadership" programming, but into the parts of your organization's operations that they want to learn. Do they want the role you are offering them or are you offering them a role you want them to fill? Explore what kinds of roles are available to survivors in your organization, and consider the kinds of development and programming that would be required to expand that list.



**Remember, you don't get to tell a survivor when they're "ready" for survivor leadership or how that should look for them. However, you do have a responsibility to ensure they are not harmed by their engagements with your organization through your own protocols and guidelines.**

For example, you can't tell a survivor whether or not they are ready to share their story publicly, but you can decline to connect survivors to opportunities to do so if you are not able to provide the wraparound support and monitoring to ensure they are treated ethically and respectfully at all stages of the process. You can't tell them if they should take on any one media engagement, but you can have a policy of only sharing media opportunities with individuals who have completed media training to help them navigate interpersonal boundaries during the engagement. Preparation for sharing their stories is covered below, but it is also important to ensure ethical engagements in your logistics, such as how the event will be hosted or moderated to ensure the survivor is not harassed during the engagement or what your expectations are of reporters. These expectations should be shared before you share a survivor's contact information with them.\*

**If a survivor says "no" to a specific kind of engagement due to an ethical conflict or lack of sense of autonomy/safety, pause to engage in a self-reflective process before moving forward.**



Do not just find the next, newer, less seasoned, or more economically pressured survivor who will do what you ask. Survivor leaders have a perception that organizations often search for the newest survivor to do or say what they want while those survivors are still in the "honeymoon stage," and many of those new survivors later regret having been engaged in such ways earlier in their journeys.

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\*See "Event Host Guidelines" created by HEAL Trafficking and the National Survivor Network for an example: <https://nationalsurvivornetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/HEAL-NSN-Host-Guidelines.pdf>





**Funders: Fund research into how survivors' perceptions of different kinds of engagement (such as storytelling, peer support, or participation in social enterprises) may change over the course of their survivor leadership careers, and what preparation or support they wish they had been offered prior to their initial engagements.**

For example, if we were to learn that a majority of survivor leaders who have publicly shared their trafficking narratives regretted it later, or later felt as if they had not been offered appropriate time or support first, how would that change how we define “informed consent” for survivors who hope to share their stories publicly? We are lacking essential information about the broad experiences of seasoned survivor leaders across the span of their careers, and this information is essential to our strategies to invest in survivors. Fund more research into the experiences of survivor leaders generally, to identify potential opportunities for increasing the impact of survivor leaders and reducing harm and burnout.

**Recognize that survivors may cause harm to each other, and partner with survivors who work in solidarity with other survivors whose trafficking experiences may be different from their own.**



Survivors of sex trafficking who intentionally exclude or invalidate survivors of labor trafficking cause harm both to the survivors they marginalize and to organizations' collaborative impacts, and vice versa.



**Be accountable, thorough, and transparent in the ways you address conflicts and stated harm between survivors.**

Our current, well-intentioned push to “believe survivors” about their experiences of intimate violence (for which there is rarely “evidence” or “proof”) does not translate to absolute trust in survivors regarding all other kinds of accusations, such as peer harassment via email, social media, or text, or second-hand narratives about conflicts that occur between survivor leaders in the workplace or movement. Survivors' economic stability (and thus often their housing, safety, and health) is dependent upon our ability to thoughtfully address lateral conflicts

between the survivors we engage (whether or not we are survivors ourselves). We must ensure accountability to all survivors who have put their trust in our partnerships. When we fail to address lateral conflict with integrity and thorough assessment of the evidence, we make survivors we engage more vulnerable to re-exploitation, and we continue to fuel lateral victimization in this sector.

**For situations of lateral conflict or stated harm where there is no clear evidence, in which we cannot determine with certainty who is the harm-doer and who is the one harmed, or where there is mutual harm with no clear path (or willingness) to conflict resolution, implement practices that are common in community accountability spaces. This should include allowing as much participation as possible while ensuring that the individuals are not expected to share space.\***



While we have an ideal that conflicts can be resolved, people are allowed to set boundaries around who they do and don't want to collaborate with, even if this adds extra steps to our work. Allowing for continued engagement without sharing of space lets us continue supporting their growth and learning from their insights without engaging in disposability politics or fueling lateral victimization. In the absence of evidence (again, with the exception of intimate partner or sexual violations), you can still hold space for the complexity of what each person is feeling and experiencing needing to choose a side. This is not in contradiction to believing survivors about their experiences of intimate or sexual violence.

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\*Examples of this in practice might be: one survivor leader attends regular meetings but the other attends learning workshops, based on their specific needs; one survivor leader consults on the product development while the other consults on the training; or, one consultant facilitates one working group and the other facilitates another group. For activities that cannot be separated like this without compromising the integrity of the work, either both survivors could be invited and determine for themselves whether they want to participate, or you could choose to engage other consultants without these needs for those projects.



**Outline and analyze where your models of engagement create power dynamics between survivors and develop protocols to address or reframe them for future engagements.**

Ensure growth opportunities for all survivors you engage to reduce competition for education or career mobility. Provide networking and strategy sessions for the survivors you engage with so that they can get to know and hear from other survivors about sector dynamics. This helps ensure they are not exposed to the same harms other survivors have already identified and experienced. Create model standards of survivor engagement, and provide training and economic advocacy for survivors to have other options than storytelling.

**Ensure your work engages a diversity of survivors, and that they are well-supported and prepared to do the work they are being asked to do.**



Engage survivors with a diversity of thoughts, lived and professional experiences, identities, and experiences of trafficking in different industries. Do not platform survivors who do not fit the federal definition of human trafficking to provide guidance about human trafficking strategies. Provide training to your work partners (including those with lived experience) on the social-ecological framework, shared risk and protective factors, and polyvictimization, so that they can unlearn trafficking-only frameworks and understand how to support the whole person. Ensure that those working in services understand the proper screening and needs assessment so that all needs can be addressed instead of only issues related to human trafficking.



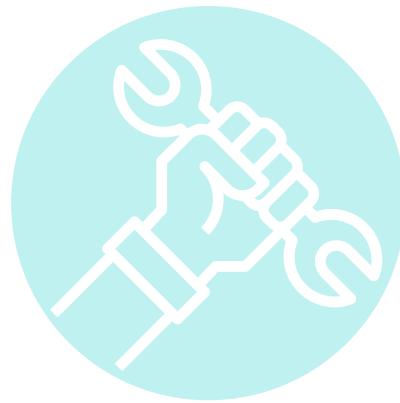
**Be mindful to avoid using services or “healing” as an opportunity to manipulate someone’s framing of their story. Give language without forcing your framework or fostering or reinforcing learned powerlessness.**

Due to the power dynamics between an organization and a client/participant, survivors may assign significant power to our words, and we can be thoughtful to help them make their own sense of their experiences without assigning labels, identities, or coercive framing to those experiences. Use the survivor’s language and terms.

**Conduct a review of your policies and protocols (from the top leadership to the survivors you serve) to identify where you may be causing harm.**



Where does that harm trickle down? For policies, procedures, and traditions that have a higher incidence of or potential to cause harm, look at your “why.” Why do we have this gala every year and do things this way to raise money? Why do we have these norms in place and who do they serve? Avoid “politics of trauma” and competition, and remember that storytelling without grounding in ethical practices can become showboating or a “trauma zoo.”



"If a survivor says “no” to a specific kind of engagement due to an ethical conflict or lack of sense of autonomy/safety, pause to engage in a self-reflective process before moving forward. Do not just find the next, newer, less seasoned, or more economically-pressured survivor who will do what you ask."

## 6. Continually invest in survivors along the continuum from initiation of support to the highest levels of leadership



**Leadership is a skill, and calling every involvement or engagement of human trafficking survivors “survivor leadership” can create confusion about roles as well as skewed public perceptions of how many survivors are in leadership positions in our sector.**

Identify the different types of roles and engagement in the field, and ensure survivors are aware of the different ways they can engage in paid work in the sector (without presuming that paid work in the sector is the professional goal of every survivor).

**Ensure that client services programming offers education and professional development about labor rights, categories of labor laws, power dynamics in the workplace, negotiation, and navigating workplace boundaries, so that survivors who hope to contract with anti-trafficking organizations will come to the work with skills to help them navigate our sector with less harm.**



Build out partnerships and collaborative trainings with the local department of labor wage and hour division.



**Fund and build out promising practices for services and empowerment beyond case management by investing in survivors' capacity for leadership in and out of our sector. We can do this through professional development programming and ongoing skill-building support.**

Find out how survivors are identifying their investment needs, wants, and goals, and offer a variety of options for how to thrive. Survivors may sometimes view the dominant narrative as, “if you want to thrive, you have to work in the anti-trafficking movement,” which minimizes both survivor agency and the numerous ways in which survivors are currently doing transformative community wellness and anti-exploitation work in other fields. Survivors can do any kind of work that appeals to them that they are willing to learn, and they should have the opportunity to do so without needing to publicly identify as a survivor.

**When developing a social enterprise model or skill-share, incorporate education on the trade itself (like making candles, jewelry, or soap; food service or cafe; or coding), but also on trade management and marketing skills.**



Teach people who make a survivor-created product how to market their business, manage their inventory, and get into wholesale distribution. Teach people who work in food service how to maintain stock and order inventory, equitably align labor costs and scheduling to gross sales, and provide effective supervision to employees. Teach people who learn coding agile development practices and how to lead scrum. Pay a living wage and invest profits into the survivors themselves, not the programming. Remember, the goal of skill-shares and social enterprise is not for survivors to have a minimum-wage job where the organization makes money off of their work, but to build survivors' capacity for job advancement and career mobility.



**Pay a living wage and offer generous benefits to support employee wellness, and consider models for offering pro-rated benefits to regular contractors, interns, or fellows.**

Do your best to provide comprehensive healthcare benefits, access to mental health services, generous or unlimited sick days, childcare or vacation stipends, a regular professional development allowance, and other wellness benefits.\* While you may not be able to provide these full benefits to contractors, consider building elements of them into your contracts.



**Standardize disability justice in our sector practices.**

Given the high number of survivors who are disabled or have chronic illnesses, we will never have a truly inclusive sector in which survivors thrive in professional and/or leadership roles without full workplace disability justice.\*\* When disability justice workplace practices are not implemented in a sector that claims to advocate for survivors, survivors in the workplace may feel further marginalized by the disconnect between ideals and reality.



**Opportunities for survivors just getting into the field should include appropriate preparation, truly informed consent, and “scaffolding” of mentoring that grows as the survivors’ work responsibilities and public visibility grows. This helps to ensure that the standard, painful, disorienting “survivor leader rites of passage” are no longer a regular part of survivor leadership.**

Prepare survivors new to nonprofit work for the gap between our grassroots ideals and the day-to-day realities of running a nonprofit corporation.

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\* See FreeFrom’s about page for an example of survivor-centered human resources practices, and review their model leave policy: <https://www.freefrom.org/mslp-template/>

\*\* For more on disability in the workplace, see Disability in the new workplace: what companies need to know and do by Project Include:

<https://projectinclude.org/assets/pdf/Project Include Disabled Workers Report 1121 R3.pdf>

Provide mentoring on how to strategically bring one's full self into sector work; survivors' prior perceptions of organizations, established when they were clients, may not have prepared them for what goes on behind the scenes. Do not throw newer survivors into the field without sufficient preparation, and commit to investing in their growth into leadership positions of their choosing.

**Recognize the value of the personal sacrifices that survivors have made just to participate, and honor and mitigate those sacrifices by compensating for work-related expenses upfront. This minimizes economic, social, and personal tradeoffs.**



Factor in expenses like childcare and gas money, for example, and cover these expenses upfront when possible. When hiring individuals into highly stressful or conflict-laden roles, provide support for debriefing and acknowledgment of the impacts it is likely having on them.



**Build up newer survivor leaders while continuing to invest in the development of survivors who have built their knowledge and professional expertise. Coach earlier career survivors in collaborative practices rather than encouraging competition and individualistic thinking.**

Invest where survivors are already organizing. For example, survivors are already having discussions about policy needs; invest in the places and networks where these conversations are happening. Only engaging survivors in legislative policy spaces means we aren't engaging with people working at the grassroots levels. Focus mentorship on collaborative practices such as working group participation, community organizing, and coalition building. This helps shift sector culture from one in which survivors must compete to one in which survivors can share resources, and it disinvests from Western, white supremacist values of individualism over collectivism.



**Invest in adequate onboarding for all new staff (regardless of trafficking lived experience) and institutionalize mentorship across the agency. Build in opportunities for survivors to learn on the job, in both activism and advocacy, and offer opportunities for survivors to check in and ask questions about confusing tasks or projects.**



Remember that we are often putting survivors into situations where they need the income to survive, which doesn't foster asking for professional development, support, and mentorship. This leads to harmful situations in which people are likely to stay in positions out of economic necessity long after they would like to leave. Normalizing a culture of asking and learning across the organization can disrupt that dynamic. Provide ongoing education and support, because education (formal or informal) plus lived experience will always produce better work than just education. Prioritize retention of staff from marginalized communities, including survivors of human trafficking, and remember that your people are your investment in the communities you hope to serve.



**Make the implicit explicit with regard to nonprofit and funding norms (unspoken rules, professional expectations, communication styles, etc.), while also being willing to question and change some of those norms.**

Ensure that survivors in our work clearly know what is expected of them, and commit to transforming our work environments to ensure we are not putting our workers into situations where they cannot be healthy. This, too, is an investment.



## 7. Ensure that storytelling or sharing trauma narratives for others is a genuine choice



**Offer survivors time to heal and ample spaces to share their story in therapeutic or peer support spaces before inviting survivors to share their trauma narratives in spaces that are not specifically designed and structured to benefit the survivor's healing.**

We need to raise awareness and funds for our work, and we have to do this ethically, without leveraging survivors to generate income for the organization. While some survivors may find it therapeutic to share their trafficking narrative, it is still not therapy; the container and dynamics for supporting the person are typically not in place for this kind of storytelling to be beneficial to the survivor's long-term healing. If the survivor appears to be in pain, crying, overwhelmed, or dissociated while telling their story, it may not be healthy. Remember that a dissociated survivor may share more details than they had intended – details they might not have even processed in a safe, therapeutic environment. While this may generate interest or donations, it can cause harm, regret, and additional trauma to the speaker, as well as decreased learning, a push for saviorism, and/or moral panic among your guests.

**Ensure that a survivor's choice to share their personal trauma narrative is made from good options, and not out of a sense of obligation or economic necessity.**



Explore with that survivor their “why’s” for not going into other professional spaces or work. Do they have a criminal record that prevents them from getting other jobs? What are the other barriers that may be pushing them into working in this movement? Does the survivor feel like it wouldn't be fair of them to say “no” after the support they

received from your organization? Create career-building opportunities that aren't movement-specific or dependent on the survivor's trauma story. When offering paid opportunities to share their narrative, consider also offering options for paid work that is not dependent on storytelling. This facilitates equitable choice.



**Do not connect survivors to opportunities without adequate preparation, informed consent, and structures for support.**

Consider establishing a “speaker’s bureau” that receives adequate onboarding and training before being connected to events. Coach survivors on skills such as saying no to a speaking engagement that doesn't fit their needs, or asking for things about the event to be changed before they commit. Coach them on what kinds of questions to ask when a speaking engagement is offered, and on trauma-informed storytelling. \* Remember, you don't get to tell a survivor when they're ready to tell their story, but you do get to set parameters around the role your organization will play in facilitating connection to opportunities and you do this through strong ethical protocols. If you cannot meet your ethical guidelines on any one opportunity/introduction or with any one survivor, do not pass along that opportunity.

**Develop survivors' strategic storytelling skills so that they can shape the story to their strategic outcomes, rather than feeling compelled to frame the story according to your shaping and your outcomes.**



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\* The National Survivor Network has a trauma-informed storytelling training and a Survivor Storytelling Workbook: <https://nationalsurvivornetwork.org/storytelling/> Self Help Alliance also has a similar training: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3b6rBbMGOCI&list=PL5wVwlLIOqfS3rIEQyDuwlHYfaE9JtJ98&index=12>

Storytelling is a choice and a skill; we can “develop” this skill. This could include training on how to make your story context-specific, and how to select relevant portions of your story to highlight (helping survivors to understand that telling your whole trafficking story in one linear arc is rarely helpful outside of writing a memoir.) Provide training on how to develop story elements based on the needs and objectives of specific audiences, or based on the context or systemic/structural factors the survivor wants to highlight. Help them develop a theme to structure their story around, and ensure that they know how to reference specific lived experiences while mitigating potential trauma impacts in the way they share those experiences.



**Develop survivors’ skills at navigating interviews and challenging “question and answer” dynamics through media and public speaking training before connecting them to opportunities to share their stories.\***

This should include ways to determine which opportunities will be a good fit, what to look for or ask for in a contract, ways to redirect challenging or inappropriate questions back into what they came prepared to share, ways to respond when someone crosses their boundaries during an engagement, and how to “hold their shape” when others are trying to reframe their experiences into a specific kind of narrative.

**Adequately prepare survivors for the unintended and often unexpected impacts of publicly sharing their narratives.**



Once their story is out there, a survivor cannot control (and will likely lose control of) their image and narrative. Their story will be retold without their input, possibly indefinitely, which can mirror many survivors’ experiences of online or other public-facing exploitation. Other folks who hear of their story may develop a parasocial

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\*A collaborative media training and tip sheet for speakers with lived experience is currently under development by The Irina Project and the National Survivor Network and will be available in spring of 2023.

relationship with the survivor, which can include a sense of entitlement or ownership. This parasociality may be idealizing (thinking of the survivor as a hero, a saint, or an inspiration) and/ or derogatory (blaming the survivor, denying their survivorship, or expressing offensive stereotypes about the survivor). Other survivors, other sector leaders, and absolute strangers may send the survivor direct messages on their personal social media accounts, make comments or posts about them, or write journal, news, and research articles about them. Every time the survivor's story or name is used in a post or publication, they may experience a period of increased scrutiny, harassment, or fear. These re-tellings of the survivor's story may employ frameworks, recommendations, or language that the survivor finds demeaning or harmful (such as "sex slave" or "illegal immigrant"). Third parties may generate sizable income from the survivor's story, even as it's common for survivors to struggle economically. Because some survivors rely on income from storytelling to survive, they may engage in extensive or competitive self-marketing that others may perceive as "only telling your story for clout" or social capital; survivors' other motives may be dismissed. It's also possible for survivors to be entirely uninterested in social capital, clout, or microcelebrity, but when they put their story out there they will get these things, and the impacts can be negative, resulting in feelings of overwhelm, disorientation, and retraumatization. This is especially the case when the survivor is not receiving ongoing, ethical organizational support.



**Some survivors are willing to risk the negative impacts of public storytelling for the benefits they hope it will provide to other survivors and marginalized communities. When you connect those survivors to storytelling opportunities (in accordance with your policies around preparation), ensure that you provide adequate support.**

Get rid of any expectations about how that survivor's story should look; they are sharing their narrative, not yours. Offer an optional peer mentor or service provider (clinician, hotline responder, case manager, or support group leader) who can meet with them in advance of a storytelling

engagement and/or accompany them to the event. Make sure there is time for the survivor to debrief and process any uncomfortable feelings if they so choose. Offer training on how to get unauthorized, unapproved, nonconsensual, or no longer consensual samples of the survivor’s story removed from third-party media, and consider providing assistance with this as a service through your speaker’s bureau.

**Unless they have the explicit consent of the survivor, researchers and other authors should avoid using the names and specific stories of survivors in journal articles, books, or other publications.**



Ethical considerations in research about survivors go beyond what an institutional review board will typically require, and so researchers must hold themselves accountable to a broader standard. Third-party references of survivor stories often feature misrepresentations, inaccuracies, or information that was shared nonconsensually. If unable to obtain consent, the survivor’s name should not be used, and the story should be de-identified as much as possible. Understand that what a survivor is comfortable sharing may change over time. This is particularly the case when earlier storytelling “products” are the result of manipulative or exploitative interactions; resharing those versions of the story without consent mirrors the loss of control survivors experienced while being trafficked and can be extremely retraumatizing. Finally, understand that publishing a survivor’s name can increase online and in-person contacts and attempted contacts by stalkers. The nature of journal articles and book publishing make it harder for the survivor to request removal after the violence has restarted.



## 8. Provide protections for when a survivor's image & story are their livelihood



**To ensure each survivor fully owns their story and likeness, include appropriate compensation and revocation protocols with every contract where a survivor's story or likeness is used.**

The method for removing content or revoking consent for ongoing use must be accessible to the survivor, including being easy to find on your website. Be sure to share it with every survivor before the storytelling engagement. Standardize parameters around compensation for image use, detailing what an “authorized use” is, how the survivor can renegotiate additional uses before they occur, how third-party use is approved or limited, whether the rate changes based on any commercial benefit the organization receives from the story/ image, and whether royalties for ongoing use will be included.

**Allow the survivor to have final approval on how their image or story will be used before publication or sharing.**



Provide an opportunity for prior approval of any excerpts from their story, interview, or speaking engagement, and make sure there is adequate time to review. Survivors should get to approve which images will be used, and what headlines, captions, or descriptions will be used alongside them. Allow opportunities for the survivor to use a pseudonym or remain anonymous to allow a greater diversity of voices to be heard (as some people with more social marginalization will be hesitant to share their stories without anonymity). Recognize the impact and value of survivors’ stories and images without treating the person as a product, and recognize that work that requires vulnerable sharing of personal trauma is labor-intensive and emotional; consider including additional hours for grief processing and debriefing in estimates for hours worked.



**Incorporate a survivor-developed and survivor-driven ethical review process of protocols, policies, and compensation structures before continuing to use (or beginning to use) survivors' stories and images.**

You cannot build the ship and sail it at the same time. If you haven't constructed a strong, survivor-centered safeguarding procedure for storytelling work, stop doing it to allow for an ethics review of protocols.

**Create a lawyer-vetted, survivor-informed fact sheet or toolkit for survivors doing storytelling work. This should include sample language for contracts, sample ethical review protocols and policies, and sample safeguarding policies.**



Make this widely available through survivor leader networks, and require it (or something comparable) to be used as criteria for ongoing funding.

The remainder of this report will provide the background information that informed the development of these recommendations. We recognize that not all readers will engage with the full report, especially those who see our recommendations as fairly reasonable and sensible already. However, if any recommendation is confusing or seems unimportant to you, we recommend continuing with the full report. This will allow you to grow a shared vocabulary and understanding of how some survivors experience the anti-trafficking sector and understand accountability for the sector.





# Causing Harm

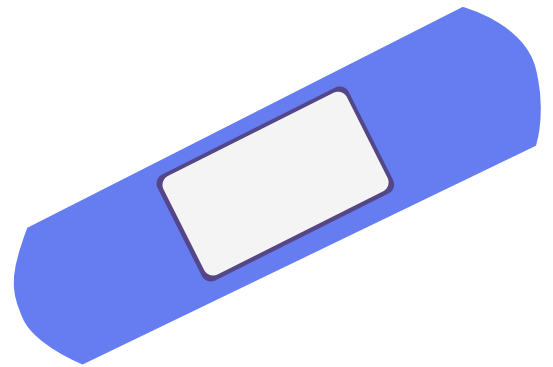
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Hurt, harm, and abuse can be caused by individuals, families, collectives, or organizations against other individuals, families, collectives, or organizations.

Please see the table on the next page explaining the differences between hurt, harm, and abuse in their underlying intentions, manifest patterns, and impacts, as well as examples of each.

A certain degree of hurt is normal and unavoidable in all interpersonal and organizational interactions. Some anti-trafficking leaders and organizations have harmed survivor participants or clients and leaders in ways that rise to the level of abuse or exploitation. Even in these extreme cases, though, changes in the broader anti-trafficking sector could reduce the normalization of harm and help ensure accountability across the sector.

When organizations model accountability for harm, it normalizes the practice of acknowledging that harm has happened and making an intentional repair. This transforms the conditions that allow unacknowledged, unchecked harm become abusive.



## A note on learning about having caused harm

**It can be challenging for any of us to hear that practices we have implemented, supported, or funded have caused grievous harm to the very people our organizations exist to empower and heal.**

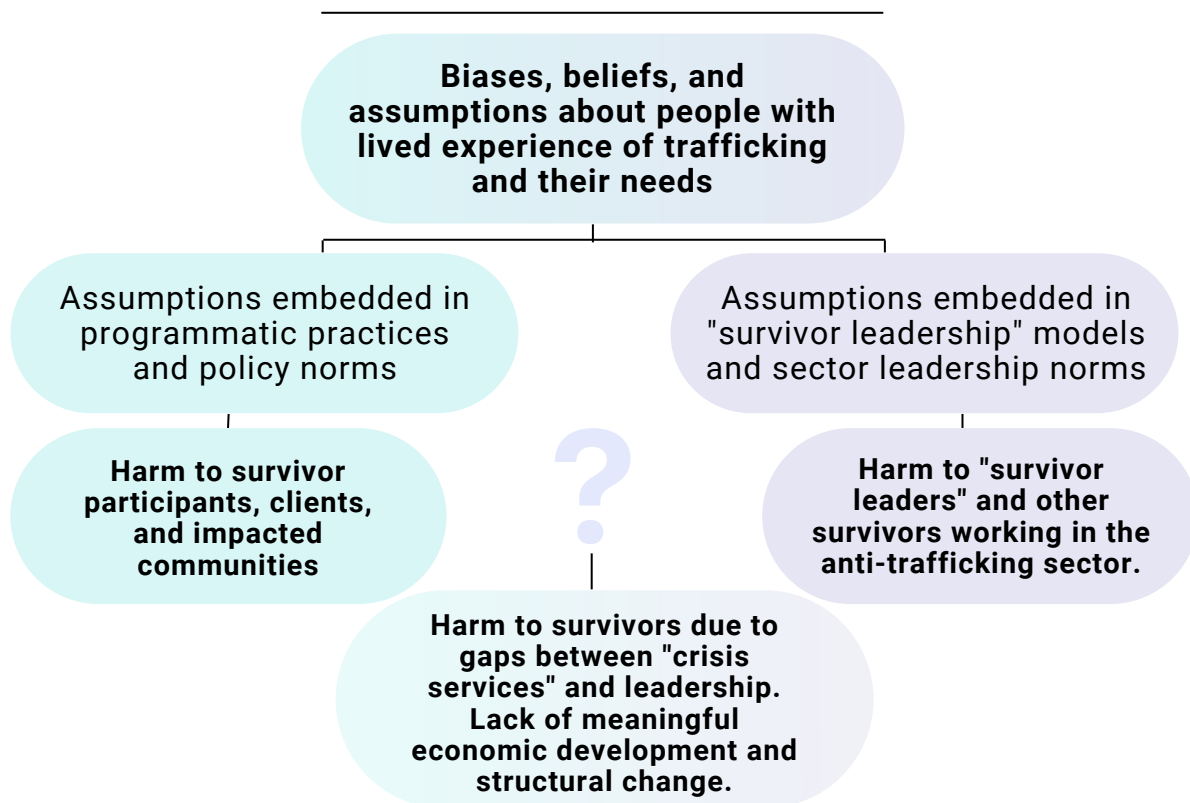
**For many of us, prior experiences of naming harm have taught us to fear hearing about harm, to internalize shame about having harmed others, or to expect that the naming of harm means an attack or absolute loss of trust will follow.**



	HURT	HARM	ABUSE/ EXPLOITATION
Intention	Often unavoidable, usually unintentional, can come from “not knowing better.” If the hurt is intentionally-caused, it is harm.	Avoidable with planning. Sometimes unintentional, but all intentional hurt is harm; if you know an action causes hurt and continue doing it, it becomes harm.	Usually intentional (even if through lack of consideration). Strategic leveraging of harm against others for personal benefit.
Incident(s) or pattern	Often isolated incidents, such as a scraped knee or hurt feelings due to a misunderstanding.	Can be incidents or patterns. Incidences of harm that are not addressed become patterns.	A pattern of behavior that maintains power and control over others.
Impact	Often resolves on its own or with minimal interaction; easier to overcome.	Causes personal, emotional, or economic damage that needs to be repaired to restore wellbeing.	Causes long-lasting and serious economic, psychological, and social damage.
Example	Coworker 1 gives feedback to Coworker 2 without thinking about how much effort Coworker 2 put into their report. Coworker 2's feelings are hurt by the feedback.	An employee new to nonprofit work is not provided with adequate supervision, support, and guidance around workplace boundaries to maintain a manageable workload.	Due to lack of supervision and support, an employee regularly works or is expected to work unpaid hours. Leaders in the organization know this is happening without ever providing appropriate feedback or redirection.

When we remove our expectations of shame in addressing harm, we can understand hearing about harm as a gift of trust and opportunity for repair. We name harms not as an attempt to shame, but as an attempt to educate, and we do so with the expectation that people who caused harm are willing to repair it. They cannot make a full repair without first reflecting on the conditions in which harm occurs. We will offer hope, suggestions for repair, and practical guidance later in this document - the hopeful part is coming! But if you have ever struggled to understand what survivors meant when they indicated that they have experienced grievous harm from the sector, this next section exists to better explain what forms of harm survivors experience within anti-trafficking work.

### How survivors experience harm



# What kinds of harm do survivors experience in our sector?

National Survivor Network and Cast are conducting ongoing qualitative research about harm experienced by survivor leaders. We assessed this data and cross-checked it with information about the prevention of harm in survivor leadership in the Modern Slavery Policy and Evidence Centre’s research on Engagement of lived experience in international policy and programming,\* the section on survivor leadership in the recent Trafficking in Persons Report,\*\* and the notes from our May convening in San Francisco. After categories and examples of harm were identified, our group discussed the findings and added or expanded them based on our own experiences in the sector both as professionals and as mentors to other survivors.

We focus on harm experienced by survivor leaders, but each of these harms stems from a fundamental spoken or unspoken belief about all people with lived experience of human trafficking. Survivors in movement or sector leadership are the “canaries in the coal mine” for how our sector understands our participants or clients. If we cannot value survivor leaders as capable of agency and self-determination, we cannot value the expertise our participants or clients have about their own needs and lives.





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\* See: <https://modernslaverypec.org/resources/best-practice-engagement-lived-experience>

\*\* See: [https://www.google.com/url?q=https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-trafficking-in-persons-report/&sa=D&source=docs&ust=1679009394845690&usg=AOvVaw36bnVkMqKcmwH553e\\_NKT](https://www.google.com/url?q=https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-trafficking-in-persons-report/&sa=D&source=docs&ust=1679009394845690&usg=AOvVaw36bnVkMqKcmwH553e_NKT)

If we mistreat and tokenize survivors in our movement leadership, it reflects underlying assumptions about survivors that influence how we treat them as participants or clients. Organizations say they struggle with hiring survivors due to their “unmet trauma needs,” but this points to significant problems with what we as a sector are currently doing to meet those needs. This is a harmful, tokenizing feedback loop that is self-reinforcing, and it requires meaningful survivor leadership at all levels of the anti-trafficking sector to effectively disrupt.

The broad categories of harm experienced by survivors in the anti-trafficking sector, both as participants or clients and as movement actors, include:

-  **Exclusion from anti-trafficking decision-making spaces, particularly of those with different perspectives or oppressed identities**
-  **Identity-based or oppression-based harm**
-  **Harmful funding restrictions, norms, and practices**
-  **Labor exploitation within the human trafficking sector, including by organizations that are survivor-led and by well-known survivor leaders**

-  **Lateral victimization by survivor leaders, who may also cause harm to other survivors, and the practice of non-survivors, organizations, and other advocates fueling lateral victimization**
-  **Exceptionalization of survivor leaders**
-  **Poorly managed conflicts around the sex trades rooted in carceral feminism**
-  **Poorly managed conflicts around language, labeling, and frameworks that favors carceral systems**
-  **Engagement that comes from a savior complex (the “rescue industry”)**

If you are unfamiliar with any of these categories, or if you don't feel like you fully understand them, read through that category's section in Appendix 1: Full outline of harms, examples, beliefs, and impacts.



# What are the dynamics of this kind of harm and how do they impact our work?

It might be easy to believe that these are harms experienced by individual survivors, enacted by individuals in error, and that apology and repair should be interpersonal priorities. However, there are structural and sector-wide influences that shape and normalize this kind of harm, and when impacts are experienced by a large group of people who are often in community with each other, the impacts are collective. This harm erodes trust, leaving the very communities we hope to support skeptical of our entire sector.

As with any form of structural harm, the people most impacted by harm in the anti-trafficking sector are more likely to recognize it when it happens and to speak out about it than those who aren't impacted. As with any form of structural harm, those who aren't directly impacted can choose to learn about the dynamic in order to recognize it more easily, in order to take action against it. Actions can include speaking out when you see the dynamic going unchallenged, and making changes in your life and work so you don't continue to directly participate in the dynamic or benefit from it unfairly.

This may be uncomfortable for non-survivors to hear, but many survivor leaders experience the dynamic of their relationship with anti-

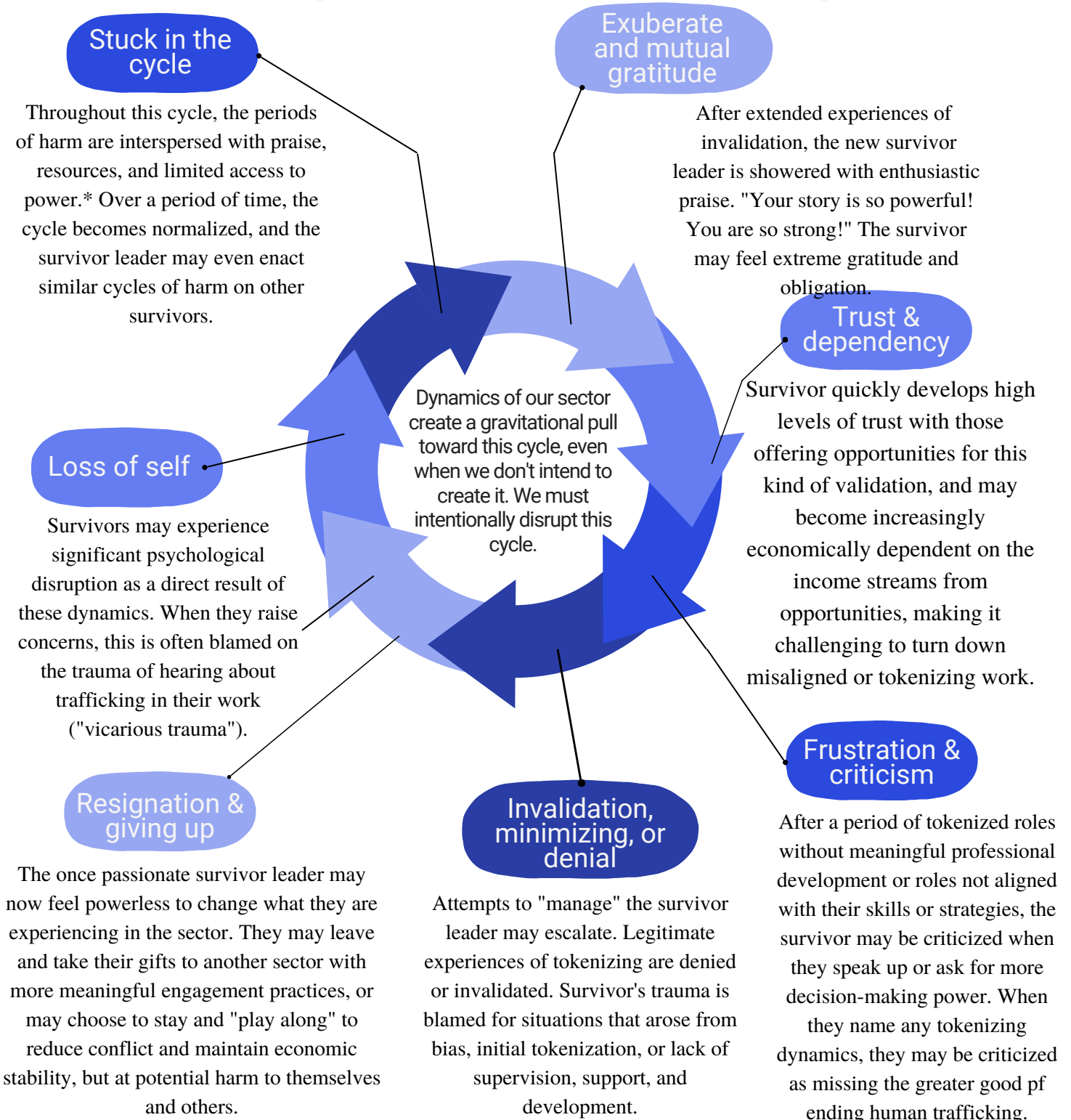
trafficking advocates, organizations, and funders as an unhealthy attachment cycle (see illustration on next page). Even when there is no intention to establish or leverage power, our current funding norms, service structures, and sector-wide narratives may create a cyclical dynamic that replicates the stages of the trauma-bonding cycle. To be clear: It is normal and healthy for an organization or advocate to want to help a survivor. It is normal and healthy for a survivor to feel gratitude for the support and services they received and to acknowledge the life-changing impacts these services can have. It is normal that an organization would want to demonstrate the personal, human impacts of their work to funders and donors, and that funders would want to know where their money is going. And still, these dynamics can create and perpetuate an unhealthy attachment cycle if unhealthy power relations are not intentionally prevented and disrupted.

As you read, let go of any attachment to whether this cycle is intentional or unintentional, and instead think about the impact this has on the person experiencing it. This cycle can develop even when the dependency isn't the intent, and even out of well-intentioned efforts. Remember that the goal isn't to feel shame or self-negativity if you recognize yourself in this cycle, but to acknowledge and disrupt it. And because organizations, advocates, and well-placed survivor leaders are usually on the end of this dynamic with more power, the burden of disruption falls heavily on us.



# Survivor Leadership

## Unhealthy Attachment Cycle



\*This interspersed praise may even be the result of an organization's attempts to continue providing economic opportunity or support to the survivor while trying to address workplace challenge. Remember: the intent is less important than recognizing and disrupting this cycle when you see that it is formalizing.

As you read through this section, remember that these dynamics are rooted in biases and assumptions about people with lived experience of human trafficking. Consider the ways these and similar cycles show up in policy, programming, and service delivery.



### **1) Exuberancy and mutuality**

When new survivors enter survivor leadership, there is often praise. “Your story is so powerful!” “You are so strong!” “I’m so excited to have you here!” Many professionals are afraid to offer healthy, compassionate, critical feedback to survivor leaders; they may fear “talking over” the survivor to an extent that they avoid generative conversations altogether. This period of newness is usually full of mutual gratitude and enthusiasm.



### **2) Trust and dependency**

Many survivors have repeatedly been told they are worthless or that they can’t do anything right. The praise and compliments make them feel valued for a change and may create a significant sense of trust. When survivors are paid for this work, they may also develop financial dependence on it. They begin to trust the people or organizations who “take care of them,” lift them up, and provide resources and services. Additionally, extreme praise after a long period of extreme abuse can be a rush! This can create a reinforcing cycle of dependency in which the survivor becomes reliant on external feedback to feel an internal sense of value. It can become

problematic in the absence of adequate support to strengthen an internal sense of wellness and worth as well as a growth mindset.



### **3) Frustration and criticism**

Throughout this time, survivors in leadership typically are not offered adequate support to develop their professional and leadership skills. If they speak up nonetheless, they are often criticized for the ways in which they speak up, or for what kinds of issues they raise. For example, when they notice and name some of the tokenizing or dependency-building dynamics, they may be criticized for “going off script” or for missing the greater point of ending trafficking. This reflects a phenomenon often referred to as the nonprofit “halo effect,” in which the perceived “greater good” of the work deters accountability for harmful practices.



### **4) Invalidation, minimization, or denial**

Eventually, direct criticism may fail to redirect the survivor into the role that the organization had anticipated they would fill. Alternatively, a survivor who does not have the capacity to do the job they were hired to do (due to an inappropriate hire) may be unable to respond as expected with direct coaching and support. Whether intentional or unintentional, the attempts to “manage” the survivor leader may become invalidating; attempts to minimize the dynamics causing the survivor’s frustration may even rise to the level of denial or gaslighting.

Gaslighting in this setting might include things like: telling the survivor they're a valued member of the team while tokenizing their contributions or identities; suggesting that they are not experiencing tokenization or workplace discrimination but that they are only perceiving it as such because of their trauma; or coercively expecting survivors to share the same understanding of their story that you do.



### **5) Resignation**

Ultimately, survivors may begin to feel powerless to change what they are experiencing in our sector. They may give up and leave their survivor leadership work, or take their gifts and skills to another sector. If they are unable to leave due to economic, interpersonal, or emotional pressures, they may choose to continue their work in survivor leadership, making small changes where they can but largely choosing to “play along” to preserve their security and safety. They likely have conflicting feelings about their work, organizations, and our sector, and may limit most of their conversations about the painful dynamics to a small number of survivor-only spaces.



### **6) Loss of self**

Over time, without attaining real decision-making power, survivors may experience significant psychological disruption. They can feel stuck in these dynamics and unable to change them. When this disruption becomes apparent to others, it is often blamed on “vicarious trauma” without acknowledgment

of the direct trauma the survivor has experienced from organizational harm or of the lack of options that keep survivor leaders "trapped" in certain kinds of survivor leadership.



## 7) Normalization of the cycle

Throughout this cycle, the periods of harm are often interspersed with praise, resources, and limited access to power. It is important to note that this does not have to be intentional! Often, awkward attempts to praise what is being done well while you are otherwise frustrated with a survivor's performance or feel attacked by their criticism can feel like a trauma bond to both of you; this can hold true even when such praise is an attempt at thoughtful, balanced management. The cycle becomes normalized over time, and the survivor leader may even enact similar cycles of harm on other survivors.

As with other cycles of harm, the impacts on the survivor are often intensified when survivor leaders speak up about the harm, when they prepare to leave, or right after they leave. This affects our ability to build trust with these survivors and other survivors in our movement, which then disrupts our ability to increase meaningful survivor leadership in the sector. It also negatively impacts our ability to collaborate with other nonprofit sectors, either when survivors we have excluded have become integral parts of those sectors or when our norms about lived experience differ significantly or are seen as tokenizing or paternalistic.

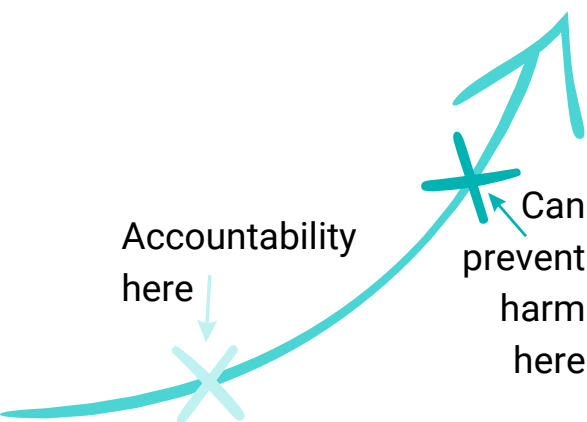


# Prevention, Accountability, and Repair

## What do we mean by prevention, accountability, and repair?

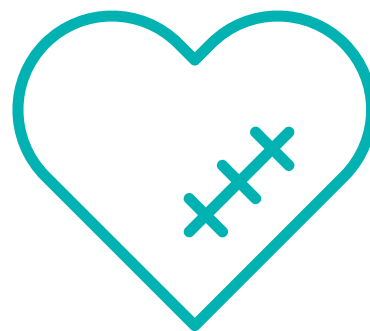


**PREVENTION** means practicing meaningful survivor engagement from the start so that you do not cause avoidable harm to survivors.



**ACCOUNTABILITY** means taking appropriate steps when harm happens, and, according to transformative justice practitioner Mia Mingus, includes the following steps: self-reflection, apology, repair, and changed behavior\*. Consistently taking accountability for smaller harms makes accountability a routine, normalized part of our social expectations and builds our systems for taking accountability for bigger harms. Consistent accountability for smaller harms can also prevent larger harms by disrupting harmful patterns before they escalate.

**REPAIR** is an essential part of full accountability, and it can only be done in relationship.\*\* This means that you are responsible for changing your behavior moving forward once you have harmed a survivor, regardless of



\* See Mia Mingus: The Four Parts of Accountability for more on accountability for harm (<https://leavingevidence.wordpress.com/2019/12/18/how-to-give-a-good-apology-part-1-the-four-parts-of-accountability/>) or attend a training by SOIL (<https://www.soiltjp.org/our-work/101-trainings>).

\*\* Mia Mingus, The Four Parts of Accountability & How To Give A Genuine Apology. <https://leavingevidence.wordpress.com/2019/12/18/how-to-give-a-good-apology-part-1-the-four-parts-of-accountability/> Accessed December 9, 2022.

whether or not that survivor wishes to accept repair or engage in a dialogue. However, if you want to make repair for harm caused to a specific survivor (or group of survivors), this will require ongoing dialogue to ensure that: 1) your apology actually addresses the harm experienced by the survivor (and not just the harm you believe you caused), and 2) the kind of repair you would like to make will be seen as meaningful by those harmed. You can change your behavior without being in an ongoing relationship with those harmed, but your accountability and the appropriateness of your solutions to harm will be more meaningful if they are developed in such a relationship.

In short, accountability requires both an apology and changed behavior.

In order to be sincere, an apology must be preceded by self-reflection (as a person, a leader, an organization, or a sector). Sincerity ensures adequate understanding to facilitate behavioral change. An apology requires acknowledging explicitly that you, your organization, or your sector caused harm. If you gloss over the depth of harm, minimize it, or avoid mentioning it altogether, any changes in behavior will be perceived by survivors as a public relations and media stunt, and trust in your work will not be rebuilt.

**YIKES! Our legal advisor is going to be very unhappy about the idea of us explicitly acknowledging harm, and our communications and development teams might be even more upset!**

Yes, this is true. And this fear is what has traditionally prevented organizations and sector leaders from taking accountability for harm caused to survivors.

# Remember:

1. Acknowledging and taking accountability for harm sooner can prevent small harms from becoming patterns of exploitation or silencing, which are practically and legally easier to navigate than extended patterns of harm over time.
2. Acknowledging harm is not the same as acknowledging incompetence, cruel intentions, or untrustworthiness. On the contrary, competence in acknowledging harm, apologizing, and making repair demonstrates good intentions and models trustworthiness and transparency. On an individual level, it models for the survivor that leaders do not have to pretend to be perfect to do good work. This in and of itself supports higher levels of meaningful survivor leadership. Additionally, in a movement where harm is widespread, you have a chance to demonstrate that your organization is actually doing something about it.
3. Denying or minimizing a survivor's experience of harm (regardless of whether or not harm was intended) is gaslighting. Anti-violence organizations should take care not to replicate the patterns of abusers.

**But what about social media spin? Will we get publicly “canceled”?**

Perhaps. Unfortunately, none of us can control how others will react to our actions, but this should not stop us from taking accountability.

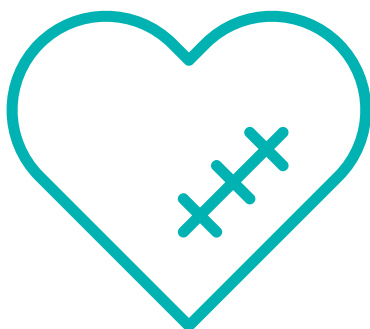


# Remember:

Survivors are often not in control of how others perceive or interpret their actions, and they are often on the receiving end of unfair or exaggerated claims. They are also frequently denied opportunities for forgiveness and repair. We model accountability for each other by making it a routine practice to acknowledge and address harm.

Also remember, when harm is not addressed, harmful dynamics escalate. A giant public and/or legal mess can often be prevented with sincere acknowledgment and apology.

And if you are afraid of escalated conflict dynamics, remember that many escalated dynamics with survivor leaders are the direct result of not providing adequate organizational support, supervision, and ongoing development to all staff and contractors.



## **Case study on modeling accountability: Love 146**

**In 2021, Love 146 stopped using chattel slavery language in their work. Rather than quietly make a shift, they addressed it directly in a blog post.**

**<https://love146.org/words-matter/>**

# Values around repair and accountability

The following values inform our recommendations in this report:



**We believe that we all cause harm (intentionally or unintentionally) and that nobody is disposable.**

**We believe that repair and accountability must be voluntary and honest, and that they take time, cultivation of trust, and a commitment to transformation. Trauma-informed principles apply to accountability and repair**



**We believe that repair is possible, that it is an ongoing process, and that it is always messy and requires us to get comfortable being uncomfortable.**

**We believe that repair and accountability happen through actions (not just words) and require changed behaviors.**



**We believe that changing the harmful behavior is not the same as repairing the harmed relationship, and changing harmful behavior does not obligate someone to forgive or be in relationship again. We can still honor and witness the person who was harmed, acknowledge the harm, and not expect them to engage in repair when they do not have the willingness or capacity.**



We believe that community is essential to ongoing accountability, and it can support us in our regenerative work.

We believe that just because a funder or executive created harm, this doesn't mean the funder has responsibility for finding the solution- that still leaves the power in the hands of the funder. We must shift from corporate, top-down models of accountability to grassroots, bottom-up models that redistribute power.

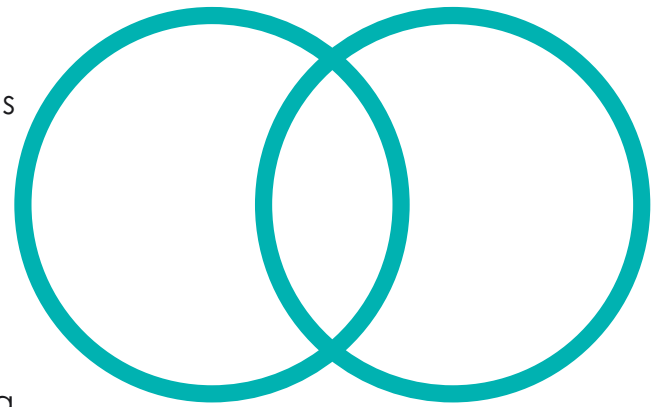


We believe that ego can get in the way of accountability and repair. Genuine accountability and repair require being mindful of what impulses are coming from our ego, or our need to be seen as good, rather than our need to own our actions.

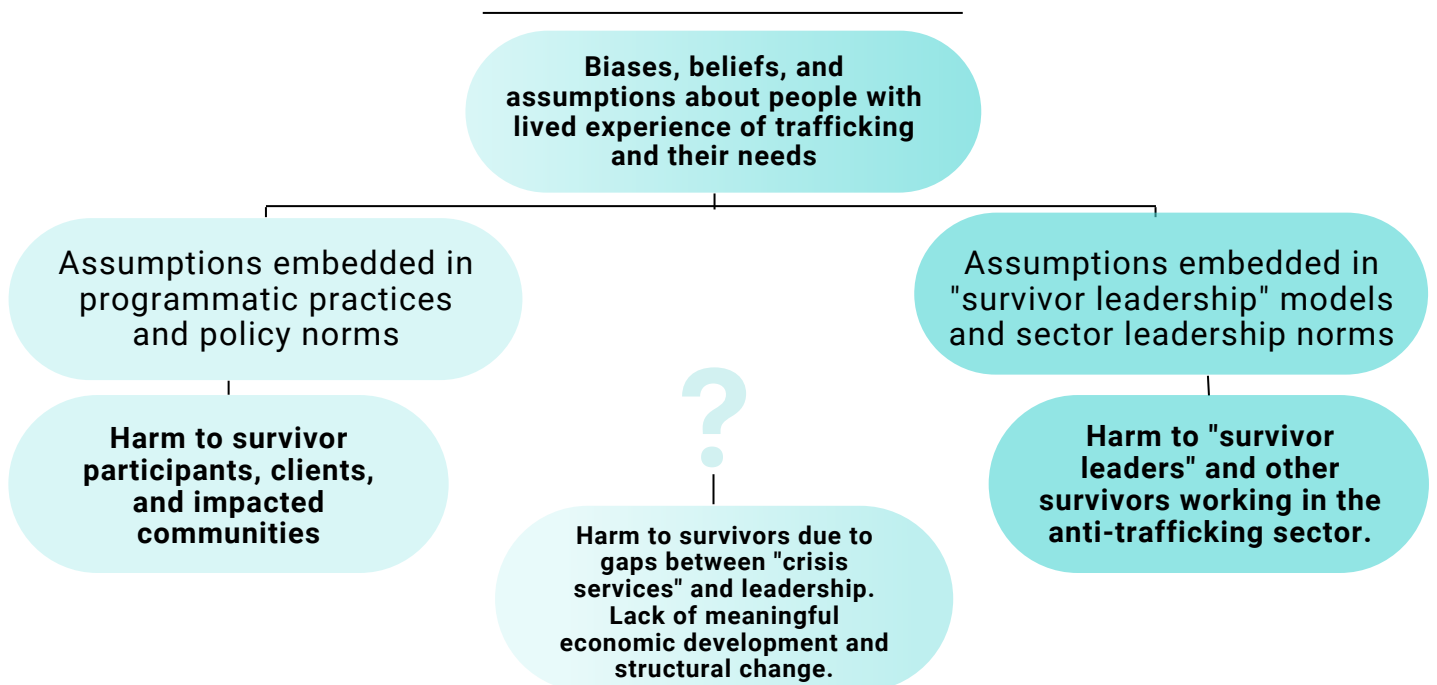


# Two Challenges, One Core Issue

We have heard funders and organizational leaders express confusion about how to support meaningful survivor engagement while still performing their essential programmatic and policy work. They understood these to be two separate issues or “tracks” of work, but the fact is these tracks of work are both rooted in biases and assumptions about people with lived experience of human trafficking– why they struggle, what they need, and what their capabilities are. Biases and assumptions often ‘other’ survivors of human trafficking by reducing them to their trafficking experience, rather than understanding their lives in the full context of their other experiences and their communities.



## How survivors experience harm



Such biases, beliefs, and assumptions often lead to policy and programmatic practices that replicate the coercive or carceral threats of traffickers. These practices disregard the goals of the survivor or impacted community, and impose a form of “rescue” that does not address fundamental structural vulnerabilities or build sustainable, long-term wellness.\*

Such biases, beliefs, and assumptions lead to a significant gap in services and support for survivors after their initial crisis and case management period. Survivors are often offered one-size-fits-all “economic development” programs that disregard the variety of skills, interests, and hopes they have. These programs are emphasized at the expense of structural change that could promote long-term community wellness for the survivors’ community.

This leads to double harm when survivors are then called upon for “survivor leadership” without adequate support and professional development, which results in tokenization. Survivors are either hired for non-decision-making roles based solely on their trauma experiences and willingness to share that trauma with others, or they are hired for specific professional roles without having the necessary skills or being offered adequate professional development. This is a direct result of biased support services that largely stop post-crisis.

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\*See the “Five Domains of Wellbeing” by Full Frame Initiative for a framework that accounts for the tradeoffs people often make to care for themselves with a structural lens.

[https://www.fullframeinitiative.org/cat\\_resources/five-domains-of-wellbeing](https://www.fullframeinitiative.org/cat_resources/five-domains-of-wellbeing)

Even when survivors come into professional positions with adequate or exceptional professional skills, they are still subject to bias and assumptions. Survivors whose roles have nothing to do with survivor leadership or engagement are often looked to as the “survivor voice” or expected to answer questions about survivor engagement. When these survivors question sector norms, it’s often assumed they are speaking from their trauma, and their concerns are not taken seriously until their frustration bubbles over. And when that happens, it is often viewed as the result of their trafficking trauma rather than a response to unaddressed, ongoing workplace dynamics.

Clearly, policy and programmatic anti-trafficking work is related to survivor engagement work– survivors are experiencing the same harmful biases at different points in their relationships with the anti-trafficking sector. We cannot improve survivor experience at first point of contact without improving survivor experience at the highest levels of leadership, and we must change them both at the same time.

We cannot develop meaningful policy recommendations without investing in survivors who are interested in learning policy. We cannot develop meaningful prevention recommendations without investing in survivors who are interested in learning about how comprehensive, effective prevention strategies are developed. We cannot develop meaningful recommendations about direct services without investing in survivors who are interested in learning crisis

response skills, shelter management, peer support, or clinical skills. We cannot develop meaningful recommendations about new ways of funding or organizational management without investing in survivors who want to learn business or fiscal management, accounting, or organizational operations. We cannot attract survivors to work in our movement who already have these skills so long as our sector reduces their expertise to their lived experience of trafficking. Survivor engagement is not the new, trendy thing in anti-trafficking work, and it must not become a meaningless buzzword. Meaningful survivor engagement means survivor investment, which can offer survivors more choices about if and how they want to engage in sector work, with less harm, less competition, and no more “Oppression Olympics.” Finally, we must always remember that survivors don’t owe our sector these skills or roles. Investment in survivors should be based upon the survivor’s interest, and for many survivors, their interests will fall outside our sector.

Maintaining a strict separation between “survivor” and “professional” in any sector disregards the humanity of people with lived experience by assuming survivors cannot or should not have access to all opportunities that non-survivors have. Relegating survivors to roles that are tokenizing or focused on sensationalized trauma narratives impacts solutions our sector is able to offer, and it impacts how our work is done on the ground. Many types of sector work that survivors are currently offered generate public panics rather than public awareness, and panics create ineffective or

harmful policy responses. In sum, we cannot create effective anti-trafficking policies and programming without meaningful input from people with lived experience, and we cannot get relevant, quality recommendations without investing in survivors at the earlier levels of survivor engagement.





# Appendix 1:

## Full outline of harms, examples, beliefs, and impacts

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Throughout this section, keep in mind the ways in which underlying assumptions harm both our participants or clients and our lived experience leadership.

### **Exclusion from anti-trafficking decision-making spaces, particularly of those with different perspectives or oppressed identities**

#### Examples:

- Continued survivor feedback without action.
  - We regularly solicit feedback from the survivors we partner with and serve without acting on that feedback. Sometimes this is because the survivors did not receive adequate information or preparation to offer actionable feedback. Sometimes it may be because different survivors provide differing or contradictory feedback, and facilitators are required to synthesize solutions for a broader impact. Often, the feedback is absolutely actionable but is deprioritized or ignored.

- Survivors working in anti-trafficking spaces are often overworked and/or exploited in the absence of organizational standards of practice guiding how their feedback is engaged.
- Actively excluding survivors from initiatives and leadership if they don't resonate with the "human trafficking" framework. The definition of 'human trafficking' and resulting policy/legislation is a Western legal conception that has been strongly politicized in ways that exclude self-identified immigrants, sex workers, and LGBTQ people. Many people with lived experience of abuse that qualifies as human trafficking prefer to understand their experiences differently, prioritizing different types of harm such as criminalization of survival behavior or exploitation or racial capitalism.
- Creating environments where survivors with multiple marginalized identities do not feel they can participate with a reasonable degree of integrity or emotional safety without fear of retaliation.
- Heteronormative movement norms and narratives, including in policy and prevention. LGBTQ individuals are often an "add-on" rather than a fundamental part of the framework. Adding "It can happen to anyone of any gender, and even LGBTQ people" to the end of a heteronormative framework doesn't create an inclusive message. It is rare that homophobia, biphobia, queerphobia, and transphobia are acknowledged as creating root cause vulnerability to trafficking, and as methods of coercion and control in trafficking itself. For example, many LGBTQ youth who end up experiencing trafficking find themselves vulnerable due to a lack of family or community support, or lack of access to

gender-affirming care, and traffickers may threaten to ‘out’ them as a means of maintaining coercive control.

Spoken or unspoken beliefs that underpin or are perpetuated by this kind of harm:

- People with lived experience are incapable of providing professional expertise or making choices to care for themselves.
- “Professionals” know better than impacted communities what they’ve experienced or what they need. Participants or clients who refuse services are too traumatized or ignorant to realize their personal worth or what they need.
- Our services, laws, and frameworks are appropriate and adequate, so survivors can provide a little “input” into our approaches. If a survivor does not agree with our approach, it’s because they are ignorant, and not because our approach is fundamentally flawed.

Harmful impacts on survivors:

- Our strategies are less effective and less responsive to community needs.
- Our most vulnerable survivors go unrecognized, do not have their needs met, or are unable to access relevant resources and services.
- Protocols that are not regularly evaluated and improved through feedback from existing participants or clients (like through surveys) will continue to fail to address survivor needs in responsive ways, leading to ineffective prevention, premature cessation of services, and re-exploitation.

- Survivors sense they are wasting their time, labor, and emotional energy in developing feedback that is disregarded.

## **Identity-based or oppression-based harm**

These impact all survivors but have the greatest impacts on transgender Black, Indigenous, and other people of color, and especially trans femmes of color.

### **Examples:**

- Financial and other exploitation of BIPOC survivors' labor and stories by higher-paid, higher-status white survivors or other professionals. This happens to LGBTQ survivors as well and especially often to QTBIPOC survivors, whose low-paid emotional or performative work is used to build the careers of more privileged movement leaders. A specific example: a Black trans survivor being paid close to minimum wage to produce a report with predetermined findings (performative work) or tell their story at a fundraising event (emotional work), while an executive leverages this work for their own name recognition within the sector.
- Racist, homophobic, transphobic, and classist assumptions about whether a particular survivor can be presented as a “perfect survivor poster child,” as an idealized “victim” rather than a “criminal.” This often manifests in encouraging survivor leaders who share their stories to fit their stories into such narratives.
- Ableism in job descriptions, hiring processes, and workplace practices that render leadership positions inaccessible to many survivors.

- Tokenization and commodification of survivors who have marginalized identities as a means of avoiding accountability. Instead of addressing structural oppression within our movement, certain BIPOC and/or LGBTQ survivors may be selected to deflect criticism from other survivors who share their marginalizations. This is often done publicly, to preserve the image of organizations or status of leaders within the anti-trafficking movement.
- Survivors from marginalized communities find that their community and cultural norms are only welcomed as caricatures. For example, Black survivors are encouraged to play up their “hood” background for predominantly white audiences in a performative way, and are discouraged from sounding “too polished.”
- Naming disparities without remedying the systems and practices that cause them, and calling this “equity.”

Spoken or unspoken beliefs that underpin or are perpetuated by this kind of harm:

- It is okay if we replicate the societal patterns of uneven power and oppression that fuel exploitation, so long as it’s financially beneficial to our work
- It looks bad if I, as a white, cisgender leader, push back against a marginalized survivor, but it’s acceptable to cultivate and encourage my own marginalized survivor leaders who can push back for me.

- The goal of equity is that all survivors have equal access to our existing frameworks, resources, and services; it is not to re-examine and redesign existing frameworks, resources, and services. We must talk about disparities just to demonstrate our commitment and highlight that survivors who have been marginalized by our society need more of our resources and services.
- White, cisgender girls who have been victims of “pimp-controlled” sex trafficking are more deserving of our empathy and resources than other survivors.

#### Harmful impacts on survivors:

- BIPOC and/or LGBTQ survivors find that organizations only care about or mention their identities to exploit them for public relations. They do not feel seen or welcomed as their full selves in our sector. Because of this, they may have ambivalent feelings about giving their full support, gifts, and passion to our sector’s work, and they often struggle to understand what their roles in this sector should be. They may be more likely to work in grassroots or informal movement roles, resulting in their services for their communities being underfunded.
- Messaging that carries these biases often generates broad but sensationalized, pitying public interest in survivors who fit the “perfect victim” stereotype. It does little to generate meaningful support or structural change for survivors who are migrants, LGBTQ or gender-nonconforming, BIPOC, and/or from low-income communities.

## Harmful funding restrictions, norms, and practices

Some of the harms that organizations transfer to survivors come from funder expectations, criteria, or reporting norms.

### Examples:

- Prioritizing quantity of client engagements necessarily deprioritizes quality, making each engagement less impactful. This incentivizes frameworks and strategies that leave behind survivors who are at the cultural or economic margins.
- Many funders are not trained on all aspects of human trafficking and may not understand the nuances of either trafficking scenarios or our sector's dynamics. The training and feedback they do receive from survivors often come from a small number of voices and is therefore not appropriately diverse..
- Bipartisan support for policing funnels money into carceral interventions, rather than investing in community wellness, access, and prevention initiatives,
- Funding that posits human trafficking as a single-issue problem (“human trafficking exceptionalism”) means we have missed opportunities to fund initiatives in overlapping issue areas like housing that would tremendously reduce vulnerability to trafficking. Community care initiatives involving mutual aid and organizing are not often considered to be violence prevention or safety promotion initiatives within the anti-trafficking sector, despite evidence to the contrary.

- Funding application and review processes are often so complicated that they prioritize the same large organizations while smaller, grassroots, survivor-led and community-driven projects have difficulty obtaining funds. There is also a lack of funder support for either reducing reporting requirements or building organizational monitoring and evaluation capacity.
- Funders do not create space for conflict, setbacks, or reciprocal feedback. This discourages organizations from admitting to harm and therefore from repairing it. Rather, organizations may be made to feel that they have to show off successes to continue receiving money, and areas for mutually beneficial dialogue and learning remain unidentified and untapped.
- Funders (and executives) are often uncomfortable with uncertainty and disagreements between survivors. They may feel pressured to determine which survivor is “right” rather than shift their framework to be more inclusive, and they may prioritize cultivating survivor leaders who all tell them the same things. This excludes voices from the conversation and is not in keeping with principles of diversity, equity, and inclusion.

Spoken or unspoken beliefs that underpin or are perpetuated by this kind of harm:

- Communities cannot be trusted to know their own needs or manage their own support.
- Survivors are not capable of understanding how to run a program.
- Infrastructure and operational expenses are not “essential.”



- Formal degrees and education are more valuable than on-the-ground learning of similar skills.
- Survivors all need the same things and agree on ideas for solutions.

### Harmful impacts on survivors:

- Survivor-led and grassroots initiatives who already have the trust of their communities are often underfunded, despite doing incredible work.
- Funding for survivor-led organizations often goes to less inclusive organizations led by more privileged survivors.
- Survivor-led organizations may be so wrapped up in competing for funding that they lean into exploitative practices or a culture of overwork.
- Many evidence-based initiatives to prevent trafficking or reduce the likelihood of re-exploitation are not allowable under many funding scopes, particularly initiatives led by and for self-identified sex workers who may have lived experience of human trafficking but are not granted “survivor leadership” voice.
- Poorly-paid staff and employees (many of whom would ideally have lived experience) are more likely to experience burnout.
- Carceral approaches to human trafficking prevention and response (including increased policing and incarceration) replicate patterns of structural violence and have disparate impacts on communities of color, LGBTQ communities, and families in poverty. These are communities that already have increased statistical risk for human trafficking.

# **Labor exploitation within the human trafficking sector, including by organizations that are survivor-led and by well-known survivor leaders**

## Examples:

- Survivors who are in programs or receiving services are often expected to be part of fundraising or public relations efforts. Even organizations that are intentional about not asking current participants to share their trafficking stories have been expected to have their programming, presence, or “homes” observed by funders, board members, and staff from other programs. Ultimately, this can create expectations of performative labor even in spaces that are meant for healing or safety.
- Survivors are often asked to speak at events without being offered appropriate pay. Speaking fees generally do not account for travel or childcare expenses or time spent commuting or emotionally recovering. Survivor leaders have had to borrow money from other survivor leaders to pay for gas money after speaking at federal policy events. They have had to ask for crowdfunding support while engaging in advocacy on behalf of well-funded organizations or governments at the global level. Survivors who do not work in this field full-time often have to hire dependent care, buy appropriate clothing, or miss work at their other jobs to participate in these events, and they may need a few hours after emotionally challenging engagements to decompress. They may also require additional support, such as

scheduling an additional therapy session, particularly if their participation included tokenization, bias, harassment, or engagement with systems that have directly harmed that survivor. \ These types of expenses are rarely factored into compensation, even when it is offered.

- Survivor engagement is often restricted to specific and sometimes harmful roles, such as repeated storytelling or peer mentoring, and this is typically done without proper preparation and informed consent. When survivors are not offered other ways to earn income, they may agree to these roles even if they lack interest in the work or find the work exploitative. These roles often create an expectation for the survivor to present themselves or their experiences as “inspiration porn” for potential donors and voters.
- Job training that is provided often generates little or no income for the survivors. Frequently, social enterprise businesses that feature survivor-made goods concern themselves with media relations and funding the organization’s operations, rather than providing living wages for survivors. When they aren’t paid a living, equitable, just, generous wage for their work, survivors’ labor is devalued in ways that may trigger trauma from their prior exploitation.
- Survivors are often placed in demanding roles without adequate support or training. This can happen because they have difficulty saying ‘no’ or are unsure how to set professional boundaries- for example, around manageable caseloads.
- Survivors or survivor-led organizations may be offered grant projects or contracts where money is promised upon completion of deliverables, but they aren’t given adequate support while

undertaking the work (or they may not even be screened for capacity and skills). They may then attempt the work, redo the work after the funder's feedback, and end up redoing the work repeatedly; the project thus becomes significantly more labor-intensive than anticipated and requires significantly more labor than is compensated). Occasionally, survivors never receive payment, their work product sometimes deemed unacceptable due to employing a different, non-savior framework or less-than-conciliatory writing style. Other times, survivors or survivor-led organizations invest significant amounts of time in meeting with funders to discuss possible grant opportunities and feel "strung along" by people with more organizational or financial power, always chasing the proverbial "carrot" they can never have.

- When survivors express that such practices are exploitative, they are sometimes treated as disposable or replaceable.

### Spoken or unspoken beliefs that underpin or are perpetuated by this kind of harm:

- Emotional labor is not labor. Movement knowledge and skill is not valuable knowledge or skill. Survivors should want to volunteer their time to stop others from experiencing what they did, even when many others are getting paid for their work to end trafficking. Survivors should be grateful for what we have done for them and should elevate our work.
- Exploitation is about intentional moral injury rather than stolen labor, so as long as we are not sexually harming anyone or restricting their movement, we are not exploiting them.

- Moral exploitation by “bad actors” is more important to address than economic or emotional exploitation by nonprofit organizations or policy advocates.
- Survivors should be offered practical job skills training based on whatever program we have, such as candle-making or jewelry-making, rather than being connected to resources that will cultivate their specific skills and meet their pre-existing interests. Job skills training is part of the compensation, so it’s okay if we don’t pay survivors or only pay minimum wage, and the bulk of the profits go into our operations.

#### Harmful impacts on survivors:

- Survivors who are constantly put on display may internalize the idea that performing “success” is more important than genuine healing. They can judge themselves against the unrealistic standards they are expected to perform.
- Survivors who rely on continually sharing their trafficking story as part of their access to income and power may feel the burden of always having to be “inspirational” or a “success story” for funders or other survivors. This can be psychologically complicated because healing journeys typically do not fit a linear arc.
- Survivors who are funneled into assumptive “job skills” training that doesn’t engage with their particular strengths and interests may leave these surface-level programs still unable to maintain economic stability and thus still vulnerable to re-exploitation and other harm.

## **Lateral victimization by survivor leaders, who may also cause harm to other survivors, and the practice of non-survivors, organizations, and other advocates fueling lateral victimization**

### Examples:

- Because the dynamics that often lead survivors to have access to power and funding rely on competition and “power over,” some survivor leaders will abuse that power, and allies who confuse empowerment with lack of criticism or accountability allow the abuse to continue unchecked. Some survivor leaders have tried to get others fired, successfully pressured funders into pulling funding from organizations with differing perspectives, have doxxed other survivors, and otherwise harassed and defamed other survivors.\*
- Organizations often use survivor leaders to fight the organization’s or movement’s battles for them so they cannot be accused of “speaking over” survivors. This dynamic encourages and rewards highly confrontational and even abusive behavior among survivors and replicates how some traffickers pit their victims against each other so the victims take the fall for harm caused. Challenging conversations are necessary, but it is harmful to survivors to regularly put them into conflict-laden positions without building and maintaining a container for dialogue.

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\*Oxford Languages defines doxxing as: “search for and publish private or identifying information about (a particular individual) on the internet, typically with malicious intent.”

- Meaningful opportunities for sector leadership are not regularly offered, and instead of asking non-survivor leaders to make room, survivors are asked to compete for limited “Survivor Leader™” roles. This disregards that many survivors have extensive professional, movement, or community organizing experience that doesn’t fit the expectation of “survivor leadership,” either because it is in behind-the-scenes roles or because it was in related movements against sexual violence or racism.

Spoken or unspoken beliefs that underpin or are perpetuated by this kind of harm:

- After experiencing the trauma of trafficking, which must be inconceivably and exceptionally horrific, survivors deserve to regain power and economic security in any way they can. Bad behavior against others is excused by prior, exceptionalized trauma.
- It looks bad if a non-survivor corrects or criticizes a survivor’s false statistics, inappropriately universalized perspectives, or non-evidence-based strategies. Instead, we should encourage other survivors to do this for us, regardless of the additional stress that may result for these survivors.
- If someone tells us that our strategy harms a certain marginalized group, we can find a survivor from that marginalized group to speak for the entire group.
- We can’t expect people with trauma to engage in dialogue about hard topics without lashing out at each other.

## Harmful impacts on survivors:

- We lose survivors' wisdom, insights, and gifts when they fear engaging with toxic sector dynamics.
- When people who have been accustomed to survival through competition are encouraged to continue that behavior in the name of "ending trafficking," they often feel gaslit and confused. It denies survivors' inherent humanity to assume that they necessarily and always treat each other poorly and cannot be expected to meet general expectations around community-building and compassion.
- Survivor leaders who are pushed out of their roles through this dynamic have experienced extreme poverty as well as medical and psychological crises. These are not the result of vicarious trauma but of toxic sector norms and outright abuse at the hands of both allies and survivor leaders. While many sector professionals who are not survivors of human trafficking also have trauma or mental health concerns, they are not subjected to the same levels and kinds of abuse, nor are they scrutinized by colleagues in the same way when they struggle.

"We cannot create effective anti-trafficking policies and programming without meaningful input from people with lived experience, and we cannot get relevant, quality recommendations without investing in survivors at the earlier levels of survivor engagement."

**Investing in survivors at all stages reduces lateral violence by decreasing economic competition that pits survivors against each other out of desperation.**



# Exceptionalization of survivor leaders

## Examples:

- Because there have been harmful, top-down criteria about who is “recovered enough” to participate in movement leadership, survivors often feel that they are under the microscope in ways that other sector leaders are not. For example, a survivor who has a bad day in the workplace will be seen as “not being cut out for the work,” while someone who doesn’t have (or doesn’t disclose) lived experience will be seen as simply having a bad day. Many people in social change or support organizations come to that work due to their own histories and traumas, and yet survivors of trafficking are not granted the same grace or offered the same redirection. When survivors of trafficking have trauma responses in the workplace, it is always perceived as being caused by their trafficking trauma rather than traumatic sector or nonprofit norms.
- Emphasizing organizational or movement change specifically for survivors rather than acknowledging the broader prevalence of trauma and the general need for growth in our sector’s norms
- Advocating for survivor-led initiatives without a strong intersectional lens often pits “meaningful survivor engagement” against diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives. Lived-experience insights, perspectives, and leadership must come from survivors of diverse backgrounds, and racial, gender, disability and other forms of equity within organizations should not be limited to issues of survivorship.

## Spoken or unspoken beliefs that underpin or are perpetuated by this kind of harm:

- Human trafficking is separate from and always more severe than other kinds of oppression or harm, and its survivors are uniquely, fundamentally more fragile than survivors who have experienced other forms of trauma or oppression.

## Harmful impacts on survivors:

- Survivors often feel gaslit when they name harmful sector norms.
- Survivors in our sector doing intersectional work around meaningful survivor engagement meet resistance from marginalized groups in other sectors. They struggle to achieve solidarity around shared goals with organizations staffed by People of Color or LGBTQ people and focused on issues of racial justice or sexual and reproductive health and rights. Often, members of these organizations are hesitant to work in partnership because they've witnessed or experienced how our sector habitually erases their voices and uplifts the voices of survivors who are white, heterosexual, and/or cisgender and refuse to challenge (or only performatively challenge) broader oppressive systems.
- People who are BIPOC and/or LGBTQ and survivors of human trafficking feel invisible in this artificial divide, particularly if they also identify as immigrants or sex workers. Survivors who are white, heterosexual and cisgender, and/or whose only experiences of migration and sex trade involvement were forced or coerced, are often not encouraged to think and speak beyond their singular survivor experiences or to advocate for other marginalized people.

# Poorly managed conflicts around the sex trades rooted in carceral feminism

## Examples:

- The over-emphasis on trafficking in commercial sex (from the white slave panic in the late 19th Century to the initial introduction of the “Freedom from Sexual Trafficking Act of 1999”) has led to reduced identification, media coverage, funding, services, and prevention initiatives for survivors of trafficking in non-sexual forms of labor, including within commercial sex. This occurs in our own awareness-raising presentations, when speakers thoughtlessly present “signs of human trafficking” that indicate commercial sex and only commercial sex leaving labor trafficking survivors invisible even in their own movement or sector.
- Because much of the framing of trafficking in commercial sex has positioned it as “the most brutal” form of trafficking (dating back to Chris Smith’s introduction of the 1999 bill), an artificial divide has been set up between sex trafficking and labor trafficking survivors. This posits that there can be an objective measurement of the highly variable and subjective experience of interpersonal trauma, disrupting solidarity over shared experiences of exploitation. It also disregards the extent to which labor trafficking survivors endure sexual abuse while being trafficked, and sex trafficking survivors are forced to engage in other forms of forced labor (or have endured labor trafficking at other, separate times in their lives). This false dichotomy further fuels lateral victimization

when survivors of labor trafficking are told their trafficking doesn't qualify them to speak to the experience of survivorship.

- While some individuals understand their experiences in commercial sex across the spectrum of agency as abusive or exploitative, others understand their interpersonally-forced or -coerced commercial sex trade experiences as fundamentally different from their expressly consensual or circumstantial experiences.\* Conflating sex work and sex trafficking sets the expectation that all survivors should frame their diverse, subjective experiences of commercial sex the same way, and this denies their agency and self-determination. It also erases alternative, evidence-based anti-trafficking frameworks common in BIPOC, LGBTQ and QTBIPOC activism that focus on systemic exploitation under carceral capitalism rather than the actions of individual bad actors within these systems. This results in almost exclusively funding anti-trafficking strategies that rely on criminalization- the very thing so many QTBIPOC survivor communities identify as a source of their exploitation. Understandably, this further isolates such survivors from the mainstream anti-trafficking sector.
- There are many other ways survivors whose recommendations or experiences don't fit the pre-existing, mainstream trafficking narrative, are often erased and marginalized from anti-trafficking decision-making spaces. This happens to survivor leaders working

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\*For more on the spectrum of choice, circumstance, and coercion, see:

<https://nationalsurvivornetwork.org/learning-the-spectrum-of-agency/>

in other, related anti-violence movements as well as those within our sector, and it includes: 1) survivors who engaged in commercial sex of their own volition at other times in their lives, 2) survivors who indicate that the trafficking wasn't the focal point of their traumatic experiences (such as a homeless youth who names homophobia as the root cause of their exploitation rather than demand, or a youth survivor who experiences the lack of self-determination in systems as identical to the coercive patterns of traffickers, or a trans survivor who found criminalized labor to be a tradeoff they were willing to make in the absence of legal, safe, affordable access to gender-affirming healthcare). These survivors are often told to minimize the elements of their stories that don't fit the mainstream anti-trafficking narrative, or to make only certain policy recommendations regardless of how relevant those might be to their experiences. We are not recommending a specific alternate narrative; we are recommending making room for multiple narratives and diverse recommendations. This allows for better problem analysis and removing the pressures that result in gaslighting and lateral violence.

- Many of our framings and solutions for youth survivors assume that their families are safe people for them, or at least that there are existing, appropriate options for their care and safety. Our “solutions” for youth, and particularly adolescent youth, put them into increased contact with systems that replicate harm and increase the likelihood of future systems involvement or

exploitation.\* After a period of ongoing domestic abuse and lack of supportive interventions for themselves and their families, some survivors understand their involvement in commercial sex as runaway or homeless underage youth to be a survival strategy- a solution rather than, or in addition to, a form of exploitation. Youth experience many ongoing problems that are not compassionately or adequately addressed, and there is a clear need for alternative solutions, such as parenting skills and support programs for parents of queer youth; access to a living wage for families; accountability for school push-out; more shelters for transgender youth; and nonreligious substance use treatment programs, particularly for youth who have previously endured conversion therapy. Exceptionalizing the problem as only being one of interpersonally-forced or -coerced child sex trafficking excludes structural factors of coercion and many of these possible support options.

Spoken or unspoken beliefs that underpin or are perpetuated by this kind of harm:

- Sexual violation within commercial sex is more harmful, painful, or valid than other kinds of violation, including other kinds of sexual violation.
- Participation in commercial sex is inherently experienced as violating, regardless of the person's options, agency, or subjective understanding.
- Exploitation of labor is okay as long as it doesn't reach the level of trafficking.

- Systems should hold individuals who engage in commercial sex more accountable for exploitation than the systems that created their vulnerability.
- People who pay for goods made with forced labor do not have the same level of culpability as people who pay for pornography or commercial sex, regardless of awareness of labor conditions

### Harmful impacts on survivors:

- When survivors are pitted against each other they are unable to organize impactfully.
- Survivors of labor trafficking feel pressured to disclose sexual abuse in order to be seen as valid, and even then their exploitation is not acknowledged as “enough” to secure their place in the anti-trafficking movement
- Ideological beliefs about the inherent exploitation of commercial sex lead some organizations and survivor leaders to accuse survivors who advocate for sex worker safety of caring more about buyers and traffickers than about themselves and their communities. This is especially true when survivors engage in harm reduction-based advocacy and utilize anti-carceral frameworks. In response, some sex worker rights advocates and allies accuse other survivors of Puritanism if they don't want commercial sex to happen under any circumstances. Both of these framings disregard the complexity of survivors' feelings about commercial sex.

## **Poorly managed conflicts around language, labeling, and frameworks that favors carceral systems**

### Examples:

- Attempts to come up with one-size-fits-all frameworks and solutions have led to debate around whose interpretation of a person's experience is "right" – the individual who lived it, or another person determined to provide their own analysis. Insisting that someone doesn't properly understand their own experience is a denial of agency; any change in one's self-understanding must come as part of a collaborative, therapeutic process and usually happens over lengths of time. Even then, an individual's framing of their own experiences may not match a third party's interpretation. For example, someone who stayed with a romantic partner who called them names and hit them, all while they engaged in commercial sex in order to afford gender-affirming surgery, may not ever see themselves as a victim of intimate partner violence or trafficking, regardless of legal definitions. They may understand themselves as the victim of one form of violence but not the other, or they may simply understand their experience as a challenging one in which they were resourceful. Alternatively, a person in a similar circumstance may indeed see themselves as a victim of horrific circumstances and an abusive partner, and they may need permission to feel the depth of their pain. In either case, we replicate the patterns of traffickers when we insist that we know more about someone's circumstances and inner world than they do.



- Similarly, one survivor may see the buyer (of commercial sex or any product produced through exploited labor) as the root cause of their exploitation, and another person with very similar circumstances may see the government or economic system that produced the exploitation as the root cause. Yet another may name the -“isms” that contributed to their vulnerability as the root causes. When our sector does not have room for diversity of survivor experiences, survivors are harmed through invalidation and additional marginalization.
- Even in the United States, there is a strange competitive nature with the use of words such as “victim,” “survivor,” and “thriver.” Debates over preferred terminology often establish a new term in response to a bias about the previously-used term without deconstructing those biases. Some people may prefer more than one term: some people who thrive may want to acknowledge that they were the victim of someone else’s crime. Some people who are still in their trafficking situation need reminders that they are resourceful in their survival. Some survivors thrive one day and barely survive the next. because healing is not linear. Additionally, the word “survivor” does not work as well in the global context: In some regions, exploitation is so widespread that the label is rendered meaningless; and in other regions, “survivor” is so strongly associated with intimate violence against women and girls that men who experience trafficking do not see their experiences represented in the term.\*

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\*See Engagement of lived experience in international policy and programming, Modern Slavery Policy and Evidence Centre, 2022. <https://modernslaverypec.org/resources/best-practice-engagement-lived-experience>

- The mainstream narrative of human trafficking centers around a cisgender woman or girl groomed for trafficking in commercial sex by a self-professed romantic partner who is a cisgender man. This erases the experiences of survivors who are men, boys, transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals, those trafficked by parents or other family members, those who were commercially sexually exploited as young children, those whose traffickers were women, and those who were trafficked in legal forms of labor. It also erases survivors who engaged in legal (or illegal) forms of commercial sex of their own agency and then experienced labor exploitation, or people who engage in commercial sex across the spectrum of agency who also have abusive partners or families but whose abuse does not include forcing, defrauding, or coercing them into commercial sex. The erasure of all these diverse experiences leads to decreased funding, research, services, policy momentum, and power-sharing for these survivors.
- Detachment of labor trafficking experiences from the systems that generate vulnerability leads to ineffective solutions that do little to address root causes. One example: many labor trafficking survivors who were clearly and fraudulently recruited into trafficking situations cannot criminally prosecute their recruiters or employers because “fraud” was omitted from the criminal definition of labor trafficking.\* It's important to acknowledge that

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\* They can qualify for victim services but their trafficker cannot be prosecuted.

this carve-out was established in response to widespread, normalized fraud in labor recruitment practices across multiple industries. This is a compelling reason for anti-trafficking policy advocates to align with workers' rights movements, even if such movements are not as politically expedient. Similarly, there is little bipartisan solidarity around immigration reform that could reduce vulnerability to trafficking, despite professed bipartisan interest in this issue. This indicates a pattern of absolution by and for those in power within the systems that create conditions for trafficking, and it permeates anti-trafficking policy and “solutions.”

- Enmeshment of our sector with carceral feminism and the criminal legal system, and particularly with policing, prisons, and forced treatment/ ‘diversion’ programs Such responses are framed as the only solution to trafficking, when in reality many survivors have experienced harm from criminalization, either through their own arrest and incarceration or at the level of family and community. The criminal legal system even imposes forced labor as a punishment for crime. Further, immigration responses often focus on incarceration, family separation, and deportation, harming migrant survivors of trafficking and leading to a reduced willingness to report abuse.
- Confusion and conflation around “modern-day slavery” and “human trafficking” distort perceptions of what survivors experience. Jury members who have a specific perception of “slavery” that reflects chattel slavery may find traffickers “not guilty”

in court, noting that they “know what slavery looks like, and there was no slavery here.” The general public may read global numbers of individuals in “modern-day slavery” and not realize that almost half of the reported numbers are in forced marriage and not forced labor.\*

### Spoken or unspoken beliefs that underpin or are perpetuated by this kind of harm:

- Our existing systems and frameworks are adequate and reasonably effective, and anyone advocating for systemic change to reduce vulnerability is just politicizing the issue.
- The people we want to help trust these systems. If they don’t trust them, it’s because their trafficker lied to them about what engaging with these systems will be like. It’s not because they have correctly assessed that engaging these systems may lead to harm or increased violence for themselves, their families, or their communities.

### Harmful impacts on survivors:

- In addition to the direct harms named above, survivors who receive services or engage in sector leadership feel continually gaslighted by people claiming to want wellness for them while advocating for

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\*To be clear, forced marriage is a horrific abuse and should be addressed. And still, not every forced abuse should be categorized under “human trafficking,” particularly since forced marriage isn’t legally under the umbrella of human trafficking in the United States and this leads to confusion among advocates, legislators, and potential jury pools.

policies that make them less safe, less secure, and less able to make their own choices.

- Criminalization of survivors or of other marginalized communities leads to increased sexual violence at the hands of law enforcement. For example, a common form of rape perpetrated against people in the sex trade across the spectrum of agency is police extorting sexual acts for the (sometimes false) promise that the victim will not be arrested. Further, law enforcement may purchase commercial sex acts under fraudulent pretenses, purportedly to solidify evidence in cases of alleged sex trafficking or prostitution. It is often legal for them to do so, even though sex workers and trafficking survivors have named it as an exceedingly traumatic experience. This makes future survivor engagement with carceral systems a frightening, retraumatizing experience. It also harms our efforts to end exploitation.

"One survivor may see the buyer (of commercial sex or any product produced through exploited labor) as the root cause of their exploitation, and another person with very similar circumstances may see the government or economic system that produced the exploitation as the root cause. Yet another may name the -"isms" that contributed to their vulnerability as the root causes.

When our sector does not have room for diversity of survivor experiences, survivors are harmed through invalidation and additional marginalization."

# Engagement that comes from a savior complex ("the rescue industry")

## Examples:

- When survivors of human trafficking are portrayed in ways that emphasize their victimhood or trauma, this generates impulses among funders, politicians, and community members to want to “save” or “rescue” them. Often, this can be well-meaning, but other times it can be a way for “saviors” to build their own self-esteem or identities as helpers. This creates a dynamic in which the helping is primarily about the benevolent identity of the helper, whose own definitions of “success” or “safety” must take precedence. The agency, autonomy, and resources afforded to the survivor become secondary considerations, if they are considered at all. When survivors then do not perform the expected gratitude, they are reframed as the problem.
- The savior may have a sense of ownership over the survivor’s story and future success, never emphasizing the ways that person rescued themselves: by reaching out for help, by making appointments and continually showing up, by rearranging their life, and disrupting their existing social and family structures,--sometimes repeatedly.
- Funders may take ownership over the survivor’s success if they understand their money as playing a key role in that survivor’s redemption. This is exacerbated by requirements to share client stories for fundraising purposes. These requirements, paired with expectations of wide reach on traditional media and social media,

lead to increasingly sensationalized trauma narratives.

- It is not unusual for survivors to feel like they have been rescued or saved. However, when this narrative is uncritically accepted or even promoted by anti-trafficking advocates, it increases power disparities that make it hard for survivors to say no to organizational asks. These dynamics leave survivors feeling as if they “owe” the already-paid professionals who helped them.

Spoken or unspoken beliefs that underpin or are perpetuated by this kind of harm:

- I saved this survivor, and now they owe me. Any successes or experiences they have going forward should be attributed to my organization.

Harmful impacts on survivors:

When external “rescue” is prioritized over community-based, strategic needs assessment and ongoing trust-building, harmful practices go unchecked.

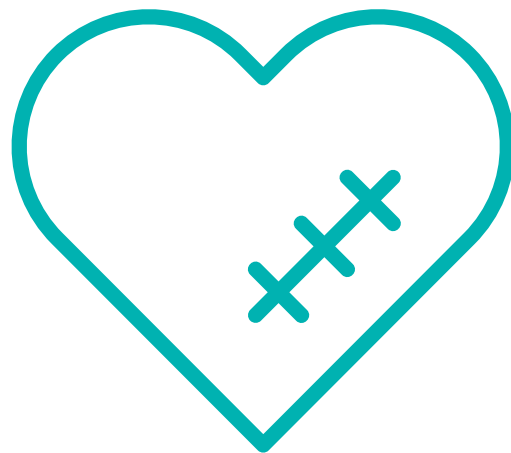
- Sex workers regularly report being harassed by anti-trafficking advocates who fraudulently respond to their ads in an attempt to shame them into leaving the industry, whether or not those workers are experiencing or have experienced trafficking. Such workers are not provided with adequate, if any, alternative options.
- People in the sex trades across the spectrum of agency are routinely arrested during ‘anti-trafficking’ raids. If the option is available, they may be coerced through the threat of a permanent criminal record into participating in Human Trafficking

Intervention Courts as ‘victim-defendants’-- whether or not they identify as survivors of trafficking and whether they understand the mandated short-term therapy, yoga classes, minimum-wage job placement, or other services as helpful to their needs. In other jurisdictions, or for people in the sex trades with certain pre-existing criminal charges on their records, undocumented immigration status, or other vulnerabilities, fines, incarceration, or deportation may be imposed.

- When adequate time is not given to safety-planning before the survivor is removed from the trafficking situation, the survivor’s families and loved ones may be made vulnerable to violence.
- Many survivors who are not immediately able to leave will experience increased violence themselves if the trafficker discovers the situation has been reported; this happens when adult mandatory reporting laws are enacted without regard for survivor agency or impact.
- Anti-trafficking organizations or advocates who feel ownership over survivors and their stories may share the survivor’s story without thought to potential harm, in order to garner praise or funding. Survivors may not be aware of all the media outlets where their images, stories, or barely de-identified stories are published, and they may lose control over details and contextual elements of their stories, such as language choice or attendant policy recommendations. They may even see themselves painted as caricatures or stereotypes.



- When advocates and sector leaders do not receive the expected gratitude from survivors that they feel they deserve, they may behave abusively, either through emotional manipulation or outright retaliation.



# Appendix 2:

## Report on Lessons Learned

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### I. Introduction

Over the past year, leaders in the anti-human trafficking sector have participated in a series of difficult, necessary conversations about survivor engagement. We recognize that our sector and the movement more generally have not centered the needs of individual survivors of human trafficking nor disproportionately impacted communities such as LGBTQ people, migrants, and sex workers. As a result, anti-trafficking organizations have caused a significant amount of harm to the very people they intend to serve, and much of this harm is unrepaired and sometimes ongoing. This harm further isolates survivors from engaging in sectoral or movement work, creating a cycle of distrust, exclusion, and hurt.

Humanity United and National Survivor Network formed a Lived and Professional Experience Movement-Building Working Group (‘Working Group’) to disrupt this cycle. We began our collective work following last spring’s San Francisco convening\*, with the express purpose of determining next steps for intra-sectoral accountability and transformation. This report presents our

\* See report here: [https://docs.google.com/document/d/1PvwHmyTqjAuemB-2-Gsf1RFsUL7wqZ\\_lvpfDIMetm5w/edit](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1PvwHmyTqjAuemB-2-Gsf1RFsUL7wqZ_lvpfDIMetm5w/edit)

next-step recommendations to our survivor colleagues for feedback and to our leadership for transparency. It documents the work process underlying those recommendations—our observations, suggestions, and cautions to other survivor coalitions engaged in similar work. We hope that our peers with lived and professional experience may operationalize some of these lessons learned within their own cultural contexts.

## **II. Summary**

### **A. What worked well**

#### 1. Prioritizing diversity and collectivity

Much of the harm caused by anti-trafficking organizations is enabled through the practice of elevating select, singular survivors over all others. Tokenizing survivors in this way erases the diversity among us in terms of identity, experience, and knowledge, and it results in organizational practices and policy interventions that work for the few rather than for the many. It also creates unnecessary conflict between survivor advocates, harming both the handful of survivors whose voices are tokenized and the survivors whose voices are excluded. To counteract this phenomenon, we assembled an intentionally diverse group of survivors.

Diversity encompasses aspects of identity such as race, gender, dis/ability, class, age, country of origin, and immigration status; aspects of trafficking experience such as sector, sex and/or labor trafficking, age at the time of the experience, and force/fraud/coercion; and areas

of expertise such as social service provision to people with lived experience, prevention activities with migrant farmworkers, or awareness-raising with LGBTQ youth. Assembling a diverse group requires more than simple outreach- it necessitates networking, relationship-building, and creating accessible conditions for participation (described in more detail below). Engaging in this diversity and inclusion work tremendously benefited our later work process and products; we identified a broader range of issues and proposed a greater number of solutions thanks to our diverse analyses.

For example, survivors from collectivist cultures understood tokenization as originating in both a lack of diversity and the white, Western value of individualism. They emphasized the strengths of collective thinking and criticized the trend of US organizations asking survivors from the Global South to individualize their stories and activist strategies. Instead, our group members proposed that anti-trafficking spaces value co-teaching and co-learning, and encourage survivors to share our knowledge and experiences to enable ‘bigger picture’ thinking and generate ideas for collective solutions. This kind of collaboration requires an active, ongoing commitment to empathic listening in addition to ‘expanding the circle’ of survivors we invite to do the work with us.

Collaborative, diverse, and inclusive workspaces do not materialize on their own; we must continuously create them. In addition to being conscientious about who we invited to our work, we

encouraged survivor-leaders who are more established in their work to bring additional survivor-leaders to the table, increasing diversity in turn.

## 2. Creating conditions of trust and safety

Many of the norms and limits we created for our group were designed to enhance feelings of trust and safety. These are key components of trauma-informed work, and being trauma-informed is an ethical necessity for survivor-centric spaces. Additionally, trust and safety generate creativity; when co-workers are able to relax and share, we can more honestly identify problems and brainstorm bolder solutions. Because the focus of our work was addressing sectoral harms against survivors, we knew that our space would need to be survivor-only for the participants to feel safe enough to share honestly and boldly. Participants named the survivor-only limitation as a reason they were able to express themselves genuinely.

Trust amongst survivors is not a given, however. That also requires time and work. To create the conditions for trust, we set aside our first few meetings to get to know one another and to set terms of engagement. One of the terms we agreed on was distinguishing comfort from safety; we know that difficult conversations are necessary for safety, even if they can feel uncomfortable at first. We encouraged each other to discuss nuances and contradictions and address disagreements directly.

Another norm we set was to value resilience and respect, and to approach each other with compassion, in a spirit of mutual support. To this end, we agreed that our workspace would not be a space for sharing personal trauma, or ‘trauma dumping.’ This allowed us to respect each other’s emotional capacity and understand our expertise as survivors as being ‘more than’ survival itself. We were better able to focus on the task at hand and accomplish what we had set out to do.

### 3. Demonstrating respect and integrity in our working relationships

Demonstrating respect and integrity in our relationships with one another, and with other people in our work, was key to completing it. We know the importance of acting on our values, and so we expected that how people address each other would demonstrate their integrity. We brought passion into our work by caring not just for the work itself but for each other, and by extending that care from survivors to allies and vice versa, and from survivors present in the work to survivors who were not present. We did this by asking survivor-leaders with more stability and connections to extend mentorship and collaborative opportunities to newer survivors who have less stability and fewer connections. We built partnerships based on our values and took people’s past actions into consideration in partnership work, seeking people we could collaborate with well rather than people we could exercise power over (or have a pattern of exerting power over others). In all of these ways, we enabled an understanding that movement work happens at the community level in addition to the organizational level.

#### 4. Utilizing organizational structures and tools

Prioritizing diversity and collectivity, creating conditions of trust and safety, and demonstrating respect and integrity in our relationships are all somewhat nebulous processes that are only operationalized with the help of structures and tools. We sought a balance between flexibility and boundaries in organizing our project work. For example, we set deadlines to review deliverables, but we also adjusted those deadlines in consideration of competing priorities, such as our events-packed schedules during Human Trafficking Awareness Month.

Implementing principles of project management helped us transform the lofty and long-sought goal of accountability and transformation within the anti-trafficking sector into actionable tasks, and utilizing tools like Jamboard and Google Docs facilitated our collaborative process.

## **B. What we would do differently**

### 1. Expanding our understanding of diversity

We quickly recognized that even within the understanding of diversity elaborated on in Section II.A.1, certain kinds of experiences were still missing from our space. We could, for example, seek the expertise of a transgender Malaysian immigrant survivor of labor trafficking in the garment industry who was exploited as an adult and now works in service provision, and we still would not hear the knowledge and wisdom of everyone with similar identities and backgrounds.

We've noticed how certain individual survivors with lengthy movement involvement will be invited into workspaces over and over,

usually at the exclusion of newer survivors with similar identities, experiences, and areas of expertise, though these newer folks could offer different viewpoints and might benefit from professional opportunities. This must be held in balance with the harmful pattern of bringing in newer lived experience leaders specifically because they do not yet recognize patterns of exploitation and tokenization within the anti-trafficking sector. People with a variety of experiences (and length of experience) are essential.

Often, those who are not present in the room are those who have experienced the very harm we seek to address, raising the question of how we could acknowledge and repair such harm without their input? For example, survivors who have been harmed by anti-trafficking sector norms may leave for immigrant rights, harm reduction, racial equity work, careers in other movements, or even the private sector. If we limit our work to survivors working explicitly in the anti-trafficking movement, we are de facto excluding those whose insights might be invaluable to our work. We recognized that the exclusion may itself function as harm, by denying certain survivors access to influential policy spaces, movement resources, and career opportunities. Resolving this issue will require more intentional trust-building and outreach at both the community and individual levels.

## 2. Implementing equitable, accessible payment options

When inviting collaboration from survivors who have historically been excluded from our workspaces, we must take extra care to consider functional barriers to their involvement. One participant pointed out



the difficulty of consultant pay structures and processes, including for our Working Group. Many newer survivors are unfamiliar with invoicing practices, struggle with executive functioning or similar impairments that interfere with their ability to submit timely invoices of their own accord, and/or live with a level of financial instability that can make delayed payments severely disruptive. We need to streamline the payment process for survivor leaders in their roles as consultants and provide adequate tools and instruction in how it works. This is one of the most tangible ways we can create equitable conditions for anti-trafficking work.

### 3. Being fully transparent from the start

Payment is only one aspect of intra-sectoral accountability that requires transparency. Participants also identified a need for facilitators of convenings to be clearer about the intentions and context of movement-building initiatives. Transparency ensures that past harm is not glossed over, that goals for transformation are clear, and that actionable steps result from all the difficult emotional labor being requested of both survivors and allies. Specifically, we wanted clarity on the conversations that led to our initial meetings, how long these conversations had been taking place and who had been involved, a summary of the San Francisco convening that most immediately preceded our Working Group's assembly, the types of harm that were named in past conversations, and the names of the organizations that had been involved. This would better set expectations for honesty and accountability as well as provide fuller context in which to ground the work.

## C. Next Steps

### 1. Fears: Stagnancy, backlash, and misapplication

The most commonly named fear among participants about what might come next: nothing. Many of us have undertaken similar discussions and processes over the years and watched as those efforts were left to languish instead of made into springboards for lasting change, or even actionable next steps. It's demoralizing to put in work, especially on the emotionally challenging topic of intra-sectoral harm, and to see it amount to nothing. Another fear we named was backlash from the organizations and individuals who have caused harm. Several participants anticipated a chilly or argumentative response to our work and wanted to establish guidelines for how harm-causing organizations and individuals could articulate feedback and seek further clarity without rejecting difficult criticism out of hand. (See 'Dialogue' under II.C.2 below.) Finally, a number of participants were concerned that our work would be applied inappropriately in non-United States contexts (particularly in the Global South, without necessary cultural considerations or adaptations- through hiring individual consultants, for example, rather than budgeting for local working groups to identify the regionally-specific harms and culturally-specific recommendations (individualism vs. collectivity).

### 2. Hopes: Implementation, dialogue, and funding

At the same time, participants held hope that the above concerns would be addressed directly and constructively. We still believe that the anti-trafficking sector can repair and transform; otherwise we

wouldn't be doing this work! We hope that organizations and individual allied leaders will be able to appreciate our effort, consider our recommendations, and undertake the work that we ask of them in turn, to mitigate and redress harm. Rather than responding dismissively, we hope they gracefully accept suggestions and ask for clarity or more precise feedback if necessary- creating space for dialogue rather than shutting it down.

One topic we hope the anti-trafficking sector can achieve further clarity on is how to define a group as 'survivor-led'. Ideally, we would like consensus on whether this requires a survivor CEO or Executive Director, or whether it should be defined in consideration of all the leadership roles of an organization, with the majority of them being filled by survivors. Additionally, a survivor-led organization may not operate using survivor-centric principles. Holding a follow-up convening with a clear agenda to attain shared definitions and movement goals, and to identify specific areas of anti-trafficking work where survivor input is required and survivor leadership is desired would be a useful next step (See II.C.3 'Reconvening' below). Going forward, we hope not to tokenize established survivors by allotting only one seat at the table for each identity/experience/area of expertise- every individual survivor has a unique and valuable perspective!

We acknowledge the role that funding plays in all of these hopes for transformation, and so we share a hope specific to funding: that more philanthropic dollars will be funneled through survivor-led and

survivor-centric funding organizations, so that survivors can hold financial decision-making power and use money as a tool to facilitate accountability. We hope survivor-led funding structures will increase core capacity for survivor engagement by funding full-time community outreach and organizing positions.

### 3. Concrete actions: Mentoring, educating, and reconvening

Putting financial power in the hands of survivors can't happen prior to developing a higher number of survivors in necessary organizational budgeting and financial decision-making skills. For this reason, our first suggestion for concrete action is survivor mentorship to increase the development of survivor-led pass-through funding organizations; the more lived-experience leaders who are taught these skills, the greater number of such organizations that can be created. We ask that survivor leaders be taught about grant-funding mechanisms and restrictions, about legislative processes, and about organizational operations. We propose funding survivor leaders to develop accessible training products for other survivors in a train-the-trainers model. This should include a guiding document for survivor-leaders on how to operationalize these lessons in their own work and how to teach them to other survivors engaged in movement work.

Secondly, we propose survivor-leaders provide ongoing education to major anti-trafficking organizations on these topics and technical assistance on implementation. Our Working Group can create

guidance documents to prepare survivor leaders to present the information in our report and use it in their work. We could also develop a coaching plan for leadership at major anti-trafficking organizations and for their funders to improve survivor engagement, and we can create and teach tools to evaluate improvement. We can make ourselves available to answer organization-specific questions and engage criticism as part of an iterative process of transformation.

Finally, we request a reconvening of the original San Francisco assembly to move forward with addressing these concerns. In addition to an agenda focused on definitions and goals, we ask to discuss the role of survivor-leadership going forward: as consultant work versus steady employment versus activism. We hope this generates further dialogue on restructuring systems even as we work within them.

### **III. Conclusion**

In August of 2022, Humanity United and National Survivor Network assembled a Working Group to create lasting change in how the anti-trafficking sector engages with survivors, and we hope that our process reflects the transformative goals of our work. We assembled a group with intentional diversity in identity, lived experience, and professional expertise, and we valued the collective wisdom of this group as much as individual contributions. We facilitated our work through the creation of trust and safety- by limiting our space to survivors, by taking time to get to know one another, by treating each other with respect, and by restricting our conversations to topics of accountability

and transformation. We set the expectation that every Working Group participant would act on their values, including by extending mentorship to less-established survivors and building non-hierarchical partnerships. Balancing flexibility with structure, we used our technological tools and facilitation theories and created actionable next steps for repairing intra-movement harm. We also made some missteps and, in the spirit of continual improvement, identified areas where we ourselves could change and grow: by reaching out to survivors who haven't felt safe in our spaces and valuing each of their individual perspectives as part of a collaborative whole; by making our payment procedures more easily understood and readily accessible; and by sharing openly the difficult circumstances surrounding our Working Group's assembly.

In looking forward to what comes next, we hope that anti-trafficking organizations will implement our recommendations rather than dismiss our concerns; that they will open space for dialogue rather than react defensively; and that they will increase cultural competency at the level of funding and avoid misapplication of culturally-specific suggestions. We intend to move forward with our next steps of survivor mentorship; organizational technical assistance and coaching; and reconvening a discussion of sectoral goals and the harms getting in the way of achieving them. We hope that our work provides one possible roadmap for others who are guiding such vital transformation in our movement.



