



RE-THINKING TRAFFICKING PREVENTION

A Guide to Applying Behaviour Theory

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Research Communications Group
In collaboration with ADB and UNIAP



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November 2011

Introduction

Behaviour change and trafficking prevention

Trafficking prevention, vulnerability reduction, and strengthened monitoring, evaluation, and analysis of programmes are all mandated under the 3rd COMMIT Sub-regional Plan of Action (COMMIT SPA III, 2011-2013) as well as the 2004 COMMIT Memorandum of Understanding. This Guide aims to support COMMIT Taskforces and partners in improving the effectiveness of trafficking prevention programmes through an analytical approach centred around the planning and measurement of behaviour change.

The term “prevention” is used to describe a huge range of anti-trafficking interventions and has accounted for a large proportion of the investment in anti-trafficking. In source-based efforts to reduce vulnerability and migration, we find a host of awareness-raising activities, microcredit schemes, vocational training, community protection networks, programmes to increase school attendance, and even the building of wells in rural communities to reduce seasonal migration. At destinations we find further awareness-raising efforts, emerging campaigns targeting consumers, migrant hotlines, and workplace inspections. Governments and other actors have also attempted to prevent trafficking in transit through strengthened border controls, restrictions on movement, particularly of young women and girls, and out-reach services for potentially vulnerable migrants in border areas, boat and bus terminals.

To date, however, there has been limited analysis to understand how these efforts ultimately impact human trafficking or how they fit together into a set of activities to prevent human trafficking. Further, although the prevention of trafficking requires changes in behaviour, there have been few attempts to define prevention activities in behavioural terms.

This paper seeks to highlight the potential advantages of doing so, demonstrating the benefits of behavioural theory, developed and refined in other fields¹, as a basis for stronger programme design and evaluation in the anti-trafficking sector. It will not provide extensive detail on behavioural theory, on which there is much documentation, but seeks to present core ideas in broad terms to anti-trafficking practitioners.

¹ This approach emerged from two workshops with counter-trafficking practitioners: a regional workshop hosted by the Asian Development Bank in Manila in May 2011, and a national workshop with anti-trafficking practitioners in Phnom Penh organised at the request of the Royal Government of Cambodia in September 2011.

Behaviour change target groups in human trafficking

Prevention of human trafficking ultimately requires a change in the decision-making and behaviour of at least one of the following groups:

Potential victims	Those vulnerable to being trafficked or re-trafficked
Exploiters	The traffickers, including exploitative employers and complicit brokers
Policy makers/ Practitioners	Those responsible for protecting those people vulnerable to trafficking and/or apprehending the perpetrators
Consumers	Individuals or businesses that purchase products produced by trafficked persons ¹

Why a new approach?

Despite the range of activities covered by the term ‘trafficking prevention’ and the money invested in such activities, few prevention interventions have been objectively proven as effective. Current shortcomings include: the limited evidence on which many interventions are based; insufficiently clear objectives; limited evaluation of outcomes and impacts; and the fact that many prevention activities have been isolated rather than part of a strategic package of interventions.

Further, few prevention programmes demonstrate clear cause and effect – a theory of change linking activities to intended impacts. Many programmes are based on a number of assumptions, explicit and implicit. For example, most awareness raising activities focus on people vulnerable to trafficking. A series of linkages need to be in place for such activities to lead to a reduction in trafficking: these messages produced will be received and appropriately understood by the target group; positive changes in behaviour will result among those vulnerable to being trafficked to reduce their risks; and these changes will lead to a reduction in trafficking. At present, there is little evidence to support the validity of these assumed linkages.²

Increased awareness of risks does not always mean safer behaviours

A behavioural approach can make a significant contribution to addressing these problems, particularly through clarifying and refining project objectives, highlighting limitations in stand-alone initiatives and providing a stronger basis for programme evaluation.

² For a straight-forward explanation of how faulty assumptions on awareness have impacted on programmes to prevent trafficking, see Terre des Hommes/UNICEF, 2006, Action to Prevent Child Trafficking in South Eastern Europe: A Preliminary Assessment, Geneva, Switzerland.

In particular, behavioural theory and evidence highlights that we cannot assume that increasing a person's knowledge and understanding about a particular risk will lead them to take action to avoid that risk. Everyday examples demonstrate that people do not behave in this way. For example, few people who smoke are unaware of the damages this may cause to their health. Some people don't wear safety belts in cars despite knowing this could be the difference between life and death in an accident. It is similarly well known that physical exercise will reduce risks of ill-health, yet many people do not translate this knowledge into practice by exercising regularly.

Reasons that greater knowledge of a risk may not translate into safer behaviour include:

1. Failure to personalize the risk.

People, particularly young people with less sense of vulnerability, may not personalize the risk. For example, young men may drive cars too fast, knowing the consequences of serious accidents but thinking 'it won't happen to me.'

2. Willingness to take the risk.

People may understand the risk but be prepared to take it, such as motorcyclists who do not wear helmets because it is too hot or will mess up their nicely groomed hair.

3. Actually not being able to practice the safer behaviour.

People may want to practice a safer behaviour but not be able to, due to factors outside of their control. Using the previous example, a person may not actually have a motorbike helmet because a friend has picked them up unexpectedly from work.

4. Seeing the safer behaviour as personally unachievable.

Those who understand that regular exercise reduces the likelihood of heart disease may believe they are too busy or tired to do so, for example, while those who smoke cigarettes may find addiction or stress as a barrier to their stopping this risky behaviour.

Consequences for human trafficking prevention

The above examples have clear relevance to human trafficking and prevention. In particular, much has been invested in raising awareness of the fact that trafficking occurs - that bad things can happen to those who migrate - but a teenager or young adult may think 'it won't happen to me', especially if they know migrants who have had successful

experiences³. Alternatively they may know the risks and be willing to take them because they think these risks are justified by the potential rewards.

It may also be the case that potential migrants understand the risks but are not able to access ways of reducing those risks. For example, there may be safer legal migration channels but these may be restrictive in terms of costs, time, or criteria in terms of age or qualifications. Even for those who are reluctant to migrate, conditions at home may force some to undertake the associated risks due to their family's economic situation or through peer pressure. As these examples demonstrate, adoption of a behaviour is often not solely or even primarily dependent on information provided and received. Other factors significantly affect whether an individual adopts or maintains a particular behaviour.

Whether an individual changes their behaviour will depend on whether they perceive the behaviour change to be:

- ✓ Beneficial;
- ✓ In accordance with their needs and values;
- ✓ Easy to understand or adopt; and
- ✓ Something that will be viewed positively by their peers – that is, whether others will support them in practicing the behaviour.⁴

In promoting safer behaviour, it is also important to note that small changes are easier to adopt than major ones. Thus, for example, HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns encouraging condom use during sex have been more successful than those encouraging abstinence from sex, because the behaviour modification required is considerably less. Encouraging physical exercise may similarly be easier if can be introduced into someone's existing schedule, such as walking or cycling to work instead of driving, modifying a current behaviour rather than introducing a completely new activity such as going to the gym.

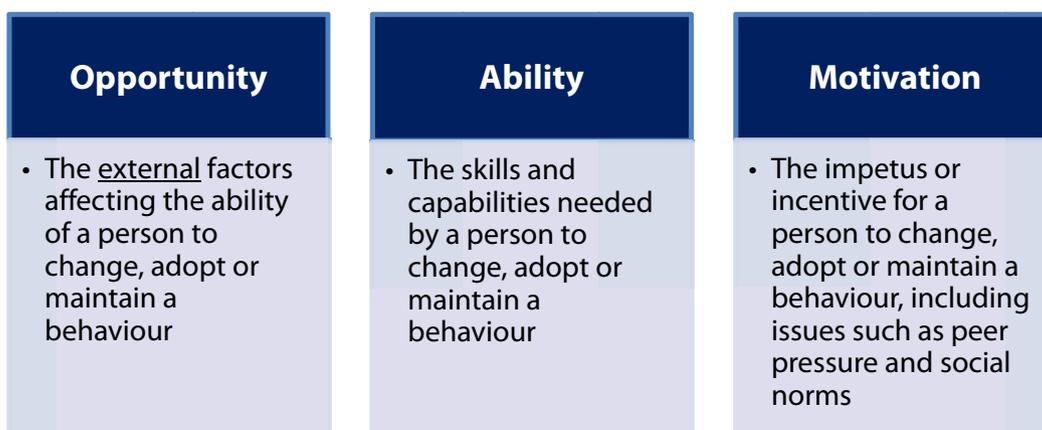
In terms of trafficking, focusing on reducing migration means changing people's intended behaviour from migrating to not migrating. This is clearly a bigger change than one that seeks to reduce *vulnerable* migration by encouraging people to take manageable steps to protect themselves in the migration process. These might include using protected legal channels (discussed in the next section) or becoming better informed about their intended destination and channels to access assistance in case of trouble.

³ Often anti-trafficking awareness raising campaigns do not even succeed in getting across clear messages to being with, but that issue is outside the scope of this paper.

⁴ Rogers, E.M., 1995. *Diffusion of Innovations* (4th ed.). New York: Free Press.

Moving beyond awareness: The OAM approach

To re-emphasize the above: preventing trafficking requires changing people's behaviour. Raising awareness of the need for the change is often an important starting point for change, but not an end. Significant other factors can affect an individual's behaviour. One method of analysing and addressing these factors is the OAM approach: Opportunity, Ability, Motivation. OAM is widely used in the fields of marketing and social marketing to explain behaviours among target populations, such as in the work of Population Services International (PSI), a leading social marketing organization in the health sector⁵. It is based on the understanding that these three basic psychological concepts need to be taken into account when designing programmes to encourage behaviour change. OAM can be broadly defined as follows⁶:



In simple terms, adopting/maintaining a behaviour may be approached from the perspective of the target group or individual by asking⁷:

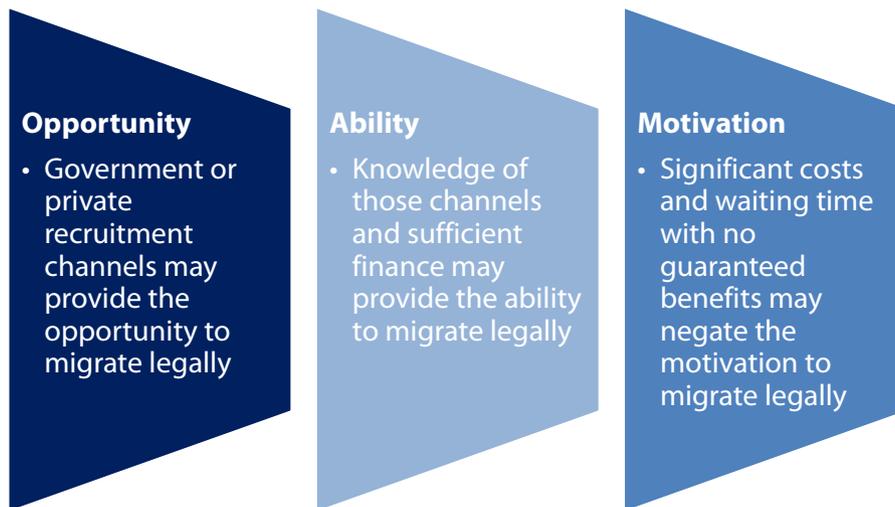


⁵ For application of the OAM approach refer to: http://www.wsp.org/wsp/sites/wsp.org/files/publications/SaniFOAM_Report409_3.pdf, while for an insight into how this is utilized by PSI, please see PSI, 2004. Concept Paper: PSI Behaviour Change Framework "Bubbles": Proposed Revision, PSI Research Division, Washington.

⁶ PSI, op cit.

⁷ http://www.wsp.org/wsp/sites/wsp.org/files/publications/SaniFOAM_Report409_3.pdf.

It should be clear that programmes seeking behaviour change need to consider all three of these factors. Taking the example of a programme to encourage legal labour migration, an analysis under the OAM framework may identify the following factors:



In this case, the *opportunity* and *ability* are present to facilitate the success of the programme, but *motivation* is missing. Alternatively, *motivation* and *ability* might be present, but a dispute between two governments under which the programme is developed leads to a freeze on the legal migration agreement, meaning that the potential migrants no longer have an *opportunity* to migrate legally. Lacking knowledge of the legal channel or inability to pay the costs will result in a lack of *ability* to migrate legally.

In each of these situations, failure to address one of the factors (opportunity, ability or motivation) means that the target individual would be unlikely to adopt the desired behaviour. It is clear that from a cursory examination of many prevention activities implemented, they do not sufficiently account for each of these behavioural factors and therefore represent only partial solutions to the problem addressed.

Implications of the OAM approach to human trafficking prevention

Another common example of trafficking prevention is a microcredit scheme, under which small loans are provided to target groups to provide them with alternatives to risky migration that may result in trafficking. A stated objective may be 'to reduce the likelihood of people being trafficked by providing them with livelihood options that give them an alternative to risky migration.' Redefining this as a behavioural goal, it may take the form 'to reduce the number of people undertaking risky migration'. The table below analyses this objective through the lens of OAM.

MICROCREDIT AS A FORM OF TRAFFICKING PREVENTION

Goal: To reduce the number of people undertaking risky migration

OAM factors		Assessment of aspects of microcredit programmes relating to these factors
Opportunity	Microcredit provides an opportunity to earn a good living in the community	Implemented properly, with appropriate training, due reference to market and local realities, microcredit can have a positive impact on incomes ⁸ .
Ability	Those vulnerable to risky migration are able to access the micro-credit scheme	Unfortunately, however, vulnerable community members may be excluded from the programmes, deemed to present repayment risks. Loans in one community assessed for example went to middle-aged mothers rather than at-risk adolescent girls who 'couldn't be trusted with credit' ⁹ .
Motivation	The alternative to migration must be realistic and attractive	The potential earnings from successful migration often significantly outweigh those in home communities, thus a comparatively small increase in incomes at home might not be sufficient <i>motivation</i> for someone not to migrate. ¹⁰ Further, income itself is only one motivating factor for migration. Others may include the search for new experiences or new opportunities, or wanting to emulate friends.

Leaving aside the significant question of whether reducing migration in communities vulnerable to trafficking will actually reduce trafficking in overall terms, the above table highlights two problems with micro-credit as a way of reducing risky migration. The first, inability of those most at risk to access micro-credit, can be addressed by more effective targeting, although potentially accepting a detrimental effect on repayment rates. However, this still does not address the second problem of insufficient motivation for behaviour change, which may be multiple and varied amongst the target group.

Having re-framed this intervention with the goal of affecting behaviour, 'to reduce the number of people undertaking risky migration', this may also lead us to consider other alternatives in our approach. For example, the micro-credit approach above seeks to

⁸ For a critique of microfinance in general see Dichter, T. and M. Harper (eds), 2007. What's Wrong with Microfinance, Practical Action.

⁹ Michael Dottridge, trafficking prevention consultant, pers. comm.

¹⁰ Given the central nature of alternative livelihood strategies in trafficking prevention, surprisingly little information is available on the proportion of expected income from migration that would need to be available near home to encourage community members not to migrate. This may warrant further research.

reduce risky migration by reducing migration, but the same goal may potentially be achieved by reducing the risk factors inherent in migration (discussed further in the box on page 18-19).

Programme targeting

In trafficking prevention, there can be a tendency to start with those whose behaviour is furthest away from our desired goal, such as trying to reduce migration of young people from communities who are most keen to leave. However, it seems logical that it will be easier to achieve success amongst those who already display behaviour closer to that which we are trying encourage. So, if we are looking to reduce migration, it makes sense for our initial focus to be on those who would prefer to stay at home given the opportunity – that is, those who already have the *motivation* to stay at home. This is in fact a conclusion World Vision Myanmar came to themselves in providing alternatives to migration, not based on behavioural theory as such, but on their experience in affected communities. As a result, programs were re-oriented to focus on those who wanted to stay at home as a starting point.¹¹

In this context, it is also worth mentioning the concept of **positive deviance**. Positive deviance is based on the observation that in every community there are certain individuals or groups whose uncommon behaviours and strategies enable them to find better solutions to problems than their peers, while having access to the same resources and facing similar or worse challenges.¹² In this case, a positive deviance approach would look at those who had chosen not to undertake risky migration, or who had migrated successfully when their peers had not been successful, and seeking to understand the determining factors.

Links with Research and Evaluation

From a research perspective, the OAM approach can help to consolidate evidence into easy-to-understand packages of information in order to guide programming. The nature of the information can also provide programmers and researchers with an intuitive manner in which to communicate. The Manila workshop (see Footnote 1) demonstrated that when trafficking prevention programmes were couched in OAM terms, it became much easier to apply the expertise of research specialists outside the field of trafficking. At a time when the lack of rigorous evaluation of anti-trafficking programs is being increasingly acknowledged, this carries significant advantage.

¹¹ Robertson, P.S. and Marshall, P., 2007. Evaluation of World Vision's Mekong Delta Regional Trafficking Strategy, Bangkok

¹² See <http://www.positivedeviance.org/>

Applying OAM to the development of trafficking prevention programmes

A series of steps outlined below may assist in applying OAM to the development of trafficking prevention activities. These may also be modified according to the practitioners' needs. Such steps may be undertaken both by individual organizations developing or refining prevention projects and by multiple stakeholders working together to develop a detailed programme of interventions. In the latter case, a facilitated workshop may be effective in prioritizing different interventions as the OAM approach itself does not inherently do so.

Steps in applying OAM to trafficking prevention

1. Identify target group and relevant behavioural goal
2. Identify the opportunity, ability and motivation factors relevant to the behavioural goals
3. Review the feasibility of the initial goal
4. Develop activities
5. Assess where partners are needed
6. Set clear targets
7. Review programme logic

Step 1. Identifying a target group and a behavioural goal

The target group as related at the outset should come from: potential victims; exploiters; policy makers/program implementers; and consumers. In some cases an organization may already have one or more target groups defined, while for others it may be useful to identify a range of potential target groups and discuss several different approaches before deciding which best meets both the demonstrated need and the specific skills and experience of the organization. In the latter case, it may be useful to consider target groups and behavioural goals simultaneously.

Clearly defining the target group as specifically as possible is important. For example, projects aiming to reduce risky migration by improving livelihoods may be more effective if they can in some way target those vulnerable to risky migration rather than the

community as a whole. Similarly, the behavioural goal needs to be as specific and measurable as possible. Below is an example of how an unclear goal might be translated into something more practicable and measurable:

SAFER MIGRATION GOAL: Prospective migrants take steps to protect themselves from exploitation

With the above goal it is unclear what exactly is being suggested, and different audiences may have different perspectives on what steps should be taken. A clearer version of the same goal might be:

SAFER MIGRATION GOAL, REVISED: Prospective migrants in District X take the following steps below to protect themselves from exploitation

1. Take a copy of the personal documentation of their recruiter and leave with a family member, village chief or other trusted source;
2. Leave details with family member, village chief or other trusted source as to where they are going and who with;
3. Memorize a phone number they can call for assistance in the destination country; and
4. Talk to three other returned migrants for advice about protecting themselves during migration and at destination.

Eventually, specific targets and indicators can be set for this goal, such as increasing the proportion of prospective migrants who undertake at least three of the steps above¹³.

Note: Time spent on determining the target group and behavioural goal to ensure clarity will pay dividends before proceeding to the next steps. If more than one behavioural goal is identified and to be pursued, it is recommended to take each one separately to work through. The activities identified can always be combined later if appropriate.

What happens when the aim is not behavioural?

For some activities, a behavioural goal is not readily apparent. One example emerging from the Phnom Penh workshop (footnote 1) was Cambodian Anti Human Trafficking Day. Assessing this in terms of OAM proved challenging for the group working on this topic. Eventually, the group realized that their inability to frame the goals of Anti Trafficking Day in behavioural terms suggested a lack of clarity in what the actual purpose of the day was. This was a significant moment and the group began to see this as a missed opportunity.

¹³ See the Safe migration section below for a more detailed discussion.

Starting from the question ‘what do we actually want members of the public exposed to Anti Trafficking Day activities to do?’ the group identified increased reporting of possible cases of trafficking to authorities. From this goal, they were able to develop a set of key messages around recognizing possible signs of trafficking, knowing how to report cases and encouraging people to come forward. The group then used the OAM framework to identify complementary activities that would help achieve this goal. In turn, several of the groups working on other topics were able to see how their own objectives could be advanced by collaboration with those organizing Anti-Trafficking Day.

Step 2. Identifying the OAM factors relevant to the behavioural goals

It is normally more effective to go through each of the OAM headings separately to identify relevant factors. This process should continue until all lines of enquiry have been exhausted. There is no specific limit to the number of factors that should be identified. It may sometimes seem unclear as to which category a specific factor belongs, particularly with regard to *opportunity* and *ability*. It may help to think about whether the factor pertains mainly to the individual (ability) or outside factors (opportunity).¹⁴ Generally, however, uncertainty about whether something should be classified as *ability* or as *opportunity* is unlikely to affect the end result and effectiveness of the design process, since the main aim here is to help identify all the relevant factors involved.

With regard to motivation, it is very important to keep in mind that it is the individual’s *perception* of a situation that affects motivation, not necessarily the situation itself. Thus, an individual who knows people who have been trafficked may have a higher perception of risk than someone who does not, even though their actual risks may be the same. An individual’s motivation will also likely be heavily affected by such factors as social norms and peer pressure which may vary from location to location.

Step 3. Reviewing the feasibility of the initial goal

Having identified the opportunities, abilities and motivations, and understanding that the inability to address any one of these factors may lead to a failure of the programme, it is important to review the feasibility of the initial goal. That is, are each of the steps required to bring about behaviour change achievable given our level of resources and other competing priorities?

¹⁴ Occasionally there will be more than one way to categorise an issue. For example, if an individual lacks access to funds to migrate legally, this may be deemed an individual (ability) factor, to be addressed by assisting that person finding the funds in a way that does not add to their vulnerability. Alternatively, the problem might be seen as the high costs of legal migration, an external factor (opportunity) that may be addressed at a policy level.

If one of the steps is unrealistic, then it is unlikely the approach will be successful. Taking a new example, we may wish to reduce trafficking by stopping people crossing the border illegally and define the behavioural goal as ‘border guards stopping all illegal border crossings.’ The border guards may have the *motivation* and *ability* in terms of the skills to track and apprehend smugglers. However, if the border is long and porous, the guards will probably not have the *opportunity* to fully apply their skills as the Government is unlikely to have enough resources to enable them to cover the entire border 24 hours a day (almost impossible even for the world’s wealthiest countries). Thus, we may conclude that this strategy will not succeed. In fact, toughening of border restricts tends to be counter-productive as it pushes migrants into the hands of organized crime.¹⁵ As such, an alternative approach to preventing trafficking should be considered.

Step 4. Developing activities

There should now be a clear list of factors that need to be addressed and a list of activities can then be developed against each of these. One example mentioned earlier was that of encouraging workers to migrate through legal channels. Promoting legal migration might also be explored through other approaches, such as targeting employers, as in the table below.

INCREASING SAFE AND LEGAL LABOUR MIGRATION BY ENCOURAGING EMPLOYERS TO RECRUIT SOLELY THROUGH LEGAL CHANNELS		
Opportunity	Ability	Motivation
Existing legal channels to recruit workers	Awareness of channels	Employers see the benefit of employing through legal channels (even though this may be more expensive and empowering for workers, recognizing their rights)
	Ability to access channels	
	Availability of migrants	
Addressing each of these factors will require certain activities :		
Agreement between governments on legal channels and quotas for migrant labour that match demand in each sector	Information campaigns to make employers aware of channels	Activities promoting the image of reputable companies that use formal labour amongst consumers
	Educational programmes to impart knowledge of how to access and the process	Work with enforcement agencies to increase the likelihood of, and severity of, penalties for using illegal labour

Each activity should be linked to a specific OAM factor. If a programme design has activities not linked to a specific factor, a review may reveal a factor previously unidentified or that the activity is superfluous to achieving the goal¹⁶.

Step 5. Assessing where partnerships are needed

An individual organization may not be able to accomplish all steps needed to achieve a behavioural goal amongst a target population and it may be necessary to bring in other partners. Ideally partners should be identified at this stage if needed. If not possible, however, they should be identified prior to finalizing the programme to ensure there are no gaps.

Step 6. Setting clear targets

This paper will not address monitoring or evaluation to any depth other than to highlight that monitoring usually involves different goals and processes to evaluation and the two should not always be grouped together. With the OAM approach, our primary interest is adoption and/or maintenance of a behaviour. Our ability to measure changes in behaviour will clearly depend partly on what that behaviour is. It is obviously easier for example to measure an increase in people migration legally than a fall in those migrating illegally.

Even if we cannot measure the overall impact of our programme on a particular behaviour, however, the OAM approach assists in the evaluation process by clearly setting out the key factors that contribute towards adoption/maintenance of that behaviour. Once these factors are articulated, targets can be established to define clearly what would constitute a success against each factor. Establishing these targets not only lays the groundwork for evaluation but also helps ensure clarity of purpose and ensuring a common understanding amongst those in the program development process.

Clear targets can also help better identify useful indicators around programme outputs. For example, the number of posters distributed to promote a hotline is of no intrinsic value in itself, whereas the number of people who gather that information from the poster and use it is. An OAM target may be for a certain proportion of the target group (e.g. relevant migrants) to be able to recite the hotline number from memory, while an evaluation process might seek to discover not just the number of migrants who can do so, but also where they got this information. This would provide insights into the relevance of the posters as a source of information.

¹⁶ Annex 1 contains a full example of an activity plan developed using the OAM framework.

Step 7. Reviewing programme logic

For each step in the process, identify and articulate assumptions:

1. What are the assumptions underlying the link between the behavioural goal and the reduction of trafficking?
2. What are the assumptions underlying the link between the OAM factors and targets?

For each assumption that is identified, ask the following questions:

1. What evidence is there to support these assumptions?
2. Are the assumptions reasonable?
3. Is additional information gathering/research needed to assess the validity of these assumptions?

If our programmes are based on assumptions that are flawed then they are likely to fail. For example, many early anti-trafficking programmes were based on the assumption that people were trafficked by strangers. Awareness-raising based on this assumption turned out to be unsuccessful and even counter-productive, with later evidence revealing that many people were trafficked by those they knew. Another examples is that, while most trafficking prevention programs have assumed that women and children are at higher risk of being trafficked than men, evidence suggests that this may not always be the case¹⁷. Programs targeting women are clearly unlikely to be effective in preventing trafficking in communities where men are at higher risk. By identifying assumptions and the evidence supporting these, a review of programme logic can help identify potential problems with the proposed approach and the need for any modifications¹⁸.

Changing the behaviour of potential trafficking victims:

Less migration / safer migration

Most prevention programmes work with those perceived to be vulnerable to trafficking (potential victims) and aim to reduce their vulnerability through one of two ways:

1. Reducing of people who migrate, on the basis that of people do not migrate they cannot be trafficked; and /or
2. Facilitate migration without exploitation: safe migration.

Understanding the context in which a programme is implemented is critical, as the behaviours a migrant or target group can adopt will depend on this, and the activities to influence behaviour change will need to be tailored accordingly. Behavioural theory suggests that making migration safer

¹⁷ United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking, 2010. *Human Trafficking Sentinel Surveillance Poipet, Cambodia 2009-2010*, Bangkok.

¹⁸ Annex 1 provides an example of such an approach.

is, for the most part, likely to be a more viable strategy for most people than reducing migration that might lead to trafficking, either through the provision of alternatives¹⁹ or more restrictive measures. In behavioural terms, safe migration would see migrants avoiding the influence of traffickers, whether recruiters, transporters or end exploiters. There are various ways of making progress towards this aim. On one side, the fewer traffickers there are, the easier they will be to avoid, which suggests a role for programmes to change the behaviour of the traffickers by measures including law enforcement and consumer campaigns to reduce demand for goods and services produced by trafficked labour.

With regard to potential victims, the specific nature of the behaviors a migrant can adopt to reduce his/her risks will vary according to context. Where safe and legal migration channels exist that are viable for the target group in terms of access, cost and timeframe, and demonstrably offer protection from severe forms of exploitation, encouraging migrants to migrate through legal channels would obviously be a key strategy. However, where legal options are not available, or they do not offer sufficient protection, alternative strategies may be required.

To help migrants avoid exploitative recruiters for example, a programme might pursue a behavioural goal that migrants obtain a copy of the ID of their recruiter and leaves it with a family member, village chief or other trusted source. This may immediately deter exploiters who fear revealing their identity and also offers a clear line of inquiry should the migrant encounter any problems. When there is information on exploitative practices among particular brokers, employers or migration routes, these may be shared with migrants so they know to avoid them. To avoid exploitation at destination, potential migrants may be advised to consult with a certain number of other migrants who have returned to understand how they may protect themselves, or even to follow paths of returned (trusted) migrants to where they can access legitimate non-exploitative labour. It may be recommended further that they memorise a hotline or helpline number they can call in the destination country if they encounter difficulties.

It will be possible to develop a series of interventions using the OAM framework to correspond with each of the desired behaviours above. For example, motivation and ability to call a hotline will increase if a free 24/7 service in the migrants' language is provided, with appropriate assistance assured. Even where there is limited cooperation at destination points, steering migrants toward less exploitative routes and networks may be possible, for which knowledge and information is key. The starting point is therefore in understanding the realities along the migration routes in question, which may be through in-depth study or more cursory data collection. Comparative studies between successful and unsuccessful migrants can be particularly illuminating but information may be gathered also from informal feedback from migrants, returned or still at the destination, or organisations providing support for victims of trafficking.

It is important to highlight that the identification of possible behavioural goals above are still based on assumptions and the successful attainment of these goals does not necessarily guarantee an impact on trafficking. Ultimately, it is important to assess the impact the adoption of the different behaviour(s) on the ability of the target group to avoid trafficking and other potential harms involved the migration process.

¹⁹ Whether programmes aimed at providing alternatives to migration are actually effective in preventing trafficking remains a matter of some debate. Among the problems identified are that the alternatives are often not realistic, the programmes do not reach those most vulnerable, and the number of potential migrants is too big for trafficking to be addressed in this way, particularly as traffickers can usually readily move to target other vulnerable people and communities. See, for example, Moen, H. and C. Wiik. (2008) Utrygg trafikk. Kartlegging av internasjonale trender innen menneskehandel. Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad). Oslo.

Advantages and constraints of an OAM approach

The behavioural approach to developing prevention programs has a number of advantages, such as:

- Reinforcing the importance of a package of interventions towards preventing trafficking, highlighting shortcomings in isolated or non-strategic activities;
- Organising the package of interventions into manageable categories;
- Ensuring that the programme logic is sound, by easily relating each activity to opportunity, ability and motivation factors relevant to the desired behaviour;
- Identifying unrealistic goals, where it reveals individual steps or assumptions that are not achievable;
- Facilitating evaluation by defining both the overall objective and intended outcomes in clear and measurable terms; and
- Potentially promoting cooperation by highlighting in very specific terms where individual organizations need to work with others.

There are also a number of constraints, which include the following:

- Like any tool, OAM needs to be applied comprehensively and coherently in order to be effective. If behavioural goals are unclear or unrealistic, for example, activities are not likely to be effective;
- The link between behavioural goals and preventing trafficking will still require assumptions (however, these are likely to be clearer and more easily tested);
- The OAM approach is not a tool for prioritizing one type of intervention over another. For example, it cannot tell you whether promotion of legal migration is a more efficient use of resources than strengthening labour inspections of migrant-intensive industries; and
- OAM and behavioural theory have not been widely applied to trafficking prevention to date, and thus there is limited experience to learn from specifically in this field.

Conclusion

There is at present little evidence of a significant return on the millions, perhaps billions of dollars spent on preventing trafficking. While stronger evaluation would shed more light on this issue, the information that is available suggests the need for new approaches. One of the key constraints identified to date is the lack of clarity about what anti-trafficking programmes and activities are trying to achieve, beyond the very general concept of preventing trafficking. Thus it is difficult to be specific about what would actually constitute progress or success, a prerequisite for measuring it.

Defining the objectives of prevention programmes in terms of behavioural goals has the potential to greatly improve clarity in terms of setting objectives and measuring progress towards them. Further, it opens up the opportunity for the anti-trafficking sector to benefit from the behaviour change experiences and expertise from other sectors such as health.

This paper has attempted to extract aspects of behavioural theory that are relevant to combating human trafficking, rather than describe in technical terms the work of behavioural specialists. It is hoped this may be seen as a starting point in adopting a new approach, one which appears to offer considerable potential to improve the focus and therefore the impact of trafficking prevention work.

ANNEX 1 | CASE STUDY USING THE OAM FRAMEWORK²⁰

Step 1. Identify target group and behavioural goal

Category: Policy makers/implementers mandated to prevent human trafficking and protect the vulnerable.

Specific Target Group: Labour inspectors

Behavioural Goal: Labour inspectors routinely inspect/visit workplaces where exploitation may be occurring and identify and report cases of exploitation.

Step 2. Identify the OAM factors relevant to the behavioural goals

Opportunity factors:

1. Legal mandate to conduct inspections and make reports.
2. Power and resources to conduct surprise workplace inspections.

Ability factors:

1. Skills to recognize key indicators of exploitation (e.g. poor working conditions, unpaid wages, underage workers).
2. Means of communication with foreign workers – language skills, translator, technology (e.g. I-pad with information in different languages).
3. Understanding of where to refer workers in distress.

Motivation:

1. Recognition/promotion for good work (positive motivation for good behaviour).
2. Disciplinary action if cases of labour exploitation found in workplaces for which he/she responsible (disincentives for poor behaviour).
3. Support from authorities in ensuring dissuasive sanctions in place and taking punitive action against exploiters.

Step 3. Review the feasibility of the initial goal

Is it possible to achieve all these factors?

In this particular case, concern was expressed as to whether the authorities would back the work of labour inspectors by taking action against exploiters. The group decided it

²⁰ This was developed through group work during the Manila workshop and has not been field tested.

would be possible but that there would be a need to pay particularly close attention to this point.

- Step 4. Develop activities**
- Step 5. Assess where partners are needed**
- Step 6. Create Clear Targets**

The results of these steps are included in the table below. For the purpose of the exercise, the implementing agency was defined as the Ministry of Labour. This is a draft version of the activity plan. Some changes were made after Step 7 below and can be seen in the final table.

Objective: Labour inspectors routinely inspect/visit workplaces where exploitation may be occurring and identify and report cases of exploitation

Implementing Agency: Ministry of Labour – Preliminary draft

Key Factors		Main Activities	Partners	Targets
O	Opportunity			
O1	Legal mandate to conduct inspections, make reports and assist workers leave exploitative settings	Review existing legal mandate and identify changes required	Ministry of Justice	Legal mandate in place
O2	Power and resources to conduct surprise workplace inspections.	Advocate for required changes		
A	Ability			
A1	Skills to recognize key indicators of exploitation (e.g. poor working conditions, unpaid wages, underage workers, restriction of movement)	Assess current ability of inspectors to recognize indicators of exploitation Provide training to fill gaps.	Organization able to train labour inspectors (e.g. ILO)	Indicators clearly defined and regularly reviewed Training provided for all inspectors in areas with high concentration of migrants
A2	Means of communication with foreign workers – language skills, translator, technology (e.g. I-pad with information in different languages).	Identify and select options for communicating with foreign workers	Migrant organization for translation services	Inspectors have means to communicate with workers 24-7
A3	Understanding of where to refer workers in distress and power to assist them to leave the exploitative setting	Identify local organizations able to assist and ensure workers who need help are able to access it	Organizations able to provide support	Inspectors can identify and contact organizations Organizations are able to provide assistance

M	Motivation			
M1	Recognition/promotion for good work (positive motivation for good behaviour).	Review/revise promotion criteria for inspectors		Evidence that inspectors who identify cases of exploitation are rewarded
M2	Disciplinary action if cases of labour exploitation found in workplaces for which he/she responsible (disincentives for poor behaviour).	Create transparent mechanisms for disciplinary action		Evidence that inspectors who fail to identify cases of exploitation are rewarded

Step 7. Review programme logic

Assumptions underlying the link between behavioural goal and reduction of trafficking

1. The regular monitoring and identification of exploitation in the workplace will reduce the level of exploitation in the workplace.

Comment: Upon review, it was agreed that this would only happen if the actions of labour inspectors were backed up by sanctions. As a result, a new factor was added to the table below – *Dissuasive sanctions are in place and punitive action against exploiters.*

2. Reduction of exploitation in the workplace will reduce trafficking.

Comment: This is almost true by definition. Research by Anderson and O’Connell-Davidson found that demand for the labour or services of trafficked persons is absent or markedly lower where workers are organized and where labour standards for wages, working hours and conditions, and health and safety, are monitored and enforced.²¹

Assumptions underlying the link between behavioural OAM factors and targets

1. The indicators of exploitation (A1) are accurate and recognizable.

Comment: It may be possible to confirm the suitability of the proposed indicators through information from other sources. An activity has been added for this and another activity to allow for review of these.

2. Training for labour inspectors (A1) will provide them the skills to recognize key indicators of exploitation.

Comment: Upon review of the target – training being held – it was agreed that the target needed to be revised to focus on the effectiveness of the training, rather than just the training being held, which is an output. The target was thus revised.

3. Workers will benefit from being removed from an exploitative situation (A3).

Comment: Experience suggests that not all trafficked/exploited workers necessarily receive appropriate services and/or end up in a better situation having been removed from a situation of trafficking/exploitation. An additional target was therefore added to assess worker satisfaction with services.

The final table below includes changes based on a review of programme logic. Deletions are marked in strike-through and additions in italics.

²¹ Anderson, B. and O’Connell-Davidson, J., Trafficking: A Demand-led Problem? A Multi-country Pilot Study (Save the Children, 2002), p. 54

Objective: Labour inspectors routinely inspect/visit workplaces where exploitation may be occurring and identify and report cases of exploitation

Implementing Agency: Ministry of Labour – Final Version

Key Factors		Main Activities	Partners	Targets
0	Opportunity			
01	Legal mandate to conduct inspections, make reports and assist workers leave exploitative settings	Review existing legal mandate and identify changes required	Ministry of Justice	Legal mandate in place
02	Power and resources to conduct surprise workplace inspections.	Advocate for required changes		
A	Ability			
A1	Skills to recognize key indicators of exploitation (e.g. poor working conditions, unpaid wages, underage workers, restriction of movement)	<p><i>Identify/confirm primary indicators of exploitation</i></p> <p>Assess current ability of inspectors to recognize indicators of exploitation</p> <p>Provide training to fill gaps.</p> <p><i>Use feedback from cases of exploitation and trafficking (include those not identified by labour inspectors) to refine indicators and training</i></p>	Organization able to train labour inspectors (e.g. ILO)	<p>Indicators clearly defined and regularly reviewed</p> <p><i>Training provided for all inspectors in areas with high concentration of migrants</i></p> <p><i>Inspectors able to list key indicators.</i></p> <p><i>Inspectors display ability to identify exploitation in real-life or mock situations</i></p>
A2	Means of communication with foreign workers – language skills, translator, technology (e.g. I-pad with information in different languages).	Identify and select options for communicating with foreign workers	Migrant organization for translation services	Inspectors have means to communicate with workers 24-7.

A3	Understanding of where to refer workers in distress and power to assist them to leave the exploitative setting	Identify local organizations able to assist and ensure workers who need help are able to access it	Organizations able to provide support	Inspectors can identify and contact organizations. Organizations are able to provide assistance <i>Workers in need express satisfaction for services</i>
M	Motivation			
M1	Recognition/promotion for good work (positive motivation for good behaviour).	Review/revise promotion criteria for inspectors		Evidence that inspectors who identify cases of exploitation are rewarded
M2	Disciplinary action if cases of labour exploitation found in workplaces for which he/she responsible (disincentives for poor behaviour).	Create transparent mechanisms for disciplinary action		Evidence that inspectors who fail to identify cases of exploitation are rewarded
M3	<i>Dissuasive sanctions are in place and punitive action against exploiters.</i>	<i>Review legal framework and make any changes to ensure exploiters are punished in an appropriate and dissuasive manner. Develop case tracking system to monitor outcome of cases and identify any problems.</i>	<i>Ministry of Justice</i>	<i>Legal framework in place Functioning case tracking system</i>



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