A MATTER OF FAITH?

Combatting Human Trafficking in Thailand & Cambodia

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The light shines in the darkness,
and the darkness has not overcome it.

*Joh 1:5*

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LIST OF APPENDED PAPERS

This thesis is based on the studies and findings in the appended papers:


Paper II  Transforming troubled souls: faith-based antitrafficking work as therapeutic governance. Under review at *Global society*.

Paper III  It is who you know: the influence of faith-based donor networks on the antitrafficking work of faith-based organizations. Accepted for publication in *Global studies quarterly*.

Paper IV  Bridging the divides? How Christian faith-based antitrafficking organizations construct co-ownership in Buddhist South-East Asia. Under review at *Forum for development studies*.

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ABSTRACT

Human trafficking is estimated to affect about 49 million people worldwide. Faith-based organizations (FBOs) are extensively involved in efforts to counter this global problem, alongside governments, intergovernmental organizations, and various types of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). However, not enough attention has been directed to understanding the antitrafficking responses of FBOs. Do their activities differ from secular antitrafficking actors, why so, and how are these activities received? This thesis aims to understand and explain the role and impact of faith in antitrafficking, as one sub-field of development cooperation, through a case study of the antitrafficking efforts of three Christian FBOs in Thailand and Cambodia. Thailand and Cambodia are two countries where human trafficking is prevalent, and where there is a significant concentration of NGOs and FBOs operating against human trafficking. Studying these contexts may therefore generate insights that have wider relevance beyond the region, and beyond the field of antitrafficking specifically. The study builds on individual as well as group interviews with staff of the FBOs, observations of the activities of the FBOs, as well as document reviews. The empirical material also includes interviews with representatives of secular antitrafficking NGOs, government officials, and recipients or community members in the areas where the FBOs implement their work. The thesis draws on a multidimensional theoretical framework that allows the analysis to capture the specific characteristics of FBO antitrafficking practices, how ideas and social relations shape their work, and how their antitrafficking work is received, perceived and negotiated when implemented in practice. This analytical approach generates a comprehensive and multidimensional understanding of FBOs as antitrafficking and development actors.

The findings reveal that faith-based antitrafficking practice is distinguished by its emphasis on the post-trauma phases of antitrafficking work, through interventions focusing on e.g. trauma healing, or vocational training. The religious worldview of the FBOs shapes their practices and leads to a focus on individual (spiritual and moral) transformation. The three FBOs can therefore be viewed as engaging in therapeutic modes of governance, emphasizing individual responsibility and immaterial wellbeing. FBOs are also distinguished by their specific funding patterns. Instead of mainstream development donors, FBOs are primarily funded by faith-based donor networks consisting to a significant degree of faith-based donors such as churches, individual donors, and other FBOs. While
secular norms incentivize the FBOs to de-emphasize their faith identity in interactions with secular partners and donors, their faith-based donor relationships enable them to use religion as a motivator for change in communities and for individual spiritual and moral transformation. Moreover, religious difference does not present a significant obstacle when the FBOs implement their work in primarily Buddhist recipient communities. In contrast, the results indicate that religion can be a resource, rather than a problem, in establishing co-ownership with local actors in the antitrafficking work of the FBOs. However, in interactions with secular antitrafficking actors, finding common ground is more challenging: the religious–secular divide seems wider than the Christian-Buddhist divide. The thesis shows that faith matters for the design, implementation, and reception of antitrafficking programs. However, the impact of religious faith is contextual, and therefore depends on the interaction with cultural norms and values, as well as material conditions.

Keywords
Human trafficking, antitrafficking, faith-based organizations, religion in development, faith infusion, secularism, therapeutic governance, holistic development, co-ownership, Cambodia, Thailand
SVENSK SAMMANFATTNING


I den här avhandlingen ställer jag tre forskningsfrågor: (1) Vad gör de religiösa hjälporganisationerna för att motverka människohandel och vad kännetecknar deras praktiker och strategier? (2) Vad är det som påverkar de religiösa hjälporganisationernas strategier? (3) Hur uppfattas de religiösa hjälporganisationernas arbete av de lokala mottagarna i Kambodja och Thailand? Genom att svara på dessa frågor bidrar jag till att öka kunskapen om religiösa aktörers arbete mot människohandel specifikt, men även inom bistånds- och utvecklingsinsatser.

För att svara på forskningsfrågorna har jag genomfört fallstudier av tre religiösa (kristna) hjälporganisationer som arbetar mot människohandel i Thailand och Kambodja. Inom ramen för dessa fallstudier har jag intervjuat organisationernas personal enskilt, men jag har också intervjuat personal i grupp. Dessutom har jag observerat organisationernas arbete mot människohandel, och granskat dokument som beskriver organisationernas identitet och arbete. I samband med observationerna har jag intervjuat aktörer och personer som finns i de religiösa hjälporganisationernas närhet. Dessa inkluderar sekulära organisationer som arbetar mot människohandel, myndighetsföreträdare samt enskilda individer som berörs av, eller finns i närheten av de religiösa hjälporganisationerna.

Jag använder mig av ett multidimensionellt teoretiskt ramverk med fyra analytiska dimensioner i syfte att utforska de religiösa hjälporganisationernas arbete mot människohandel. Dessa är (1) särskilda praktiker, (2) idéer, (3) relationer och (4) lokalt mottagande.
Det teoretiska ramverket ger mig möjlighet att skapa en djup, omfattande och mångfacetterad förståelse för religiösa hjälporganisationerna som aktörer mot människohandel och som utvecklings- och biståndsaktörer.

När det gäller min första forskningsfråga, där jag utgår från teoretiska ramverkets särskilda praktiker, visar min analys att religiösa hjälporganisationer som arbetar mot människohandel prioriterar post-traumafasen. Detta innebär t.ex. ett fokus på traumabearbetning samt att (åter)uppbrygga självförtroende och moral hos överlevare av människohandel. Ett sådant fokus kan förstås som individualiserade och förandligade lösningar på människohandel, som ofta sker på bekostnad av lösningar som fokuserar på att ändra strukturer. På så sätt deltar de religiösa hjälporganisationerna i terapeutisk styrning (engelskans therapeutic governance), dvs. styrning där fokus förskjuts mot individuellt ansvar med betoning på immateriella värden.


Den tredje och sista forskningsfrågan, som utgår från det teoretiska ramverkets fjärde dimension om lokalt mottagande, utforskar hur studiens tre kristna hjälporganisationernas arbete mot människohandel tas emot av de lokala buddhistiska samhällena. Min analys visar att de kristna hjälporganisationerna förmår överbrygga religiösa skillnader.
Trots de potentiella hindren lyckas de skapa samägarskap (engelskans co-ownership) med de lokala aktörerna och mottagarna när det gäller att formulera vad som orsakar människohandel samt hur människohandel ska bekämpas, och därmed en samsyn kring program och åtgärder. De religiösa hjälporganisationerna har en förmåga att bygga tillit, och förankra och översätta idéer och mål över kulturella och religiösa gränser. Dessutom kan de dra nytta av och bygga på en gemensam religiös världsbild (trots skillnader i religion) i översättningsarbetet mellan de kristna organisationerna och de buddhistiska lokalsamhällena. Sekulära organisationers förståelse för människohandel och hur det ska bekämpas har mindre gemensamt med de buddhistiska lokalsamhällena. Min analys visar också att de religiösa hjälporganisationerna med något nedtonad kristen identitet har lättare att överbrygga avståndet till de sekulära aktörerna. Avhandlingen visar att religiös tro påverkar hur arbetet mot människohandel utformas, genomförs och tas emot. Dock är effekterna och inflytandet av religiös tro på arbetet mot människohandel kontextspecifik, och beror på hur tron interagerar med kulturella normer och värderingar, liksom materiella förhållanden.

Nyckelord

Människohandel, antitrafficking, religiösa enskilda organisationer, religion i utveckling, religionsprägling, sekularism, terapeutisk styrning, holistisk utveckling, styrande relationer, samägarskap, Kambodja, Thailand
บทสรุปงานวิจัย

การค้ามนุษย์กำลังส่งผลกระทบต่อคนประมาณ 49 ล้านคนทั่วโลก องค์กรที่มีพื้นฐานความเชื่อทางศาสนา (เอฟบีโอ) มีส่วนร่วมอย่างมากในการพยายามที่จะรับมือกับปัญหานี้ โดยทำงานร่วมกับภาครัฐ องค์กรระหว่างประเทศ และองค์พัฒนาเอกชน (เอ็นจีโอ) โดยทั่วไปองค์กรที่มีพื้นฐานความเชื่อทางศาสนา (เอฟบีโอ) มีส่วนร่วมอย่างมากในการทำงานร่วมกับกลุ่มชนเพื่อการค้ามนุษย์ในประเทศไทยและกัมพูชา

การศึกษาอย่างลึกซึ้งคุณค่าของการศึกษาด้านการค้ามนุษย์บนพื้นฐานความเชื่อทางศาสนา (เอฟบีโอ) ที่มีอยู่ในประเทศไทยและกัมพูชาเป็นประเทศที่มีการค้ามนุษย์อย่างแพร่หลายและมีการมีองค์กรพัฒนาเอกชน (เอ็นจีโอ) อย่างมาก องค์กรที่มีพื้นฐานความเชื่อทางศาสนา (เอฟบีโอ) ได้ร่วมมือกับองค์กรที่มีพื้นฐานความเชื่อทางศาสนาที่มีความเชื่อทางศาสนาเดียวกันที่นั้น

วิธีการค้นคว้าเรื่องนี้คือการสัมภาษณ์บุคคลและกลุ่มบุคคลที่ทำงานในองค์กร (เอฟบีโอ) จากองค์กรที่มีพื้นฐานความเชื่อทางศาสนา (เอฟบีโอ) และองค์การที่มีพื้นฐานความเชื่อทางศาสนา ที่ประเทศไทยและกัมพูชา โดยสัมภาษณ์ตัวแทนจากองค์กร (เอฟบีโอ) และเจ้าหน้าที่ภาครัฐ ผู้มีประสบการณ์งานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการค้ามนุษย์ หรือผู้มีความรู้และคุณลักษณะที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการค้ามนุษย์ในสังคม

วิธีการค้นคว้าเรื่องนี้คือการสัมภาษณ์บุคคลและกลุ่มบุคคลที่ทำงานในองค์กร (เอฟบีโอ) และองค์การที่มีพื้นฐานความเชื่อทางศาสนา ที่ประเทศไทยและกัมพูชา โดยสัมภาษณ์ตัวแทนจากองค์กร (เอฟบีโอ) และเจ้าหน้าที่ภาครัฐ ผู้มีประสบการณ์งานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการค้ามนุษย์ หรือผู้มีความรู้และคุณลักษณะที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการค้ามนุษย์ในสังคม
แนวคิดและความสัมพันธ์ทางสังคมมีส่วนกับการตระหนักรู้ของพวกเขาอย่างไร  หากมองในทางปฏิบัติ การรับรู้ มุมมองของผู้คน รวมไปถึงการกระจายต่างในงานการต่อต้านการค้ามนุษย์ของพวกเขาเป็นอย่างไร วิธีการวิเคราะห์เพื่อช่วยสร้างความเข้าใจและความเห็นใจของพวกเขา ต้ององกร อก ปี นิโอ ในฐานะผู้มีบทบาทในการต่อต้านการค้ามนุษย์และการพัฒนา

ผลของการศึกษาวิจัยของวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้แสดงให้เห็นว่า
แนวทางปฏิบัติในการต่อต้านการค้ามนุษย์พื้นฐานความเชื่อทางศาสนา มีความโดดเด่นโดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่ง จากการให้ความสำคัญต่องานต่อต้านการค้ามนุษย์ ในระยะเวลายาวนานจากการระดมทุน การยุติธรรมทางด้านสังคม หรือการให้ความช่วยเหลือ แนวทางปฏิบัติต้นทางนี้ สามารถเป็นการแก้ไขปัญหาการค้ามนุษย์ได้ในระดับบุคคลและระดับชุมชน ซึ่งบางครั้งอาจถูกจำกัดด้วยข้อจำกัดทางกฎหมาย องค์กร ออก ปี นิโอที่ทำงานต่อต้านการค้ามนุษย์ อันมีเครือข่ายผู้ให้ทุนที่แตกต่างกันออกไป ซึ่งประกอบด้วยผู้บริจาคตามศรัทธาในระดับที่มีนัยสำคัญ เช่น คริสตจักรมูล เล็ก นิพนธ์ และองค์กรอาชีพ ปี อินผ่า

จ้าพเจ้าพบว่าโลกศึกษาทางศาสนาขององค์กร ออก ปี นิโอ เป็นส่วนสำคัญของการปฏิบัติของพวกเขา ซึ่งนำไปสู่การให้ความสำคัญกับความเชื่อทางศาสนา (ทางจิตวิญญาณและศีลธรรม) ดังที่เห็นองค์กร ออก ปี นิโอที่ทำงานต่อต้านการค้ามนุษย์ที่สามารถมองได้ว่าเป็น ส่วนหนึ่งของรูปแบบการบริบาลและการบริการที่เน้นองค์กรที่มีความเชื่อมั่นในทางการบริหารจัดการการจัดตั้งทางศาสนาของผู้ที่มีบทบาทต่างๆในด้านการต่อต้านการค้ามนุษย์ สำเนียงองค์กร ออก ปี นิโอ ผลความสัมพันธ์ในอัตลักษณ์ทางศาสนาของพวกเขาในบางบริบท และสร้างรูปแบบการรวมทุนทางศาสนาที่ชัดเจน ความเชื่อมั่นกับผู้ที่มีพื้นฐานความเชื่อทางศาสนา ทำให้องค์กร ออก ปี นิโอ สามารถมุ่งเน้นไปที่ผู้นำทางศาสนา และช่วยนำพันธุ์บุคคลให้ใช้ความเป็นธรรมแก้ปัญหาเชิงโครงสร้างด้วย

ท้ายที่สุดนี้ จ้าพเจ้าพบว่าองค์กร ออก ปี นิโอ สามารถช่วยให้ความแตกต่างทางศาสนา กับชุมชนผู้นับถือศาสนาพุทธได้ ด้วยเรื่ององค์กร ออก ปี นิโอช่วยสร้างความเป็นเจ้าของความรู้แก่ชุมชนเหล่านี้ เท่านั้นกับความเข้าใจของพวกเขาทางการค้านุษย์และการต่อต้านการค้ามนุษย์ ความแตกต่างระหว่างศาสนานิกายวิทยา นิยมขององค์กร และความแตกต่างที่มีอยู่เขาทางวิทยาวิจัย แต่องค์กร ออก ปี นิโอ ที่มีระดับความสร้างสรรค์ที่ดีควรระดมทุนกัน สามารถช่วยให้ได้อย่างเต็มที่

คำสำคัญ

การค้านุษย์ การต่อต้านการค้านุษย์ องค์กรที่มีพื้นฐานความเชื่อทางศาสนา ศาสนาในการพัฒนา ระดับความกังวลในศรัทธาวิทยา จารวัลนิยมนการอภิบาลและการบริการ องค์กรที่มีความมุ่งมั่นในการบริหารจัดการ ความเป็นเจ้าของร่วมกัน สมัครเข้าไทย
SUMMARY IN KHMER

សេចក្តីេសខេបជាភាសាខ្មែរ

សៃឿជាសេចក្តីេសខេបនៃៃិសក្េបបទថ្នាក្់បណ្ឌិតវិទាសាស្រេតៃសោបាយ ខ្ែលមាៃចំណ្ខស ើខថ្ន «សតើស្រេះខ្ត ំសៃឿ? ការ្បយុទធ្បឆំខៃឹខការ ួញែូរមៃុេសសនាេះសទ។ សតើយុទធសាស្រេតៃិខេក្មែភាពរបេ់អខគការ ំសៃឿបសគគលទំខសៃេះមាៃភាពមុេខ្បលក្ពីេក្មែភាព្បឆំខការ ួញែូរមៃុេសរបេ់តួអខគសផសខសទៀតក្នុខអាណាច្ក្, ឬតួអខគខ្ែលមិៃជាប់ទក្់ទខៃឹខ ំសៃឿសាេនាខ្ែរឬសទ? ស ើយ្បេិៃសបើមាៃភាពមុេាាខ្បបណាមលេះ? ៃិសក្េបបទសៃេះមាៃេំណ្ួរ្សាវ្ជាវចំៃួៃ (ទី២)»

បចចុបបៃា ការ ួញែូរមៃុេស្តូវបាៃបា៉ាៃ់សាែៃថ្ន បាៃបខកផលប៉ាេះរល់ែល់មៃុេស្បមាណ្េប់្ាៃ់សលើការខ្េែខយល់អំពីេក្មែភាពរបេ់អខគការ ំសៃឿបសគគល

នៃក្ិចចមិតមំ្បឹខខ្្បខសែើមបីស្លើយតបៃឹខបញ្ហ ាជាេក្លមួយសៃេះ។ ោ៉ាខណាក្៏សដ្ឋយសេសៅមិៃទៃ់ស ើញមាៃការយក្ចិតតទុក្ដ្ឋក្់្េប់្ាៃ់សលើការខ្េែខយល់អំពីេក្មែភាពរបេ់អខគការ ំសៃឿបសគគ

ក្នុខការ្បយុទធ្បឆំខៃឹខការ ួញែូរមៃុេសសដ្ឋយខ្ផែក្សលើ ំសៃឿ? (ទី៣)

សតើេ េមៃ៍ក្នុខតំបៃ់សៅក្នុខការ្បយុទធ្បឆំខៃឹខការ ួញែូរមៃុេសរបេ់អខគការ ំសៃឿបសគគល? ត្តមរយៈការស្លើយតបៃឹខេំណ្ួរ្សាវ្ជាវទំខសៃេះម្ុំអាចរួមចំខ្ណ្ក្ ំរុញការយល់ែឹខបខ្ៃែមសទៀតអំពីតួនាទីរបេ់អខគសាេនា សៅក្នុខការ្បយុទធ្បឆំខៃឹខការ ួញែូរមៃុេស។ ែូចសៃេះ ការេិក្ាអំពីបរិបទទំខសៃេះអាចផតល់ជាទេសៃវិេ័យខ្ែលមាៃភាពរក្់ព័ៃធោ៉ាខទូលំទូលាយសរលេឺមិៃខ្មៃ្តឹមខ្តក្នុខបរិបទតំបៃ់ ៃិខក្ិចចការ្បយុទធ្បឆំខៃឹខការ ួញែូរមៃុេសប៉ាុសណា ណ េះសទ។

ការេិក្ាសៃេះខ្ផែក្សលើការេមាាេៃ៍ជាលក្េណ្ៈបុេគល ៃិខការេមាាេៃ៍ជា្ក្ុម

After the research, the victims were interviewed in order to gather information about the impact of Bibles distributed in the region to the victims of human trafficking. The research revealed that the victims were often forced to work in the fish industry, which was a major contributor to their economic hardship. The research also showed that the victims were often subjected to violence and abuse by their traffickers.

In conclusion, the research found that the distribution of Bibles in the region had a positive impact on the victims of human trafficking. The Bibles provided them with a sense of hope and a way to connect with their faith. The research also revealed that the victims were often left to fend for themselves, and that more support and resources were needed to help them rebuild their lives.

The research recommended that more support and resources be provided to the victims of human trafficking. This includes providing them with legal aid, medical care, and vocational training. The research also recommended that the government and international organizations increase their efforts to combat human trafficking in the region.
ក្នុខការកើតពីមីតុភាពបែករាលដើម្បីប៉ូតអត្ថប្រយោជន៍ និងវិធីសាស្រ្តសម្រាប់
ប្រព័ន្ធនៃការបែករាលដើម្បីប៉ូតអត្ថប្រយោជន៍ និងវិធីសាស្រ្តសម្រាប់
ប្រព័ន្ធវិឯកសាយ (FBOs) និងប្រព័ន្ធនៃការបែករាលដើម្បីប៉ូតអត្ថប្រយោជន៍

ពាក្យគន្លឹះ

ការួញែូរមៃុំសាយ, ការ្បឆំខការ ួញែូរ, អខគការសាល ំសៃឿ, សាេនាសៅក្នុខេក្មែភាពអភិវឌ្ឍៃ៍,
ការបស្រញ្ហ ាប ំសៃឿ, អាណាច្ក្ឬភាពមិចជាប់ទក្៍ទខៃឹខសាេនា,
ក្ិចចការ្េប់្េខៃិខសដ្ឋេះ្សាយបញ្ហ ាផ្ ូវអារមែណ្៍ឬសាែរតីរបេ់្បជា ៃ,  ការអភិវឌ្ឍទំខផ្ ូវកាយៃិខចិតត,
ការស្បើ្បាេ់ឥទធិព លំសៃឿបីក្ំណ្ត់េក្មែភាពអាក្ែនទ,
ភាពជាមាចេ់រួមាា, ្បសទេក្មពុជា, ្បសទេនៃ
# ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>The Association of Southeast Asian Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>AHT</td>
<td>Anti-Human Trafficking</td>
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<tr>
<td>AT</td>
<td>Antitrafficking</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organization</td>
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<td>FBO</td>
<td>Faith-Based organizations</td>
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<td>GMS</td>
<td>Greater Mekong Subregion</td>
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<tr>
<td>HT</td>
<td>Human Trafficking</td>
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<td>IE</td>
<td>Institutional Ethnography</td>
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<td>IGO</td>
<td>Intergovernmental Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>IJM</td>
<td>International Justice Mission</td>
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<tr>
<td>INGO</td>
<td>International Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>LFA</td>
<td>Local Faith Actors</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>RBM</td>
<td>Results Based Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>RQ</td>
<td>Research Question</td>
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<tr>
<td>TG</td>
<td>Therapeutic Governance</td>
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<tr>
<td>TIP</td>
<td>Trafficking in Persons</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNODC</td>
<td>United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime</td>
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<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<tr>
<td>WPR</td>
<td>What’s the Problem Represented to Be Approach</td>
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Writing a thesis is a great privilege, and I have thoroughly enjoyed the opportunity to deepen my expertise in a field which I find fascinating and important. My privileged position is in stark contrast to the hardships of people across the world exploited in human trafficking. This thesis contains the stories of some of these strong and resilient people faced with exploitation. I have also had the opportunity to listen to the perspectives of passionate people trying to counter human trafficking. I am very thankful for their kind participation and the trust they have placed in me. I have done my very best to do justice to their life stories. My sincere hope is that my thesis can inspire to reflection, and in some small way contribute to reversing the tide of human trafficking.

This thesis was partially written during the global pandemic as widespread shutdowns forced me to adapt my research plans. I want to express my sincere gratitude to those who helped during my field visits to Thailand and Cambodia: Chamroeun Keo, Sivgech Tang, Pornchanok Treekoonsatit and Naruemon Prasopchaidom for interpretation during digital and in real-life interviews. I also want to thank Monticha Puthawong and Lean Chhorvon for translation of the summary of this thesis to Thai and Khmer.

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Within the Department, as well as in the Peace and Conflict Group, I have had the opportunity to present papers and manuscript drafts. I am thankful for careful reading and constructive comments from colleagues on my manuscript in various stages: Patrik Johansson and Kalle Eriksson provided valuable input on my dissertation plan. Elsa Reimerson and Martin Lundqvist gave important feedback on the manuscript presented at the midway seminar. Abrak Saati and Veronica Strandh closely read the draft thesis presented at the final seminar and offered significant suggestions for improvement. In addition, I am grateful to Malin Åkebo for commenting on my first stumbling attempts of writing a paper. I have also greatly appreciated the collaboration and mentorship in teaching by Dzenan Sahovic.

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Andreas Henriksson

Uppsala, March 2024
INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking is a global phenomenon affecting about 49 million people worldwide. All countries and territories are implicated either as places of source, transit or destination of trafficking victims (Walk Free Foundation 2023). South-East Asia in general, and the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) in particular, has become a hub for trafficking. Thailand and Cambodia, the geographic focus of this research, are both considered hotspots for human trafficking (Davy 2013; UNODC 2020). Due to the assumption that the GMS is a hotspot for human trafficking, this region has also attracted many antitrafficking actors (Limoncelli 2016; Molland 2012). These different antitrafficking actors and their practices, in the GMS region and beyond, have been the focus of some existing research, including studies on antitrafficking coalitions (Foot et al. 2019), police efforts to counter trafficking (Leser and Pates 2019), government policies (Eun-hye and Elizabeth Heger 2015; Szablewska and Kubacki 2018) including border polices (Avdan 2012; Kaur 2010; Lobasz 2009), the role of regional organizations (Kranrattanasuit 2014), and small-scale service providers (Hu 2019). Several studies have also mapped the response to human trafficking of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Foot et al. 2015; Limoncelli 2016).

However, not enough attention has been directed to understanding the antitrafficking responses of faith-based organizations (FBOs). Do these differ from their secular counterparts, and if so, in what way? At best, there is a fragmented understanding of the faith-based response to human trafficking (e.g. Feingold 2014; Frame 2017, 2019; Shih 2014). This is so despite evidence of an extensive involvement of FBOs in antitrafficking activities (Frame et al. 2019; Lonergan et al. 2020). This lack of attention is likely due to an apparent blind eye to religion in the social sciences. Many researchers and research fields within the social sciences were in general, and for a long time, influenced by theories of modernization and secularization, and therefore expected religion to lose its significance as society modernized (Berger 2014; Casanova 2018; Jones and Juul Petersen 2011; Norris and Inglehart 2011). However, there is increasing recognition that religions are not fading away from society and that religious actors, such as FBOs, are playing a potent role in shaping societies (Berger 1999, 2014; Fountain and Juul Petersen 2018).

As more attention has been directed towards religious actors, it has become increasingly apparent that religious actors influence societies in diverse and multifaceted ways. Religious organizations are very active in areas such as development aid, humanitarian aid, peacebuilding and
health care development (Ferris 2011; Jeffery et al. 2017), and in human rights promotion (Butcher and Hallward 2018). The moral codes of religion can have different effects on policy and practice. This is exemplified in the field of antitrafficking by Zimmerman (2011), who describes how Christianity has historically been used to advocate both for and against abolishing slavery. In more recent history, there is also interesting, and perhaps surprising, evidence of alliances between feminists and conservative Christians in promoting the anti-sex trafficking agenda – which has successfully drawn attention to the issue, but simultaneously led to the neglect of trafficking for other purposes, such as forced labor (Zimmerman 2013). Faith and ideas can have different effects on societal issues, something which is the case for all faiths (Potrafke 2016), but also for the ideas and norms of actors without religious affiliations. It is therefore important to study how religious beliefs interact with contextual and relational factors to shape the faith-based response to human trafficking (Smith 2017).

Antitrafficking is a subfield of development aid (Molland 2011), and many of the dynamics existing within development aid generally apply to antitrafficking as well. Just as religious actors have been overlooked within research on development aid, the same has been true for research on antitrafficking. Religious actors, for example FBOs, have been largely overlooked despite their prevalence within the sector of antitrafficking. As indicated above, actions motivated by faith can have different effects. It is thus both meaningful and urgent to understand the assumptions, strategies and interactions of FBOs in their local and global networks. Are FBOs, as suggested by Graw Leary’s research (2018), well-positioned to counter human trafficking? Or are the religious beliefs of the FBOs a stumbling block inhibiting effective antitrafficking work, as suggested by other scholars (Aaron 2017; Shih 2014)? Regardless of the answers to these questions, it is relevant to understand why and how that is so. It is also important to consider the intended as well as the unintended effects that are associated with the antitrafficking work of the FBOs. The knowledge gap regarding how FBOs understand and mobilize against human trafficking is a problem from a research perspective, from a policy perspective and from a practitioners’ perspective, given the potential impact that FBOs have in the fight against human trafficking, and more broadly in the fields of development, human security and conflict resolution.

The purpose of this thesis is to understand and explain the role and impact of faith in antitrafficking through a study of the antitrafficking efforts of FBOs in Thailand and Cambodia. Via a study of three faith-based antitrafficking organizations, I aim to gain a broader understanding of the
role of religious actors in development cooperation. Thailand and Cambodia are two countries where human trafficking is prevalent, and where there is a significant concentration of NGOs and FBOs operating against human trafficking (Foot et al. 2015; Limoncelli 2016). Studying these contexts may also generate insights that have wider relevance beyond the region, and beyond the field of antitrafficking specifically. The research will answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What are FBOs doing to counter human trafficking and what characteristics do their strategies have?

To address this question, in the first appended paper, titled Faith standing out? Discovering the particularities of faith-based antitrafficking organizations in Thailand and Cambodia, FBOs working in Thailand and Cambodia are contrasted with their secular counterparts. This makes it possible to discern patterns that distinguish FBOs and their antitrafficking strategies from those of secular antitrafficking NGOs, and get a better understanding of the specific nature of faith-based antitrafficking work.

RQ2: What shapes the design of faith-based antitrafficking strategies?

This research question explores the motivations and influences behind the strategies of the FBOs in Cambodia and Thailand. The second appended paper, titled Transforming troubled souls: Faith-based antitrafficking work as therapeutic governance, traces how particular ideas and worldviews shape the practices of the FBOs. The third appended paper, It is who you know: The influence of faith-based donor networks on the antitrafficking work of faith-based organizations, focuses on the impact of the networks and relationships in which the FBOs are situated.

RQ3: How is the work against human trafficking by the FBOs received by local communities in Cambodia and Thailand?

This final research question is addressed in the fourth appended paper, Bridging the divides? How Christian faith-based antitrafficking organizations construct co-ownership in Buddhist South-East Asia. This paper analyzes the encounter between implementors and recipients of antitrafficking programs, and asks to what extent the solutions that are presented by the FBOs are seen as legitimate and desirable by local actors.

Studying the antitrafficking work of FBOs is important because of the extensive presence of variations of FBOs engaging in the field, because of their potential contributions as antitrafficking actors and, more
importantly, because of the lack of systematic academic attention to their antitrafficking activities. Thus, this research will contribute to increased knowledge about FBOs as actors, about their strategies for antitrafficking, and about dynamics of cooperation and negotiation in global and local civil society.

This thesis consists of an introductory chapter and four appended papers. The introductory chapter is structured as follows. In the next section, I begin by situating my thesis against the backdrop of scholarly debates on modernity, development and religion. Thereafter, I describe the main strands of research literature that my thesis builds on and contributes to. These are the research fields concerned with a) religion, religious actors and FBOs; b) development cooperation and foreign aid; and c) human trafficking and antitrafficking. This section ends with a discussion on FBOs as antitrafficking actors in which I identify the knowledge gaps and how I address these gaps. The third section focuses on describing the contexts of Cambodia and Thailand, the antitrafficking communities in these countries, the studied FBOs, and the areas in which they work. The fourth section is devoted to describing the theoretical points of departure for a multidimensional analysis of antitrafficking FBOs. After this, in the fifth section, I discuss the methods and materials on which the thesis is built. This is where I introduce the political ethnography approach, and the implications of this approach for collecting empirical material. Within this section, ethical considerations are discussed before elaborating on the process of analyzing the material that I used to answer the research questions. This is followed by a summary of the four appended papers, focusing on their main findings. In the concluding section, I answer the research questions that I have posed, and synthesize the findings of the four appended papers. This concluding section ends with recommendations for future research and policy recommendations.
FAITH-BASED ANTITRAFFICKING WORK IN A MODERN PLURALISTIC WORLD

This thesis is concerned with understanding the antitrafficking work of FBOs. To do this, several strands of literature must be considered. In Figure 1, I illustrate the literature this thesis draws on, and speaks back to.

Figure 1. Literature context of the thesis
In a broad sense, scholarship on modernity, progress, development and the (changing?) role of religion in societies is an important backdrop for my thesis. In Figure 1 above, I illustrate this with a large circle in the background labeled “Modernity, development and religion.” With this context as a backdrop, I draw on three strands of literature:

1. Religion, religious actors and FBOs;
2. Development cooperation; and
3. Human trafficking and antitrafficking.

As can be seen in the figure, these strands of literature overlap into the more specific fields of antitrafficking as development, and religious actors in development. These three strands then overlap in the topic of this thesis, namely FBOs in antitrafficking. This section will thus deal with these different strands of literature and discuss where the knowledge gaps are, and ultimately what my contributions are.

Modernity, development and religion

As I have described above, to fully appreciate my thesis it helps to have a basic understanding of the recent scholarly debate about modernity, development and religion. These are all elusive concepts that have been intriguing themes for exploration and theorizing for many sociologists and political scientists researching development of societies as well as development cooperation. Often, they are discussed in connection with one another, as will be evident below.

Modernity and progress

I will not discuss modernity at length, but one essential aspect of its relationship to religion is that modern societies are vertically differentiated between personal, communal and societal levels. This makes the individual increasingly freed from social bonds. One such communal bond is that of religious beliefs and practices (Pollack and Rosta 2017b). Conceptions about modernity typically presuppose a dichotomy between societies that are traditional, and societies that are modern (Casanova 2018). Modernity also allows for a distinction between religious and non-religious (secular). This makes it possible for individuals to make their own choices about lifestyle, values and religion. Secularization can in one sense be understood as the erosion of the (religious) communal bonds between individuals and meaningful social groups (Casanova 2018).
Ideas about modernity involve categories such as *traditional* and *modern* societies (Casanova 2019). Such dichotomies bear a resemblance to ideas with Protestant roots about deserving and undeserving poor, i.e., those who strive for progress and those who do not (Hackworth 2012; Katz 2013). They are also linked to dichotomies of civilized and uncivilized (Casanova 2019). Even if such imperialistic ideological underpinnings are rejected, there are newer dichotomous categories that remain important in current development cooperation, such as the developed and the underdeveloped (Mosse 2005). Within the antitrafficking field, similar dichotomies exist in terms of good and bad victims (Molland 2011), which is a reflection of ideas on deserving and undeserving poor. This shows that it is vital to bear in mind that ideas about modernity are important backdrops when studying development actors of any kind. However, when studying religious actors in development, including in antitrafficking, it is particularly important to understand how modernity, religion and secularism connect.

The secularization hypothesis and its critics

As I have presented above, concepts of modernity include several dichotomies. Another such dichotomy is the one between religious and secular. In Western research traditions, ideas about modernity have been discussed in relation to the increasing secularization of society. Casanova argues that studies about secularization are in essence a subfield of modernization theory (Casanova 2018, 2019). To put it simply, the secularization hypothesis states that when societies develop, modernize and progress, religion will decline (Norris and Inglehart 2011).

The secularization hypothesis is closely connected to the normative doctrine of secularism, which is the belief that religion should not intrude into public political affairs (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011; Hallward 2008). The very idea of a modern society is thus the freedom to choose beliefs and social codes (Pollack and Rosta 2017b), and with progress, the assumption is that more people will choose to live without religion. Proponents of the secularization hypothesis see connections between modernity, prosperity, or human development, and the spreading of secular discourse and ideals (Norris and Inglehart 2011).

In addition to some normative critiques of the secularization hypothesis, scholars have posed questions about the validity of the data associated with it. For example, it is not clear whether cross-national analysis corresponds to in-country surveys, or questions whether religion is interpreted in the same way across cultures and countries (see for example Deneulin and Rakodi 2011). Countering the secularization theory, it has
been shown that, in Asian cities, “religion can be urban, modern, innovative and creative instead of rural, traditional, conservative, and repressive” at the same time (van der Veer and Ali 2015). Based on this, van der Veer and Ali call out the Western-centric views that Asian modernity is not complete because it is not secularized (van der Veer and Ali 2015).

Modernity, religious pluralism and secular–religious discourse

Berger agrees with the critique of the secularization theory, and suggests that empirical data indicate that modernization does not lead to secularization but rather to pluralism. Berger’s main point is that there is not an either/or dichotomy between secular and faith discourses, but rather that people of religious beliefs exercise a both/and relationship between religious and secular discourse (Berger 2014). Casanova argues that many societies are simultaneously becoming more religious and more secular, in diverse ways. At the same time, the parallel religious and secular dynamics are becoming even more intertwined (Casanova 2018, 2019).

If we understand modernity as connected to pluralism rather than to the inevitable secularization of societies, it is important to understand how religious and secular discourse can co-exist. This co-existence of discourses is relevant to study within the context of antitrafficking interventions. To understand such co-existence, Berger argues that people with religious beliefs operate within a secular discourse in important parts of their lives, but that this is not in opposition to their religious beliefs. The two discourses and associated practices co-exist within the same modern person (Berger 2014).

The boundaries between secular and religious discourse are interesting. On this topic, the playing field is not always symmetrical. Secularists will renounce the existence of any problem of boundaries between religion and public discourse, arguing that this has already been resolved once and for all. Or as Berger puts it: “There are no boundaries to be negotiated, because ‘error has no rights’ – certainly no right to a separate relevance structure whose boundaries are to be respected” (Berger 2014). This asymmetry carries consequences for the practical operations of FBOs operating in the fields of both development as well as antitrafficking.

According to Berger and others, the proponents of secularization theory are right in their observation of an emerging global secular discourse (Berger 2014; Hallward 2008). Other scholars have shown similar
findings about the existence of an international elite composed of Western-type educated persons who are secularized to a larger degree. This elite is highly influential, visible and vocal, but does not necessarily have broad representation on the ground (Bush 2007; Dragovic 2017). Casanova critiques Berger’s paradigm as being too Western-centric and instead argues for a theory of globalization that precedes Western secular modernity (Casanova 2018). In line with Casanova, the co-existence of religion and modernity can be found across East and South-East Asia (Dickhardt and Lauser 2016; van der Veer and Ali 2015).

Butcher and Hallward also point out that all people are influenced by interacting factors of culture, religion and context (2018), and the challenge is to untangle these. In the context of Thailand and Cambodia, rapid and cultural change has also challenged Buddhist worldviews, as more and more people are negotiating new identities (Barua 2016). Looking at Asian cities, they are both secular and religious at the same time. In an Asian context, what is deemed as either religious or secular is the result of political power, and often the urban centers of Asia are used as a platform for such aspirations (van der Veer and Ali 2015). Parts of the populations are thus drawn to more secular modes of thinking, or turn to other religiously inspired value systems, while others remain firmly anchored in the Buddhist teachings (Barua 2016). One effect of the emerging global elite secular discourse is that while “religious organizations” have declined in recent decades, transnational religious participation in human rights discussions has not (Butcher and Hallward 2018). That is, religious labels may be veiled as an adaptation to a secular paradigm, but the presence and influence of religious ideas persist (Lonergan et al. 2020; Tomalin 2018).

Religion, religious actors and FBOs

In this section, I will discuss the literature on religion, religious actors and FBOs.

Religious actors and FBOs

Religious actors are common around the world. One type of religious actor that plays a central role in this thesis is the faith-based organization, FBO. It is therefore important to explain what this concept means. In the methods section, I go into more detail on how I use the concept of FBO. Here, I focus on building a foundational understanding of the concept of FBO before discussing the main topic of religion in development.
The category of FBO is both widely used and criticized at the same time. The first warning issued by previous scholars is that FBO as a category is hard to define. FBOs have been overlooked as an analytical category and have been conflated with secular NGOs, thus failing to capture important insights. To avoid confusion, there is a need to discuss the distinctive properties of the FBO. Often, contrasting them with secular NGOs is a good starting point, as NGOs in many aspects are similar to FBOs. NGOs are formal organizations that are separate from the state, are non-commercial, and make up an important part of civil society. The term originates from the formation of the UN in 1945 when NGOs received consultation status in UN activities (Lewis 2010). As such, FBOs can be viewed as a subset of NGOs with a faith component (Clarke and Ware 2015; Occhipinti 2015).

*Figure 2. FBOs as the overlap between NGOs and religious organizations*

We can also understand FBOs as a subcategory along with NGOs in the larger category of civil society organizations, performing similar but slightly distinct roles as NGOs in holding state and market to account (Clarke and Ware 2015). However, FBOs all share a religious or faith component. They are not religious communities of faith themselves, yet they are directly or indirectly linked to religious congregations. For this distinction to make sense, it is helpful to contrast with the secular NGO. When contrasting religious organizations to NGOs, Clarke and Ware suggest that many of the qualities that are associated with FBOs are also characteristics of many NGOs. It is precisely the faith element, and the religious affiliations, that distinguish them from secular NGOs, as illustrated in Figure 2 above.

However, religious organizations do not have to be organized as NGOs but can instead be churches or denominations. Likewise, FBOs can take the form of many different types of organizations, such as schools, missionary organizations, networks, etc. (Clarke and Ware 2015). Within a development context, however, the NGO-form is widespread among
FBOs, and it is precisely this type of FBO that I am studying in this thesis. Even FBOs that are organized as NGOs draw from aspects and parts of other stakeholders such as communities, religious organizations, NGOs and civil society (see Figure 3 below). It is their ability to draw on a range of heritages and memberships that in some ways distinguishes them from other stakeholders within development (Clarke and Ware 2015). This way of understanding FBOs carries consequences for how I choose to study FBOs in antitrafficking.

*Figure 3. FBOs draw from aspects of other stakeholders*

If we now understand FBOs as a kind of NGO with a religious mandate or component, which draws on aspects and properties from a number of types of organizations, we still need to be more specific and nuanced about what we are studying. Of course, it is important to consider which type of religious congregation the FBO is linked to. In theory, this could be any religion, but in practice, the majority of the FBOs in development are Christian. This dominance of Christian actors is partly due to the affluency of actors affiliated with Christianity, but also due to Christian bias in general, and in development in particular. And lastly, the need for distinguishing one’s faith is to some extent a Western (Christian) construct, brought about by secular–Christian debates. In other religious cultural settings, there is not an equivalent need for a distinction between religious and non-religious (Clarke 2006; Jeffery et al. 2017). But even among Christian FBOs, there are variations in how closely they are affiliated with communities of faith, and how faith-infused they are.

A typology of faith-based organizations developed by Sider and Unruh (2004) allows for considering the nuances in how faith matters for an organization in terms of self-descriptive texts, affiliations, staff recruitment, and religious environment, but also the role of faith in the actual programming of the organizations. This typology of faith organizations is described in more detail in the sections on theory and methods, but in essence, organizations are categorized in terms of their degree of faith infusion: secular, faith-background, faith-affiliated, faith-
centered, and faith-permeated (Sider and Unruh 2004). Making use of these nuances in approaching FBOs allows for a deeper understanding and appreciation of how FBOs operate in development in general, but of course also specifically in antitrafficking work in Cambodia and Thailand.

Evangelical traditions of Christianity

To further contextualize this thesis, it is necessary to discuss what is known about Evangelicals. The studied FBOs in this thesis are in one way or another affiliated with Evangelical traditions of Christianity. Many prominent Christian development organizations are affiliated with Evangelical traditions (Freeman 2018, 2020; Haugen 2019; WEA 2023), which makes it an important religious group to study.

Evangelicals are a large and very diverse group that overlaps with other Christian denominations and traditions. Even though it is a distinct group, there are considerable overlaps between Pentecostals, Evangelicals and Charismatics (Coleman and Hackett 2015), and these three groups often perceive themselves to be a single movement. That is a key reason to discuss them in tandem. Evangelicals emphasize a particular regard for the Bible, the atonement of Christ, the need for conversion for salvation, and that the Gospel needs to be lived out (Bebbington 1989). As for Pentecostals, they are a (Holy-)spirit-centered, miracle-affirming, praise-oriented version of the Christian faith. Pentecostalism is more diverse than any other Christian expression because its various forms are deeply rooted in the local contexts (Anderson 2013). Evangelicals and Pentecostals differ slightly from each other as Evangelicals emphasize the unconditional authority of scripture, while Pentecostals emphasize a charismatic style of devotion and the experience of the Holy Spirit (Pollack and Rosta 2017a).

Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism originated in Europe and North America but have since spread and become a global phenomenon (Coleman et al. 2015). Some estimate that about a quarter of all Christians are Evangelicals (Anderson 2013; PEW 2011). Likewise, the numbers of people who are Pentecostals or Charismatics are estimated to be about the same as the number of Evangelicals (Anderson 2013), but then again, there is considerable overlap between the three categories.

Some scholars say that Pentecostalism is the fastest growing movement in the world, and now has its center of gravity in the Global South. In 1950, 80% of Christians lived in Europe and in North America, while in 2005, a majority of Christians lived in Asia, Latin America or Africa (Coleman and Hackett 2015; Coleman et al. 2015). This southern growth has much to do
with charismatic forms of Christianity such as Pentecostalism. Most of the
growth of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements occurred in the
very period when secularization was at its height in Europe (Coleman and
Hackett 2015). While the resources of Evangelicalism are concentrated in
the more affluent places in the global economy, the adherents are more
numerous in the global economy’s lower classes (Offutt 2020). Evangelicals and Pentecostals have considerable resources as their
congregants are encouraged to donate generously, both in terms of
volunteer hours and money, to their church and affiliated organizations
(Davis 2019; Haugen 2019; Schnable 2016). Evangelicals are spread out
all over the world in various forms, and as such they have an often
unrealized potential for being partners in change processes (Offutt 2020).

In recent years, there has been significant attention devoted to the
political affiliations of white American Evangelicals to right-wing politics
and populism. White Evangelicals voted overwhelmingly for Donald
Trump in the 2016 US presidential election, which has puzzled sociologists since Donald Trump does not show any public signs of
religious piety (Martí 2019). Studies have suggested that white affluent
Evangelicals align with ideologies that emphasize individual
responsibilities in contrast to structural issues (Reynolds and Offutt
2013). These white Evangelicals have influenced an increasingly
globalized Evangelical movement (Drake 2020; Reynolds and Offutt
2013; Williams 2020; Yukich and Edgell 2020). In contrast, the (so far)
less globally influential African-American Evangelicals are considerably
more focused on racial and structural injustices compared to their white
American counterparts (Williams 2020).

It is also important to consider how Evangelicals are organized, as
Evangelical congregations in the Global South are at once autonomous
and transnationally connected (Offutt 2020). Many Evangelicals network
through the World Evangelical Alliance, which includes national alliances
of Evangelical churches as well as affiliated organizations such as
Tearfund (WEA 2023).

Evangelical churches are often conservative in value issues, but are at the
same time guided by classically liberal ideas such as freedom and equality.
They tend to favor freedom of religion, free movement of people across
borders and ideals of racial and ethnic inclusion (Offutt 2020). Evangelicals continue to speak out on societal issues such as workers’
rights or the caste system in India, just as they have done historically
(Freeman 2020).
Whether or not Evangelical churches are inclined to engage in global advocacy campaigns relating to inequality and justice can be debated. As the historically predominantly white Evangelical churches become more diverse (as their center of gravity shifts to the Global South, as discussed above), attention to structural issues becomes increasingly possible. Reynolds and Offutt suggest that the hesitance by some Evangelicals to engage in advocacy is not a theological hesitancy, but instead stems from a lack of knowledge (2013). Many large global development organizations with Evangelical origins, such as Tearfund and World Vision, are often active in global policy debate (Freeman 2018, 2020).

Within Evangelical circles, the Micah network has been an important facilitator in encouraging Evangelicals to become engaged in global advocacy issues on poverty and global injustice (Freeman 2020). A theology of holistic development has been a key cornerstone of development thinking among Christian development organizations (Freeman 2018). The notion of holistic development represents a form of theology that holistically unites the personal and the social, the spiritual and the material, the moral and the political. Evangelical discourse, however, is generally still to a large degree individualist (Reynolds and Offutt 2013). The combination of, and tension between, personal morality and global political issues is ongoing within the Evangelical movement. While there are pockets of resistance to a holistic theology producing engagement in global advocacy, it still represents a major change in Evangelical thought and action around social justice, and it seems as if this trend will continue in the future (Freeman 2020).

Development cooperation

I now turn to the field of development cooperation and foreign aid. Development cooperation is defined as an “activity that aims explicitly to support national or international development priorities, is not driven by profit, discriminates in favour of developing countries, and is based on cooperative relationships that seek to enhance developing country ownership” (ECOSOC 2016). As antitrafficking is part of the development agenda (Molland 2011), it is natural to review the research on development cooperation and the power dynamics within development cooperation. Particular interest will be placed on non-state actors because of their relevance for this thesis. To review existing debates about the power dynamics within development cooperation, I discuss the literature on donor-centered and top-down approaches in development, and then turn to the literature on bottom-up approaches with an emphasis on local ownership. These perspectives are important contexts to understand the
world that FBOs as antitrafficking actors operate in, and occasionally depart from.

**Top-down and donor-centered approaches**

There are vast amounts of research on NGOs in the development sector, and in particular on the different accountabilities they experience and prioritize. The issue of accountability is intimately connected to power dynamics within development cooperation, and influences who can claim ownership and who can set the priorities of development cooperation (Brolin 2017).

One such key relationship of NGOs is with donors. Studies have found that funding relationships with donors are complicated as they have the potential to limit NGO autonomy, and accountability towards donors is prioritized over accountability to local communities (Banks and Brockington 2020; Ebrahim 2003). Throughout the global South, NGOs and other parts of the civil society have been reliant on foreign funding. The foreign funding impact civil society elite formation in the global South and contributes to transferring values (Norén-Nilsson et al. 2023). Banks et al. looks specifically at NGOs within the development context. They find that NGOs often have an accommodating relationship with the state, and accountability structures aimed towards donors rather than beneficiaries or members. NGOs also tend to be non-political, as the need to comply with the rules of the development marketplace makes NGOs resemble socially responsible market actors, rather than civil society actors. Thus, the authors claim, the NGOs fail to address the root causes of poverty and have been incentivized to pursue their service delivery functions at the expense of their civil society functions. The professionalization of NGOs is part of the problem, as it defuses participatory approaches and reduces cultural sensitivity. Local ties have been weakened and NGOs have become implementors of donor policy instead of independently acting on behalf of local communities (Banks et al. 2015).

Upward accountability is connected to policymakers and donors attempting to pre-plan “messy” development by introducing governing frameworks such as results-based management (RBM). Such top-down approaches come from a wish to guarantee returns from investments and controlled development (Hatton and Schroeder 2007), which is a risky proposition in development contexts. However, not all development ventures and contexts can be pre-planned in unpredictable environments. Honig instead argues for delegated discretion and judgement to aid workers, so that contextual factors can be navigated (Honig 2018).
Another way to discuss challenges of aid is through criticizing the “projectification” of the development sector, which leads to an emphasis on upward accountability (Scott 2021). This theme of development being an extension of the wishes of the donors has been discussed in ethnographic studies, where the authors have found that the ready-made solutions from the donors and policymakers take precedence over people’s experiential knowledge (Kim 2013). Hilhorst provides a nuanced understanding of the messy realities of aid, where there may be cognitive dissonances between ideas, ideals and practices, and how aid agencies affect the realities in which they are operating (Hilhorst 2018). It is plausible that similar dynamics are present in FBOs, but it may also depend on whether or not the FBOs are acting on the same development marketplace, and are accountable to the same institutional donors and policymakers. I now turn to research on bottom-up approaches, and on local ownership.

Recipient-centered approaches and local ownership

In contrast to the research on top-down and donor-centered approaches, there is also research on recipient-centered approaches, and on local ownership. The core question has been when and how to make development work. Local ownership has been a popular paradigm of development, which means giving more control over the design and implementation of the development cooperation to local actors in recipient countries (Kluczewska 2019). Increased ownership has been theorized to lead to more effective aid (Black 2020; Brolin 2017; Burghart 2017; Hasselskog 2020; Hasselskog and Schierenbeck 2017; Keijzer and Black 2020). The idea is that increased local ownership leads to increased sensitivity to local needs, and to solutions that work in that particular context.

There is still a debate about what ownership means in practice. Often, ownership means national ownership and is linked to sovereignty of the recipient country. Development cooperation has often been accused of being neocolonial (see discussion on modernity by Casanova 2019; and similar ideas in Mohanty 1984; Mosse and Lewis 2005; Rosamond and Gregoratti 2020) and undermining the national sovereignty of developing countries. Yet there is not a clear link between the level of control over the aid agenda and the level of aid dependency (Brown 2013). Instead of foreign aid overriding sovereignty, Black argues that in a post-aid era, development cooperation policies by international actors can rather be seen as one example of many external influences that recipient countries need to consider (Black 2020).
To further complicate things, national ownership does not equal local participation. In fact, in some instances national ownership works counter to local participation (Hasselskog 2020, 2023). Within local communities themselves, there is a myriad of different interests and dynamics that needs to be taken into consideration in foreign aid. As Mosse points out, the success of the development policy depends on whether the local stakeholders’ self-interests are aligned with the goal of the policy (Mosse 2004). Failures, on the other hand, arise from inadequate translation and interpretation to the local context (Mosse 2004, 2005; Mosse and Lewis 2006).

To summarize, there are many reasons to push power downwards as close to the implementation level as possible, and even to the recipients themselves. Such reasons come from both top-down and bottom-up approaches, where some of these reasons are normative, while others derive from efficiency rationales. However, within development work, the center of gravity for power is upward, and achieving sufficient local ownership is an elusive objective, and perhaps even a contradictory one. The question therefore is, how do FBOs in development fit within these broader power dynamics? This is something that my thesis explores.

Religious actors and FBOs in development cooperation

I now turn to the literature on the intersection between religion, religious actors and development cooperation (or foreign aid). I start with an overview of religion and then secularism in development cooperation, before unpacking the research on religious actors and FBOs in development cooperation.

Religion in development cooperation

Jones and Juul Petersen argued already in 2011 that there was a need for a more open-ended and reflexive approach to the topic of religion and development (Jones and Juul Petersen 2011). Likewise, Berger has argued for a more case-by-case analysis of the role of religion (Berger 1999). This approach is echoed by Rakodi, as she emphasized the context as essential for understanding faith-based interventions (Rakodi 2011). Jones and Juul Petersen reviewed the research on religion in development and found that it was instrumental, narrow, and normative. It was normative in the sense that the question was focused on how religion could contribute to doing development better. It was narrow because it focused on FBOs, and did not consider religious expressions that exist outside the formal or organized. It was normative as it presented a version of religion that fits the development frame.
Jones and Juul Petersen suggested a way forward to go beyond how religion informs development work and instead examine how the development industry informs religious organizations. They also suggested working through the complexity of individual cases, with less interest to directly linking findings to the interests of development agencies. A third suggestion from Jones and Juul Petersen was to look at development policy and practice through a religious lens. At the heart of their criticism is that research has too closely aligned with the interests of the development agencies (Jones and Juul Petersen 2011). Fountain echoes this and argues for taking religion seriously and engaging in detailed, nuanced and contextually specific studies of religion and development (Fountain 2013).

Scholars stress that religion may be used to further as well as hinder development (Juul Petersen and Le Moigne 2016; Leer-Helgesen 2016, 2020). The negative aspects of religion in development are that religious authorities can undermine accountability mechanisms, and foster selective approaches, bigotry, harmful practices, maintenance of status quo and sometimes justification of violence (Haugen 2019; Lindgren 2018). These potential negative aspects of religious actors are also discussed in a Western context, brought up by secular actors (Wimelius et al. 2020). On the other hand, religious actors have the potential to mobilize support and legitimize change, are seen as trusted actors, and are not as dependent on donor funding (Clarke 2006; Occhipinti 2015). Even in a Western context, religious actors in civil society are seen as having potential “bridging social capital” (Wimelius et al. 2020).

Religious groups engaging in human rights promotion tend to view human rights as given by the divine and tend to focus more on social and economic rights, while secular groups more often focus on political and civil rights. The research by Butcher and Hallward found that both religious and secular groups valued that they were locally grounded, and both types of groups regarded their official mission statements as pivotal in guiding their work. However, the researchers suspected that religious beliefs and practices informed decision-making processes and called for more research into the matter. This is something that this thesis picks up on. In terms of programmatic operations, Butcher and Hallward’s study found that religious and secular groups were very similar. They also conclude that “moderate” religious groups can act as a bridge between groups of different religions (Butcher and Hallward 2018). This is an interesting finding that this thesis will wrestle with.

It is thus clear from previous research that religion cannot be understood in isolation from the context, nor from the power dynamics in society.
Evangelical groups in the West have been influenced by privileged groups and their interpretations of theology (Drake 2020; Reynolds and Offutt 2013; Williams 2020; Yukich and Edgell 2020). Historical white dominance within Evangelical groups has shaped theology and subsequent ideas on poverty and inequality, leading to a neglect of structural and racial injustice (Reynolds and Offutt 2013; Yukich and Edgell 2020). African-American Evangelicals’ interpretation of theology differs in this regard (Williams 2020). It is thus important to consider the complexities that religion brings to development and examine both the negative and the positive contributions, and to explore what religion actually means in the contexts where development is implemented, while not overstating the significance of religion (Juul Petersen and Le Moigne 2016).

In some instances, religion is not related to development and has a non-effect, and is therefore not the relevant factor to analyze. It is thus important to recognize when one needs to look beyond religion to understand a social phenomenon (Leer-Helgesen 2020). And sometimes we need to analyze religion in interaction with other aspects (Smith 2017). There is still more to learn about when and how religion plays a role in development and vice versa (Leer-Helgesen 2016, 2020). Thus, it is important to learn more about the specific dynamics when faith-based actors such as FBOs engage in development generally, and in antitrafficking in particular.

**Secularism in development cooperation**

Secularism promotes the clear separation between religion and public political discourse, and the prevailing worldview within international development is (Western) secularism (Ager and Ager 2011; Clarke 2006; Hallward 2008; Koehrsen and Heuser 2020; Lonergan et al. 2020). The effect of secularism on development can be that development workers have difficulties reconciling local discourses with the secular discourse, and conceptualizing the role of religion in society and development (Dragovic 2017). When religious actors, such as FBOs, engage in development, this notion of separation between religion and development is challenged in various ways (Clarke 2006). This challenge relates to the previous discussion on the various ways to fuse religious beliefs and culture with modernity, which goes beyond a Western secular version of modernity (Ager and Ager 2011; Berger 2014). It can also be questioned whether it is possible to place any given entity into clearly defined secular or religious categories. It is important to consider how these distinctions work in practice (Fountain 2013).
Secularism is still the prevailing norm in international development spheres, as well as in research on development (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011). Despite a recent interest in religion among development actors, secularism continues to be manifested through secular donors preferring to engage with faith-based actors who adopt a secular discourse. Some FBOs manage to adapt their discourse to a secular and external audience. Tomalin calls this practice dual register, as FBOs shift between secular and religious modes of communication depending on the audience, and argues for multiple co-existing religious–secular dynamics (Tomalin 2018). In light of this, it is important to recognize that even secular actors are also influenced by their beliefs, even if they may not call them religious beliefs (Smith 2017). In support of Tomalin’s analysis, many FBOs may also choose to downplay their religious identity, or the role of religion, due to donor restrictions (Davis 2019; Hershey 2016). Many governments see development as a secular enterprise, and while they want to engage with institutional forms of faith, they also remain concerned about the spiritual dimensions of faith (Juul Petersen and Le Moigne 2016).

Religious actors and FBOs in development cooperation
Religious actors and FBOs are prevalent and active within international development cooperation. In some sectors and geographic areas, they are even dominating the field (Clarke and Ware 2015). One estimate of Canadian aid organizations found that 44% of the organizations were FBOs, which gives an indication of their general prevalence (Davis 2019). Some FBOs in development are global in scope, and rank among the largest in the world, such as World Vision (Haugen 2019; Occhipinti 2015). At the same time, many FBOs are part of what can be considered the undergrowth of international development cooperation, with many small organizations based around individuals or at a local level (Schnable 2015, 2016, 2021). Some of them are centered around an estimated 5,500 mission agencies (and 400,000 foreign missionaries) around the world and many of them tend to fall below the radar of development cooperation policy debates (Smith 2017).

In terms of the potential advantages and disadvantages of faith and religion in development, there are some notable tentative conclusions. FBOs may have a significant ability to mobilize support for their cause from people who are not necessarily attuned to the secular development discourse (Occhipinti 2015). Furthermore, they have extensive national and international networks, and are less dependent on donor funding (Clarke 2006). This has also been confirmed by more recent comparisons with secular NGOs, where FBOs offered lower salaries for their employees. The FBOs are able to do this due to expectations of accepting lower pay, and work voluntarily within a spiritual economy among the
individual donor and volunteer bases of the FBOs. This allows FBOs to have lower administration costs, while still having similar foreign expenditures as secular NGOs despite being less reliant on government funding (Davis 2019; Schnable 2015, 2016).

Research has revealed a trend in the development sector of the United Kingdom that fewer and larger organizations are receiving more of the development funds available. Eight percent of organizations controlled nearly 90% of the sector’s expenditure in 2015, while more than half of the organizations received a little more than one percent (Banks and Brockington 2020). How this trend affects the smaller and more localized FBOs (Bush 2007) that are resisting the secular discourse (Lonergan et al. 2020; Tomalin 2012) is something that needs to be looked into. It is also worth looking into the specific relationships of FBOs, to understand which power dynamics are shaping the development work of FBOs, and how. This, of course, is part of the ambition of this thesis.

It has been proposed that FBOs and religious actors have advantages in terms of how embedded they are in the local communities, and can thus draw trust and authority from this embeddedness (Clarke 2006; Occhipinti 2015). The faith aspect of FBOs seems to play a role in motivating the staff, and plays a significant role in their networking. Yet more research is needed to clarify the role that faith does, or does not, play in the programs and the development outcomes (Hershey 2016).

In one study, FBOs fared worse, compared to secular NGOs, concerning feedback mechanisms to donors and governments and helping communities to establish their own representative bodies (Lipsky referenced in Tomalin 2012). Here, it is important to consider the context, and the religious group’s positionality in power structures, as this matters not only for how religious beliefs are shaped, but also for which societal stances the religious group takes. Social, economic and political position in society matters, but so do structures of loyalty and proximity to power and privilege (Lundberg and Steiner 2022).

Claims concerning the distinctiveness, disadvantages and advantages of FBOs have been criticized due to the lack of analytical clarity, and potential bias in favor of FBOs. It has also been questioned whether it is useful to have a distinction between FBOs and secular organizations in contexts where religion permeates all aspects of people’s lives. Such criticisms assume that people in the secular West are not permeated by religion, which can be debated. It is also important to consider other factors such as whether the organizations are national or international, large or small (Occhipinti 2015; Tomalin 2012). In addition, more recent
research continues to find evidence for local popular acceptance and influence, but continues to critique the Western bias in studies of religion in development (Jeffery et al. 2017).

Recent studies have focused more specifically on the role of religious actors and FBOs in multi-religious contexts. Some of the proposed benefits of faith-based interventions assume that there is a community that shares the religious beliefs of the intervening FBOs (Clarke and Ware 2015). When this is not the case, researchers have pointed out that local communities may be suspicious of religious actors and FBOs having a Christian and neocolonial agenda, or a hidden religious agenda (Chowdhury et al. 2019; De Cordier 2009).

Questions about FBOs’ ability to work across religious divides have started to be explored in more recent research (Clarke and Ware 2017). Often, the researchers find, differences in religious identities are used as vessels for mobilizing opposition to perceived threats that may not be associated with religion (Lindgren 2018; Ware and Thein Nyunt 2017). Instead, research points towards the abilities of faith-based actors to construct overlapping identities, and thus bridge divides (Clarke and Ware 2017; Ware and Thein Nyunt 2017).

It is also important to highlight that there is a risk that the FBOs view the (different) religious beliefs of beneficiaries as irrelevant, and that the faith-based implementor’s own beliefs are seen as fundamental to change (Aaron 2017; Shih 2014). Others point out that religious actors are accustomed to adapting to different discursive fields, always being on the boundary between, which makes them innovative development actors with abilities to adapt and contextualize messages and ideas (Koehrsen and Heuser 2020). Just as modernity is incarnated differently across cultures (Berger 2014), religion is also adaptable and is always contextualized (Leer-Helgesen 2020).

Human trafficking and antitrafficking

I have now thoroughly discussed the first two circles in Figure 1: “Religion, religious actors and FBOs,” and “Development cooperation and foreign aid,” as well as the overlaps between the two. Starting with defining human trafficking, I now discuss research on antitrafficking, which is one of the key strands of literatures to which my thesis relates. This thesis positions antitrafficking work as a subset of development cooperation. This section will culminate in the overlap between all three circles from Figure 1, which is “FBOs in antitrafficking.”
Human trafficking

The UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol (one of the three Palermo Protocols) defines human trafficking as “recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of people through force, fraud or deception, with the aim of exploiting them for profit,” which includes sexual exploitation, forced labor and the removal of organs (UNODC 2006), as is illustrated in Figure 4. To be defined as trafficking, only one of the acts, means and purposes needs to be fulfilled.

Figure 4. UN definition of human trafficking. Source: UN Office of Drugs and Crime

All actors relate to the definition provided by the UN’s Palermo protocol mentioned above. There is, however, still a remaining debate among practitioners on whether this definition is too narrow and if it is better to make use of a broader definition emphasizing exploitation in general. The term modern slavery encompasses this and may have an advocacy appeal for its users (Feingold 2010).

In its Global Slavery Index, the Walk Free Foundation estimates that more than 49 million people are victims of modern slavery (Walk Free Foundation 2023). It should be noted that there has been significant debate on how valid quantifications are (Feingold 2010). The lack of a common definition is a huge obstacle to any statistics in the field of human trafficking. The term modern slavery used by the Walk Free Foundation overlaps with human trafficking but also includes other aspects (Walk Free Foundation 2018, 2023). A core assumption of human trafficking relates to consent of the presumed trafficking victim, which can be tricky to determine and may change over time. When concerning children,
defined by the UN as persons under the age of 18 (United Nations 1959), the issue of consent becomes irrelevant as it is automatically assumed that children are always coerced, exploited or abused even if they express consent (UN 2000). Children are estimated to make up a significant share of the trafficking victims in the world, anything between a quarter to a third of all the victims (Maier 2006; UNODC 2018). Children are exploited as labor, for sexual exploitation, for organ harvesting, in forced and early marriage, and as child soldiers in conflicts (UNODC 2018; Walk Free Foundation 2018). Children are subjected to physical or extreme violence at a rate almost two times higher than that of adults (UNODC 2022).

Antitrafficking

Antitrafficking is an essential research field for my thesis and I therefore now pivot towards discussing the state of antitrafficking research. As mentioned before, antitrafficking is part of the general development cooperation field (Molland 2011). Below, I will discuss what is known about antitrafficking practices in general, where some research is based on mappings and other studies critically assess what is being done. I then outline the research on the links between worldviews and assumptions on antitrafficking. Critical research in particularly often focuses on how discourses on human trafficking are shaping antitrafficking. I conclude this section by zooming in on what researchers have found about FBOs as antitrafficking actors, and what the research gaps are that I address in my thesis.

Antitrafficking practice

The antitrafficking field has, since the late 2000s, become very large and heterogenous in terms of actors (Foot et al. 2015). While my research focuses on faith-based organizations, it is important to acknowledge that governments and inter-governmental organizations, as well as the private sector, are actors shaping the responses, or the lack of response, to human trafficking. Sometimes, there is actor collaboration across sectors, which means that various types of actors work together (Foot et al. 2019).

Mappings of antitrafficking responses have explored what is being done and what kinds of trafficking existing practices have focused on. Antitrafficking work can be categorized in different ways, but one common way is through the “3 Ps” typology: prevention, prosecution and protection. In essence, the 3P paradigm categorizes types of interventions into three categories. The first category is prevention of human trafficking, which can be defined as “pre-emptive intervention before any of the forms of trafficking identified in the UN Protocol occur” (Samarasinghe
and Burton 2007). The other type of intervention is prosecution, i.e., activities focusing on punishing perpetrators and compensating victims of trafficking. The third category is protection, referring to activities seeking to help victims in different ways, and this can be subcategorized into the “3 Rs” of rescue, rehabilitation and reintegration (Hudlow 2015). Antitrafficking efforts can be understood as targeting all three aspects in the 3P paradigm. However, some have also added a fourth P (4P), standing for partnership (Graw Leary 2015). Such categorization helps when trying to wholly understand a phenomenon and, when contrasting to other contexts and actors, can help to achieve this richer understanding.

**Ideas on human trafficking and antitrafficking**

Antitrafficking researchers have found that knowledge about, as well as misunderstandings of, human trafficking tend to shape the response to it. Studies of antitrafficking efforts in Thailand (Jones et al. 2018) and in Cambodia (Bradley and Szablewska 2016) conclude that the discourse on human trafficking, for instance through media, is shaping antitrafficking efforts. An important concept that has been studied in this regard is stereotyping. Stereotyping of victims as well as perpetrators has shaped an antitrafficking response focused on women and sex trafficking and has caused assumptions that trafficking is something that happens “over there” in a distant reality. Exoticization is such a phenomenon, which essentially creates the illusion that both victims and villains are far away. Scholars have detected a bias regarding victims and traffickers, where the stereotypical victim is a sex-trafficked woman, and the trafficker is an Eastern man who is part of a criminal network. The reality is often far more complex and diverse, where both women and men of various origins are victims of trafficking and complicit as traffickers (Jones et al. 2018; Rodríguez-López 2018; Smith 2018; Weitzer 2015).

This stereotyping has the effect of hiding vulnerable populations and limiting the number of services offered to them, while locking in others in the identity of victimhood. The difficulties in determining who is a victim, and who is a perpetrator, is a problem not solved by checklists, but one that requires subjective assessments, which are hard to do. These difficulties do not lead to a pause in antitrafficking, but rather to a reproduction of flawed antitrafficking work (Molland 2011). One example is the few tailored services offered to male trafficking victims (Foot et al. 2015). Stereotyping leads to women being either sex workers or victims, but never both. Furthermore, men or trans people are never perceived as human trafficking victims (Leser and Pates 2019). Bradley and Szablewska argue in their study that the general paradigm of sex
trafficking is limiting women’s agency and making sex workers’ lives worse (Bradley and Szablewska 2016; Molland 2011).

Problem representations in antitrafficking and policy analysis
There is also research on how ideas shape policy in antitrafficking. One such research field focuses on policies and reports, and how human trafficking is represented to be. The international antitrafficking response increased after the Trafficking Victims Protection Act was adopted in 2000. This subsequently developed into the annually released US Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP Report), which evaluates different countries’ efforts to combat human trafficking, and has been assessed to be one of the most critical steering instruments (the latest TIP report is US Department of State USDS 2023; Weitzer 2015). These were critical political events that inspired many organizations to take on the issue of human trafficking and motivated many governments to act.

A literature review of anti-human trafficking campaigns, focusing on campaigns with a social marketing approach, found that there are eight areas of concern when developing future antitrafficking campaigns: stereotyping, compounding human trafficking with migration, compounding prostitution with human trafficking, sexualization/erotization of women, victimization, role of the antitrafficking organization, data shortcomings, and oversimplification (Szablewska and Kubacki 2018).

Above, I explained that the UN Trafficking Victims Protection Act inspired the inception of the US TIP Reports, which aimed to evaluate the continuous efforts by different countries to counter human trafficking. An analysis of the US TIP Reports found a clear emphasis on idealized victims and offenders, where the victims were depicted as weak and blameless and offenders as the opposite: deviant criminals who are unknown to the victims. Moreover, commercial sex was attributed to be a causal factor for human trafficking, and narratives around sexual exploitation as contributing to linking human trafficking to prostitution (Feingold 2014; Wilson and O’Brien 2016). This narrative is associated with religious actors, but also some feminist groups (Feingold 2014; Zimmerman 2011).

In the United Kingdom’s antitrafficking policy, human trafficking is represented as a problem of illegal border crossing and understood as a problem of law enforcement. Furthermore, the policy obscures any connections between human trafficking and the broader economic and social context by placing the problem within the female victims themselves. The policy, it was found, did not address the responsibility of consumers of human trafficking, and instead regards trafficking cases as
examples of “bad apple employers” and poor people “out there.” Similarly to the analysis of the US TIP Report, the UK analysis found that the criminal–victim dichotomy is persistent (Sharapov 2017).

Concerning antitrafficking NGOs’ conflation of human trafficking, smuggling and migration, there are studies showing that some antitrafficking initiatives know the distinction, and thus design responses to focus on safe migration rather than reducing migration (e.g. Hudlow 2015). However, even safe migration policies do not necessarily alter brokering services, and trafficking continues to take place in contexts that are considered safe by antitrafficking programs (Molland 2012). In addition, antitrafficking programs struggling to find tangible evidence and indicators interpret trafficking as the absence or presence of migrant workers in a community, which may have very little to do with actual abuse of migrant workers. However, such flawed indicators allow for post-hoc rationalization and reproduction of the program activities. What the safe migration initiatives manage to produce is anxieties about cross-border pursuits among migrant communities. In essence, labor migrants are labelled as trafficking victims, and so the perception of success of these antitrafficking programs is produced detached from any real change in human trafficking (Molland 2018).

A “what’s the problem represented to be” (WPR) analysis (based on method developed by Bacchi 2009) of service providers in New York (Hu 2019) found that self-transformation was central to their programs. Emphasizing the emotional suffering and the disoriented mental state of the victims, they reproduce stereotypical images of trafficking victims. The service organization is presented as the savior, and the emphasis on self-transformation further legitimized the role of the savior. This highly interesting study in New York made no connection to the service providers’ potential religious identities (the reason for this is of course difficult to know), which could have been an important contextualization. Considering such aspects is a contribution that I make to the field. Furthermore, family members and acquaintances as well as strangers were often depicted as abusers or trafficking facilitators, thereby suggesting that that the places of origin of victims are “risky.” As mentioned, these analyses of problem representations omit the role of faith in shaping these problem representations and do not discuss how these problem representations come about. This is partly because organizations are not always recognized as FBOs, perhaps because some of them may cloak their religious beliefs in secular discourse (Lonergan et al. 2020). This can also be due to a secular bias, causing religiousness to be overlooked and not put into sufficient context.
FBOs in antitrafficking

Now we turn to what is known about FBOs in the field of antitrafficking. This is essentially the area where the three circles of religion and FBOs, development cooperation and antitrafficking convene and overlap. In this section, I will outline the research in FBOs in antitrafficking and also highlight the gaps in research that this thesis aims to address.

*Figure 5. Illustration of literature contributing to topic of thesis*

Christian FBOs and antitrafficking

Important insights have been provided about the links between Christianity and the focus on sex trafficking in policy debate (Zimmerman 2011, 2013). The possible connections to Western Christian and feminist thought are important contributions that this research builds on and considers carefully. The research on antitrafficking response highlights that there is more to learn. Starting with the basic question of how prevalent antitrafficking FBOs are: in a mapping of what antitrafficking actors are doing globally, it was found that 4% were religious organizations, yet 20% of the organizations claimed to use prayer as an important part of their antitrafficking work (Foot et al. 2015). The discrepancy between the number of self-reported religious organizations and the use of prayer suggests that there is a problem in properly identifying religious organizations. In addition, the low estimation of religious organizations can be contrasted with Lonergan et al.’s finding that 30% of the antitrafficking organizations in the UK are FBOs. Importantly, Foot et al. did not consider which types of NGOs were operating. The problem, though, is that NGOs were assumed to be non-religious, while it is evident that many NGOs actually are FBOs (Tomalin
2012). FBOs can in fact take various forms, for instance universities, hospitals, networks, congregations and NGOs, comprising a substantial part of civil society (Juul Petersen and Le Moigne 2016). This question of what the faith-based response looks like is something that this thesis is preoccupied with.

Key characteristics of FBOs in antitrafficking

One of the puzzles of this thesis is whether the antitrafficking work of FBOs has any particular characteristics. A couple of years ago, a scoping study (Frame et al. 2019) was conducted on local faith actors (LFAs) in the Global South and their work against human trafficking. The scoping study identified a seven-part framework for LFAs, which included prevention, protection, prosecution, policy, partnership, participation and prayer. This is a continuation of the 4P paradigm referenced earlier. Notable conclusions included the potential of LFAs for reaching religious leaders, but also the possibility of making use of the extensive networks within faith actors, between different faith actors, and with other types of actors (Frame et al. 2019). Further knowledge about the particularities of FBOs was provided by Lonergan et al. in a study on the context of the United Kingdom. The study found that 30% of the analyzed actors were FBOs but did not make any assessment of the level of faith infusion. Lonergan et al. saw that the Christian literature on trafficking suggests a disproportionate but not exclusive focus on sexual exploitation of women and children. The authors also identified the Christian view on human trafficking as a grave social ill that Christians are particularly called to combat. Furthermore, they found that FBOs are strongly represented among the single-issue antitrafficking groups, and that the FBOs were strongly present in providing services to victims, and to a lesser extent in campaigning or advocacy (Lonergan et al. 2020).

Shaping antitrafficking work of FBOs

As regards the interest of this thesis in what shapes antitrafficking FBOs, there is some research to draw on. The issue of religious actors in antitrafficking has been touched upon, but in my view in a much too fragmented way. One study found that Christian antitrafficking actors held the view that the full restoration of victims was impossible without “the power of Jesus Christ” (Pinkston 2019). In another comparison between FBOs and secular NGOs in antitrafficking, it was found that instrumental and value-based motivations are emphasized in both types of organizations. The differences between the two types depend both on level of infusion of faith, but also on the development context that they operated in (Frame 2019). This suggests the need to look at the role of faith in interplay with other factors, including the context, something
which informs this thesis considerably (Smith 2017). Even though there are several similarities between FBOs and secular NGOs, often the staff of FBOs differ from the staff of NGOs. For one, the staff of FBOs often express their values through quoting scripture, and they also refer to a religious calling for their engagement (just as Butcher and Hallward 2018 found). In addition, the staff of FBOs find sharing their faith an important motivational factor for engagement (Frame 2019).

Reception of FBOs in antitrafficking

The final research question of this thesis is concerned with how the antitrafficking efforts are received and negotiated when implemented. Shih found that Christian antitrafficking FBOs demonize Buddhist spirituality in favor of Christian salvation (Shih 2014). In line with this, Aaron found that sensitivity to victims’ own religious beliefs was not a priority when dealing with sex workers in Hindu India (Aaron 2017). However, another study found that FBOs have a high regard for victims’ spiritual needs and made use of a faith-related approach (Frame 2017). Thus, previous studies show a mixed picture of how FBOs navigate pluralistic religious landscapes, which needs more attention. Previous studies also found that secular NGOs occasionally include cultural-embedded religious elements in their programs, and found similarities in what types of outcome the different organizations sought. This suggests that both FBOs and secular NGOs seek conversion to their respective worldviews, and indicates that further close-up observations of FBOs are needed to understand them more fully (Frame 2017). This is a relevant empirical and theoretical debate that my research speaks to. Lonergan et al. saw evidence that some of the FBOs in antitrafficking distanced themselves from their faith identity to appear more professional in order to gain funding or establish credibility in policy-influencing with secular partners. This can also interplay with desires to downplay particularism in favor of inclusion. They theorize that there may be a trade-off between faith distinctiveness and professionalism among FBOs, and conclude that the antitrafficking sector in UK is not post-secular as it does not equally value faith and secular identities. They also suggest that FBOs pivoting towards professionalization may have more commonalities with professionalized secular organizations than they would with other more distinctive FBOs (Lonergan et al. 2020). This dynamic of FBOs operating in a secular world is something that informs my thesis, and will be an important part of the analysis.
Summary of addressed research gaps

To date, research on antitrafficking FBOs is fragmented. One thing that is lacking is a comprehensive, coherent and multidimensional understanding of the role of faith in the antitrafficking work of FBOs. Furthermore, very little attention has been paid to how the role of faith interacts with other factors. While there is some research on what antitrafficking FBOs can do, there is not a substantial answer as to what FBOs usually do. In addition, there is insufficient understanding of the dynamics that shape FBO approaches to antitrafficking. These dynamics concern the interplay between internal ideas, external paradigms, and various relationships that the FBOs have. In addition, there is fragmented understanding of the antitrafficking work of FBOs across religious divides. This thesis addresses these gaps by looking at characteristic practices, ideas and relationships of the antitrafficking FBOs. In addition, I look at the reception of the practices of the antitrafficking FBOs in communities that do not share the religious identity of the FBOs.
THE CONTEXT

In this section, I describe the empirical context of the thesis. I begin with a brief overview of how human trafficking is manifested in Cambodia and Thailand. I then proceed to describe the specific context in which the studied antitrafficking FBOs are situated, and then finally describe the three studied FBOs.

South-East Asia in general, and the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) in particular, has become a hub for trafficking. The GMS includes the countries and regions around the Mekong River Basin, i.e., the Yunnan province in China, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam. Both Thailand and Cambodia are host to large numbers of economic migrants (internal or international) due to a combination of easily crossable borders, relative economic prosperity (in Thailand and urban centers of Cambodia), and relative political stability (Davy 2013; UNODC 2020). Globalization paired with the revolution in digital communication is enabling demand and supply to connect, and has created a perfect storm for the trafficking of people, particularly women, from Asia. The femininization of migration has led to an “international maid trade” and to a boom in the sex industry throughout the world with supply from Asia (Samarasinghe 2003). In the GMS, many are trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation (UNODC 2020). Globally, but also in the region, UNODC has for the first time, in 2022, seen a slight decrease in reported trafficking victims, after many years of steady increase. This is mostly driven by smaller victim counts in low- and medium-income countries (UNODC 2022). I will now briefly elaborate on the contexts of Cambodia and Thailand, and what the trafficking situation looks like there.

Human trafficking in Cambodia

Cambodia is one of the poorest countries in Asia (Blackburn et al. 2010; UNDP 2021) and suffers from deteriorated infrastructure and society due to decades of conflict. According to the 2023 US TIP Report, Cambodia is rated as Tier 3, meaning that Cambodia:

[…] does not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking and is not making significant efforts to do so, even considering the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, if any, on its antitrafficking capacity; therefore Cambodia remained on Tier 3 […] and] corruption and official complicity in trafficking crimes, including by high-level senior officials,
remained widespread and endemic, resulted in selective and politically motivated enforcement of laws, and inhibited law enforcement action during the year (USDS 2023).

According to scholars, the modern form of human trafficking in Cambodia was introduced when the services normally provided by the government disappeared after the civil conflict in the 1990s, and few alternatives existed in the forms of education or economic opportunities (Davy 2013). Even though it is assumed that the sex trafficking is for foreign demand, Cambodian men are the main clients, demonstrating that prostitution is an integrated part of Cambodian society and economy (Takamatsu 2004). The first anti-human trafficking law was passed in 1996, but had a focus on women and children forced into the sex industry until it was replaced by a new law in 2008 with a much broader scope, including commercial exploitation.

Cambodia is a well-known haven for child sex tourists. While sex trafficking has received a lot of attention, it is widely known that Cambodians are exploited in multiple sectors, including fishing, construction, agriculture and factory work, both within Cambodia and in many other parts of the world. Many migrant workers from Cambodia in Thailand, about 40% of the 1.5 million migrants, are at high risk of trafficking due to their immigration status. Traffickers are continuously recruiting men and boys to the Thai fishing fleets, where they are subjected to forced labor (Molland 2019; Nonnenmacher 2014; USDS 2019). Many migrants are leaving the rural areas for the urban centers or crossing the border to Thailand in search of employment. Crossing into Thailand illegally makes people vulnerable to extortion and exploitation (Blackburn et al. 2010).

All of Cambodia’s 25 provinces are sources of human trafficking. There are also documented incidences of orphanages purchasing children from economically disadvantaged families and subjecting them to malnutrition and poor living standards. These children are subsequently very vulnerable to further exploitation and trafficking, as a direct consequence of poor governmental oversight over the adoption process (USDS 2019). The Cambodian government has been under pressure from the US and from international NGOs to take a more active stance against human trafficking. The US and international NGOs are criticizing the Cambodian government for relying too much on outside organizations rather than acting themselves. A major obstacle to efficient antitrafficking initiatives in Cambodia is corruption (Davy 2013; USDS 2019).
Human trafficking in Thailand

Thailand has had a long history of slavery and human trafficking as well as antitrafficking activity. Debt bondage is a phenomenon known to have existed in Thai society for centuries (Davy 2013). The sex industry was substantially boosted in connection with the Vietnam War as nearly 40,000 American soldiers entered the country for rest and recreation periods. This coincided with general changes associated with globalization, world travel and increased communications. Thailand also experienced a surge in population in the same time period, creating a surplus of potential slaves while the economic system created poverty and desperation (Bales 2000; Davy 2013).

Thai women are traditionally responsible for upholding the household. When the economy changed and subsistence farming became increasingly more unreliable, it caused women to respond by migrating to the cities or to neighboring countries in search of means to support the family. It is thus not helplessness but a sense of responsibility that drives Thai girls into prostitution (Davy 2013). About 70% of all Thai women migrants to Japan are between 20 and 24 years old and recruited into unskilled jobs in Japan dominated by the entertainment industry, which is a well-known source for trafficking into the sex industry (Samarasinghe 2003). Minority groups in Thailand are considered more vulnerable to human trafficking. At the same time, there are stigmatizing and incorrect stereotypes of minority groups, in which they are represented as selling their own children (Feingold 2014).

According to the 2023 US TIP Report, Thailand is rated as Tier 2, meaning that:

*The Government of Thailand does not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking but is making significant efforts to do so. The government demonstrated overall increasing efforts compared with the previous reporting period, considering the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, if any, on its antitrafficking capacity; therefore Thailand remained on Tier 2 (USDS 2023).*

Thailand has recognized trafficking and sought legal ways to reduce it since 1928. The earlier law was replaced in 1997 with the Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Women and Children Act, which has expanded the number of prosecutions and the severity of penalties associated with human trafficking (Davy 2013). Scholars argue that the human trafficking in Thailand is not a result of well-organized criminal
groups but rather networks of criminals working with government officials who assume key roles. Some critics argue that trafficking is tolerated by the Thai government because of its large contribution to the Thai economy (Blackburn et al. 2010; Davy 2013). Corruption is undermining many antitrafficking efforts (USDS 2019). Thailand is a source, transit and destination country for human trafficking. Weaknesses in Thailand’s labor laws preventing migrant workers from joining labor unions may have contributed to the exploitation of migrant workers. Having an invalid ID or immigration status increases the risk of being trafficked, and thus particularly affects migrant workers and minority groups (USDS 2019). While sex trafficking is receiving significant attention, there are several sectors in which trafficking is common. These include the fishing industry, poultry industry, manufacturing, agriculture, construction, domestic work and street begging (Jones et al. 2018; Nonnenmacher 2014; USDS 2019).

Antitrafficking in South-East Asia

In this section, I explore the context of antitrafficking in Thailand and Cambodia, where the FBOs in focus for this thesis operate. I do this based on my own empirical material, and with the aid of previous research and gray literature (such as reports from NGOs, international government agencies, etc.). I use my own empirical material because the literature does not provide a sufficiently detailed picture of the context of antitrafficking work where the studied FBOs mainly operate.

In both Thailand and Cambodia, the governments have adopted antitrafficking policies, and created assigned ministries to coordinate the national response to human trafficking (Thai Government 2022). On a regional level, ASEAN has certain joint activities to address human trafficking, but lacks common norms of how to best address it (Kranrattanasuit 2014).

While antitrafficking consists of a specific set of interventions, it is largely implemented as part of development cooperation to Cambodia and Thailand (Molland 2011). Many of the actors in antitrafficking also engage in other development work, such as supporting education or promoting sustainable livelihoods. Antitrafficking is part of the UN’s sustainable development goals, relating to objectives of gender equality (5), decent

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1 Interviews with NGO representative, 3 and 5
work and economic growth (8), reduced inequalities (10), and peace, justice and strong institutions (16).²

Asia is a major foothold of antitrafficking NGOs (Heiss and Kelley 2017). The modern antitrafficking movement to some degree has its origins in the Mekong region in South-East Asia (Molland 2012). Many antitrafficking NGOs have their headquarters in Asia, and Cambodia (3rd with 109) and Thailand (7th with 84) are both on the top-ten list of countries with the highest number of active antitrafficking NGOs (Limoncelli 2016). One reason that many antitrafficking organizations are based in Thailand is that it is relatively easy to access and to live and work in for expatriate NGO workers (Pinkston 2019). In interviews, I have asked about the nature of the antitrafficking community in Thailand and Cambodia and it is there described as transitory and fragmented, with new organizations continually emerging, and older ones shutting down.³ Furthermore, most of the antitrafficking community is foreign-led, but locally staffed.⁴

The antitrafficking field is layered in the sense that there are some organizations that are well-known and they are represented in network meetings, for instance called by the US Embassy.⁵ Not all NGOs have good connections to the international governmental actors, such as the US Embassy, but through informal networking, several of the antitrafficking NGOs stay connected indirectly.⁶ Below the layer of more well-established NGOs, there are a lot of smaller organizations that are engaged in rescue or recovery of survivors. These smaller organizations are far away from the general policy and research conversations about best practice.⁷ Due to language barriers, many local organizations are not part of international antitrafficking networks, and not much is known about what they are doing, or how effective they are.⁸ But antitrafficking organizations that are working at the local community level and that are known by other organizations are usually Christian organizations.⁹

The FBOs I have studied describe their own networks within the antitrafficking communities in Thailand and Cambodia as quite extensive and heterogeneous. As can be seen in Figure 6, the FBOs have connections to antitrafficking actors at the local, regional, national and international

³ [https://sdgs.un.org/goals](https://sdgs.un.org/goals)
⁴ Interview with NGO representative, 2
⁵ Interview with NGO representative, 4
⁶ Interview with NGO representative, 1
⁷ Interview with NGO representative, 1
⁸ Interview with NGO representative, 2
⁹ Interview with NGO representative, 4
levels. The red lines in the figure represent relationships to partners. Black lines represent relationships to beneficiaries or target groups, and blue lines represent relationships to international actors.

**Figure 6. Illustration of the relationships of the studied antitrafficking FBOs**

The FBOs cooperate with authorities, local community-based organizations (CBOs), churches, Buddhist pagodas, the police, embassies and UN agencies. This is illustrated in the aggregated relationship map (Figure 6 above), which is based on three relationship maps that were drawn up with staff from the studied FBOs during group interviews.\(^{10}\) However, interview materials (and the maps) confirm that the FBOs operate mostly at the local level.\(^{11}\) In the relationship map below, this is indicated by the concentration of black at the local level.

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\(^{10}\) Interview with group of staff of CCTP; Interview with group of staff of CWOT

\(^{11}\) Interview with NGO representative, 4
The interviewees paint a common picture that (Christian) FBOs are the dominant group of antitrafficking actors, and this is true for both Cambodia and Thailand. The prevalence of FBOs in antitrafficking is verified by researchers, who assess that FBOs make up a considerable part of the antitrafficking NGOs in South-East Asia (Frame 2017; Frame et al. 2019). The antitrafficking community is largely Western-led, with Americans dominating the scene, but there are also a handful of Europeans and Australians.

In Cambodia, antitrafficking FBOs are to a high degree networking formally in an antitrafficking coalition. This coalition has broadened its membership base to accept non-FBOs as well, but still primarily consists of FBOs. One NGO participant, however, stresses that there is a lack of cooperation, and more of a competition for funding between antitrafficking actors. The funds primarily come from foreign donors, and there is very little funding available from the government of Cambodia. This inhibits the willingness to coordinate the response to human trafficking.

Thus, the takeaway from this description of the antitrafficking contexts of the studied antitrafficking FBOs is that they belong to a prevalent, or even dominant, category of actors in the field of antitrafficking work in Cambodia and Thailand. The antitrafficking community is largely Western-led, but locally staffed. The vast and heterogeneous antitrafficking community is not communicating with everyone, and there are many antitrafficking FBOs that are too small, or not connected enough, to be reached by discussions of international donors, researchers and policymakers. While the case-studied FBOs may be more connected to policy debates than many smaller FBOs, the studied FBOs are at the same time closely following the discourses dominant among the network of smaller FBOs across the region, and the globe.

The context of the studied FBOs

In this section, I will describe the studied FBOs, the work that they do, and the specific context in which their programs are implemented. The purpose is to provide a context and background for the analysis and findings stemming from the case studies of the three FBOs. Another purpose is to provide a contextual understanding for the interventions of the three FBOs. Through these descriptions, I flesh out the similarities and

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12 Interviews with NGO representative, 2, 4 and 6
13 Interview with NGO representative, 2
14 Interviews with NGO representative, 5 and 6
15 Interview with NGO representative, 5
the differences between the three FBOs. While trying to convey an accurate and contextualized picture of the three studied FBOs, I also need to maintain their anonymity and confidentiality. That is why I use pseudonyms for the FBOs: Christian Community Trafficking Prevention (CCTP), Faith Unite Against Trafficking (FUAT) and The Christian Way Out of Trafficking (CWOT). Names of individual staff members are not mentioned, and instead I use codes. Furthermore, specific geographic places are not named in cases where doing so may make it possible to identify organizations or individual participants.

**Christian Community Trafficking Prevention**

Christian Community Trafficking Prevention (CCTP) is a small to medium-sized faith-centered Christian-Evangelical development organization working in Cambodia. Categorizing the organization as faith-centered means that CCTP has a clear Christian identity that is reflected in their mission and vision statements. CCTP does not engage in proselytizing, but attempts to find ways to engage with religion and religious leaders in constructive ways for the benefit of community development.\(^\text{16}\) They view being a role model for society as a good way of living out their beliefs. The organization does not require all of their staff to be Christians, but staff in management and leadership need to be.\(^\text{17}\) Anti-trafficking is not their only focus, but it is the main objective in a specific geographic area where they work.\(^\text{18}\)

CCTP has a head office in the capital, Phnom Penh, and a few smaller project offices around the country. The head office is in a residential area in Phnom Penh, in a small townhouse-style building. On the bottom floor is a meeting space and a small kitchen. The different project teams have their own shared office spaces, but mostly the staff are allocated to the field offices.\(^\text{19}\) CCTP places a significant emphasis on being locally grounded and prioritizes recruiting staff locally.\(^\text{20}\) The project office I visited in the field is a simple traditional wooden house with a garden around it. There is a meeting area outdoors, yet under a roof, and a few smaller offices. The meeting place also functions as a lunch area.

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\(^{16}\) Interviews with staff of CCTP, 1, 2 and 3  
\(^{17}\) Interview with staff of CCTP, 1  
\(^{18}\) Documents of CCTP, 1, 4 and 7  
\(^{19}\) Observation of CCTP, 1 and 6  
\(^{20}\) Interview with staff of CCTP, 1; Document of CCTP, 7
On the wall of the project office are posted their core values, which include faith in Jesus, honesty, sharing knowledge and appreciation of each other. Besides their core values, and organizational charts, they have a paper cross on one of the walls (see figure 7). There is also a schedule for the regular devotions at the office. The signs and posters, with few exceptions, are in the local language. There is a place for public announcements and they have information there about supporting the local pagoda. CCTP also has several posters with information about human trafficking and safe and legal migration. The meeting area thus clearly signals the Christian identity of CCTP, their priority to be locally grounded and connected, as well as their main concern about illegal migration leading to trafficking and exploitation.

The project area where CCTP implements their antitrafficking work is a farming area of rice paddies and fishponds. Many of the adults from the area have migrated for work to the capital, or to a neighboring country. Students talk about living with relatives. Some of them dream about a possibility to stay in the area, but many also realize that there are not many prospects in the village: “Some of my friends want to move to the city. Some of them want to continue to finish school.” In an interview, the parents of a soon-to-be repatriated victim of human trafficking shared the story of their daughter with me. First, she went to Phnom Penh to visit her uncle and to work to help her family. She was 13 years old then, and she and her family felt like she was not learning anything in school. “She wanted the money and then because of the poverty of the family, she decided to go with the trafficker to work in Malaysia.” She spent 10 years there before she managed to get help to get back to her family. This is a typical story in the sense that the boundaries between the pursuit of a better life, exploitation and human trafficking are blurred, and human traffickers do not necessarily use force when recruiting their victims.

21 Observation of CCTP, 1
22 Interview with community member affiliated to CCTP, 3
23 Interview with community member affiliated to CCTP, 7
In this area, there are a few larger tarmac roads, or larger dirt roads, and many smaller dirt roads leading to the villages. The main roads lead to an international border and are therefore busy with buses and trucks. The project staff travel on motorbikes (see figure 8) to the various activities in the field, as many of the roads are not suitable for cars.

Most of the project meetings are held in the center of a village, sometimes in the house of the village chief. The area is primarily Buddhist, and there are several pagodas in the area, often in close proximity to the main villages. The pagodas are maintained by laymen in a pagoda committee who also raise money for the pagodas, but there are monks performing the religious ceremonies. The pagoda centers are important partners to CCTP, as the pagodas help to spread awareness about trafficking (see Figure 9).

CCTP often has their meetings outdoors, under a tree. The staff bring face masks, water, and also some bread that the participants can eat. While I was there, it was only the children who ate the bread so that the children were distracted and allowed the adults to focus on the discussion. The staff also brought a flip chart, on which the participants wrote the main points of the meeting (see figure 10).

The leader of the office, like most of the staff, is from the local area, and wrestles with all the social obligations of having friends and families, as well as professional associates in the same area. The frequent

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24 Observation of CCTP, 3
25 Observations of CCTP, 2 and 5
wedding, funeral and festival invitations is a part of this juggling. While this is a cause for some stress, it is also part of why the leader of the office can be effective as a community organizer, and local leader for the FBO. Many of the village inhabitants have a high degree of trust in CCTP, and prefer to deal with them rather than the authorities. While I was there, CCTP was active in coordinating the repatriation of a human trafficking victim, something that is not part of the normal work of CCTP, but they were drawn in to due to the credibility they have in the community.26

CCTP maintains good contacts with the local authorities, police, village leaders, community-based organizations, pagodas, churches and schools, as well as the business community. With the exception of the office leader, who speaks English proficiently, the staff knows conversational English, or no English at all. Some of them are Christians, but not all of them. CCTP has recurring meetings with school pupils, community leaders, community-based organizations and families.

While CCTP is well-known and respected in the different local areas where they work, it is not necessarily a well-known organization nationally.27 Its work is primarily funded by other international FBOs, which are often channeling institutional development funding.28 CCTP is on a journey from an international NGO to become a national organization according to a localization agenda. As such, they are looking for national stakeholders (organizations) for the new board as a local FBO. These stakeholders need to be Christian, but not affiliated with any specific denomination.29

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26 Observation of CCTP, 5
27 Interview with NGO representative, 5
28 Documents of CCTP, 1 and 2
29 Observation of CCTP, 6
Faith Unite Against Trafficking

Faith Unite Against Trafficking (FUAT) is a medium-sized (roughly double the annual budget of CCTP and CWOT) faith-affiliated Christian antitrafficking organization with a primary objective to work in Cambodia, but it also works with international, regional and national advocacy. Faith-affiliated refers to the fact that FUAT has over the years de-emphasized its Christian identity and is now looking for more religiously inclusive ways of describing itself. Its primary religious influence is from Evangelical and/or Protestant denominations in Europe. Antitrafficking is one of the main objectives of FUAT, but they also address exploitation or abuse that may not meet the legal definition of human trafficking. FUAT sees collaboration, capacity building and system strengthening (of Cambodian government responses to human trafficking) as key components in its strategy.

FUAT has a main office in the capital. The head office is a large building in central Phnom Penh. It has several stories, with air-conditioned offices. There are no religious symbols on the walls, but there is a devotion schedule. It is voluntary for staff to participate in the devotions. Previously, FUAT used to have annual “spiritual retreats” for their staff, but now they are called “team reflections” instead. Some of the staff appreciate this change, while others miss the Christian elements.

FUAT does not have any stationary field office, nor any center for rehabilitation. Instead, they implement community-based care for survivors of human trafficking and other forms of exploitation, and their staff travel frequently to the field and stay there for several days implementing programs and follow-up. Between visits, they have extensive contacts with their local volunteers through email and telephone. I observed their awareness-raising team as they travelled in the same car from Phnom Penh to the different local locations where they work.

FUAT often organizes meetings with their project participants in pagoda centers, or in village centers, in the community building (see Figure 11).

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30 Interviews with staff of FUAT, 6; Group of staff of FUAT
31 Document of FUAT, 5; Interview of staff of FUAT, 6
32 Observation of FUAT, 6
33 Interview with group of staff of FUAT
34 Observations of FUAT, 1 and 6; Interview with group of staff of FUAT
35 Observation of FUAT, 1
Sometimes, they meet under a big tree.\textsuperscript{36} The specific area that I was invited to observe FUAT in is a rural area close to an international border. The area has many different plantations and orchards, which provides local residents with some opportunities for income as day laborers. The plantations that I saw are owned by a Chinese Hong Kong-based company. Many of the settlements would not be here if it was not for these plantations.\textsuperscript{37} The area is not regarded as prone to trafficking at the moment, and that is why FUAT is engaged in prevention work by making the communities aware of their rights, and about how they can protect their communities from trafficking. Problems that already are prevalent, which the project also addresses, are sexual harassment, rape and general insecurity.\textsuperscript{38} As one of the farmers told me: “\textit{Last month there was a rape case happening here. And I heard some rumor saying that there were some people who caught the kids, took a kid away from the village.}”\textsuperscript{39} As the quote reveals, facts are often mixed up with rumors, which may or may not be true.

FUAT always has a local volunteer (paid part-time), who is often a local official, and is well-respected and connected in the community. This person is responsible for organizing meetings, making sure people know about the interventions and keeping the team from FUAT updated on local developments.\textsuperscript{40} The volunteer has a booklet where he/she records, for

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fuat_awareness}
\caption{Awareness-raising facilitated by FUAT}
\end{figure}

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{36}] Observations of FUAT, 1 and 3
\item[\textsuperscript{37}] Observation of FUAT, 2
\item[\textsuperscript{38}] Observation of FUAT, 2
\item[\textsuperscript{39}] Interview with community member nearby FUAT, 5
\item[\textsuperscript{40}] Interviews with government official nearby FUAT, 1 and 3
\end{itemize}
example, meetings and what they have been informing about. When in the field, the project leader checks these booklets and uses them as a source for her reporting (see Figure 12). When conducting training, they also make baseline and endline assessments. At every site, FUAT organizes meetings for the adults where they share important information. Sometimes they use posters, but also flip charts to convey information. Then they have a discussion with the participants about the content. The participants have been selected based on criteria determining how vulnerable they are to human trafficking. Each participating family receives food – instant noodle packages – as a compensation for their time. Some of the participants say that the noodles are very much appreciated, but that they would come for the meetings even without the noodles because they care about the protection of their relatives. Very few of the participants are literate so they sign attendance and receipt of noodle package with their thumbprint. FUAT also has sessions for children, where the children get to draw, but also receive some age-appropriate information about their rights. This has the added benefit of letting the adults participate wholly in their own session.

FUAT is rather well-known nationally and among authorities. It has a mixed funding base, but receives considerable funds from FBO donors channeling institutional funds. They also have an extensive international network of NGOs and FBOs working against human trafficking in different capacities. While the organization is mostly nationally staffed in Cambodia, it is currently led by a foreign woman.

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41 Observation of FUAT, 3
42 Observations of FUAT, 1 and 5
43 Observation of FUAT, 3
44 Observation of FUAT, 4; Interview with staff of FUAT, 2
45 Observations of FUAT, 2 and 5
46 Interview with government official nearby FUAT, 4; Interview with NGO representative, 5
47 Documents of FUAT, 2 and 5
48 Interview with staff of FUAT, 6; Document of FUAT, 5
49 Interview with staff of FUAT, 6
Christian Way Out of Trafficking

Christian Way out of Trafficking (CWOT) is a faith-permeated Christian-Evangelical antitrafficking organization focusing on sex trafficking in Thailand, and in particular on helping survivors of sex trafficking. Faith-permeated signals that in CWOT, faith is seen as essential in all aspects of the organization and its work. CWOT therefore uses faith to strengthen the rehabilitation services it offers to its clients, and it also has a social business designed to offer alternative employment for women who wish to leave the sex industry. CWOT also works to help women who have been victims of human trafficking with therapy, legal assistance and repatriation to their home countries. While being very clear about the organization’s faith identity, the staff at times de-emphasize this identity to avoid negative reactions from their surroundings. The staff of CWOT say that stereotypical views of Christian organizations are common.50

CWOT works in a dense urban area in Thailand, where they run several different programs designed to help women in the sex industry. They have office spaces, and training halls in the same building, as well as a store for selling produce from their social business.51 Every morning, they have a devotion for all staff and for the survivors that they employ. The organization is explicitly Christian, which is signaled by posters with Christian or Biblical quotes (see Figure 13).52

Not all of the women CWOT assists are legally considered trafficking victims, but they receive help according to their needs. The organization invests heavily in building relationships with women working in the sex industry, but also with business owners and communities in the area.53 During the COVID-19 shutdown, they shifted

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50 Interviews with staff of CWOT, 1 and 5
51 Interviews with staff of CWOT, 1, 2 and 3
52 Observations of CWOT, 1, 3 and 5
53 Documents of CWOT, 2
their work to distribute food parcels for those who struggled to find work (see Figure 14). They emphasize building relationships in the community, and with their clients.54

The urban area where CWOT operates is a tourist area and there are several bars and restaurants there that are well-known for offering sexual services.55 I interviewed three women who had formerly worked in the sex industry in this area but left it due to the services of CWOT. Instead, they are now employed by the social business of CWOT, making jewelry or other handicrafts for export. Their stories provide an important context for how and why CWOT chooses to do antitrafficking work. These women told me that it can be dangerous to work in these bars. As the women are not paid enough, they are both forced and expected to go out with the customers and many of these customers end up abusing or raping the women:

So, to work in the bar it’s harmful because, to just work in the bar, it’s not enough to get the money. And so, to make more money we have to go out with customers [...]. I am not as pretty as the other girls, so I often did not get picked. But one time I got picked and went out with the customer and a customer was very harmful to me. And that’s one of the reasons I felt like I could not do this anymore. So, I am really thankful that I met [CWOT] to work in a safe place.56

While CWOT also supports trafficking victims from other countries, the women I talked to were from Thailand and did not describe themselves as trafficking victims (nor were they necessarily labeled as such by CWOT). However, the women described deep traumas that they were trying to recover from. The stories the women shared contain elements of shame for what they have experienced. But the women also spoke about abusive families and boyfriends or husbands who had left them without caring for their children. The women talked about working in the sex industry out of

54 Observations of CWOT, 4 and 6
55 Observations CWOT, 4 and 5
56 Interview with community member nearby CWOT, 1
free will, but from a place without any good options. They also shared that
the world of the sex industry was a mixture of making good money, abuse,
coercion, alcohol and deceit. The women expressed that they were relieved
to have left the sex industry, and that CWOT had made them feel loved
and secure and provided them with an alternative income to support their
families:

> So, the first thing that I felt that is very important and from my
> own experience is the way [that CWOT] is an emotional
> supporter. They reached out and listened to me and showed how
> much love they have for me, even though I was a stranger […].
> And so, once time passed by and I knew them more, and was then
> able to work [at CWOT], then I start to see a lot of love and the
difference that they make. How they, not just help us out from the
>[sex] work, but like the work that they have here it’s full of love
>and support. […] And the salary here is more stable and gives that
>confidence to me. And also, it’s legal and makes me proud to say
>like ‘oh, this is the work I do now.’

The women talked about being proud to have persevered through hard
times. They understand why the women choose to work there because it is perceived
as an easy job that pays money. However, they would not wish their own
family members to end up there due to the stigma associated with it.

CWOT is mostly funded by churches and individuals, but also has a social
business. Many of these supporting churches are Evangelical churches in
the US. The staff of CWOT are all Christian. Some of the staff are
international missionaries, or volunteers from churches in the US. The
majority, however, are Thai nationals. In addition to the core team, CWOT
also relies on volunteers from the surrounding churches, and on short-
term volunteers from other countries who help out in various capacities.
CWOT has books in the library about “spiritual warfare.” In addition, they
also have book on Thai for beginners (see Figure 15). All the long-term
volunteers spoke good Thai, and some of the Thai staff spoke good
English. CWOT is co-led by an American woman and a Thai woman, and
has several key leaders from Thailand.

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57 Interview with community member nearby CWOT, 2
58 Interviews with community member nearby CWOT, 1, 2 and 3
59 Interviews with community member nearby CWOT, 4 and 5
60 Interview with community member nearby CWOT, 7
61 Interview with group of staff of CWOT, 1
I have now provided a rich description of the studied FBOs and the contexts in which they operate. This is important for understanding the analysis and findings I present in subsequent sections of this thesis, and in the appended papers. I have concluded that all the all are Christian FBOs, but with different degrees of faith infusion. Together, they represent a category of Christian Evangelical FBOs that are small to medium in size. They operate in distinctly different contexts but often at a grassroots level, and with different activities and strategies adapted to the context. In the methods section, I will discuss how and why I have chosen to study these three FBOs, and the implications of these choices.
A MULTIDIMENSIONAL ANALYSIS OF ANTITRAFFICKING FBOS

In this chapter, I will discuss the overarching theoretical points of departure that inform my thesis. First, I discuss faith, religion and religious actors in relation to a secular world. I then present my multidimensional approach to analyzing antitrafficking FBOs. The theoretical concepts discussed below have informed my analysis of the antitrafficking work of the three Christian FBOs described in the previous section.

Faith interacting in a secular paradigm

Religion and religious actors

Secularization is a process by which religion is removed from the public sphere, and religion is seen as a matter of individual choice. This process is often underpinned by a normative doctrine of secularism, which has also infused development studies (and practice), in which it is argued that religion should not intrude into the public sphere (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011; Hallward 2008). However, religion remains an important part of identity construction for many people around the world. But religion is a notoriously difficult concept to define and therefore to study. Religion is not a fixed state, nor a single variable, and thus the task is to understand how religious beliefs are embodied in certain social practices and how religious actors redefine their discourse and practices when encountering changes in social, economic and political contexts. To understand the practical embodiment of religion through religious actors, particular emphasis should be placed on the nature of power relationships (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011). Following Rakodi, I conceptualize religion as “core beliefs and teachings that among other things specify (or suggest) how to live in accordance with the principles of the faith tradition and how society should be ordered” (Rakodi 2012). This definition is chosen because it captures pointedly the interaction between beliefs, practice and ideas of how society should be organized. It also allows for an attention to power dynamics.

Following from Rakodi’s definition of religion, I assume that religion and faith have effects on behavior and practices (Frahm-Arp 2011; Freeman 2018; Tomalin et al. 2019). In this thesis, I use religion and faith interchangeably, but often religion is used for the more formal and
collective beliefs and practices, and faith is the more personal and subjective (Paul Victor and Treschuk 2019). Yet even though religion (or faith) is assumed to be relevant to study, it is not assumed that religion necessarily has a positive impact, but rather this depends on the content and application of the faith (Harrelson 2010), and how religious actors interpret their religious texts and traditions. Actions motivated by faith can have different effects – positive, negative or both at the same time. It is thus both meaningful and urgent to understand the assumptions, strategies and interactions of FBOs in their local and global networks. It is also important to consider that values and beliefs do not only shape the practices of explicitly religious actors. Recently, scholars have argued that attention should be brought to how actors, religious as well as secular, apply their beliefs and values in development practice (Smith 2017).

FBOs and faith infusion
As discussed in a previous section, FBOs can be distinguished in terms of which religion they are affiliated with, and they can also be distinguished by whether they are organized as an NGO or as a denomination, school or other type of organization. The selection criteria will be discussed in the methods section, but in short, the FBOs that I am studying are Christian (Evangelical-affiliated) FBOs organized as development NGOs.

In addition to these characteristics, it is also important to consider that religious actors such as FBOs have varied degrees of faith infusion. Sider and Unruh have developed a typology of FBOs that considers how faith is integrated into an organization’s identity and practices (Sider and Unruh 2004). They sought to find more nuanced and precise ways of understanding the differences among religious actors such as FBOs. I use their typology as a means to distinguish between different types of FBOs, and thereby to be more precise about what kinds of FBOs I study. The typology also aids the study of the implications of their faith on the practices of the studied FBOs. In this framework, organizations are categorized in terms of their degree of faith infusion: secular, faith-background, faith-affiliated, faith-centered and faith-permeated. The categories are listed in order of a gradual shifting towards increased faith infusion.

*Secular organizations* take no, or very little, (explicit) impression from religious beliefs, and perceive religion as irrelevant to or inappropriate in their work. *Faith-background organizations* may have implicit references to religion, and have historic ties to religious communities of faith, but religion plays a peripheral role in the everyday life and activities of the organization. *Faith-affiliated organizations* have stronger ties to religious
communities of faith and make both implicit and explicit references to faith and religion in their work. Religious activities or components are optional and not extensive, and there is little expectation that religious experience is necessary for desired outcomes in the intervention. *Faith-centered* organizations include explicit religious references in self-descriptions, are affiliated with a religious entity, and have explicit or implicit religious criteria for staff. In addition to acts of compassion and care, they may have religious components that are optional, and religious activities outside the program parameters. *Faith-permeated* organizations make explicit references to faith and religion in their work, are affiliated with a religious entity, have explicit religious criteria for staff and managers, and have organized religious practices for their staff. In addition to acts of compassion and care, they also include explicitly religious, mandatory contents integrated in their programs. I have appended a table with a detailed description of the five categories described by Sider and Unruh, which provides a comprehensive understanding of the nuances between the categories (Appendix 8). I also elaborate further on my use of this typology in the methods section.

In my thesis, I study one *faith-affiliated*, one *faith-centered*, and one *faith-permeated* FBO. While exemplifying variation in terms of faith infusion, these organizations belong to the three categories with the highest degree of faith infusion in the typology, and they are therefore more easily identified as FBOs in comparison with the faith-background type. The categories of faith organizations allow for careful assessment of how faith plays a role at both organizational and programmatic levels, and thus provides a more nuanced picture of FBOs as actors. This framework makes it possible to recognize organizations with a clear faith identity, without any faith components in the programming, and also vice versa. This will allow for a more comprehensive analysis of FBOs as actors, but also allow for more nuanced analysis of what they do, why they do it, and how that is perceived by the surrounding community.

It is also important to consider the context in which FBOs are working. The dominant discourse of the surrounding contexts shapes what and how the FBOs communicate about themselves and their work. The studied FBOs are to a large extent operating in a development cooperation context dominated by a secular discourse and secular modes of thinking. That the prevailing secular discourse influences how FBOs choose to present themselves publicly is an important point of departure (Lonergan et al. 2020). That FBOs shift between religious and secular modes of communication is something that can be described as them employing a dual register (Tomalin 2018). This ability to shift between modes of communication is important to consider when trying to understand how
FBOs navigate power dynamics (Devault 2006), as well as the intertwining between discourse, knowledge, power, policy and practice (Bacchi 2009; Feder 2014; Foucault 2002). I will explain more below when I introduce the multidimensional analysis.

**Multidimensional analysis of antitrafficking FBOs**

Above, I have elaborated on the role of faith, religion and religious actors in a secular paradigm and presented important analytical starting points for this thesis. Now I proceed to describing my multidimensional approach to the analysis of antitrafficking FBOs, in which the faith element interacts with other influences, such as relationships, ideas and resources.

**Faith in interaction with other influences**

While I assume that faith is influential in shaping the antitrafficking work of FBOs, there are also several other influences that must be considered. Smith argues that sacred influences interact with material influences to shape the outcomes of development work. Smith’s model has inspired my multidimensional analysis of FBOs. For Smith, sacred influences capture how beliefs and values shape practices. Among sacred influences are religious doctrines as well as ideas about development and society. Material influences are visible, tangible, and pragmatic elements that shape development actors and projects, such as relationships, affiliations, partners, and power relations. Material and sacred influences constantly reinforce and constrain each other. This interaction can be described as the way in which an actor incorporates beliefs, ideas and values (sacred) and affiliations, aims and activities (material) in development projects. The interaction can also concern outcomes of the interventions, and their intended and unintended consequences. Finally, the interaction produces a response by other stakeholders, and this creates different perceptions of the actor (Smith 2017). My version of a multidimensional analysis, following Smith’s arguments and elaborated on below, captures FBO practices, how these are shaped by ideas and relationships, and how the work of FBOs is received in communities where they work. These will be elaborated on below.
While the assumption that faith is influential is important, it is also worth considering that there are instances when faith and religion is a non-factor, and there is a non-relationship between religion and development practice (Leer-Helgesen 2016, 2020). It is thus important to refrain from seeing religious connections when there are in fact none. With this caution in mind, the interaction of faith (sacred influences) with affiliations, aims and activities points towards a larger theoretical point of departure for my research. Faith is one important factor, but it does not exert influence over behavior in isolation from other sacred influences such as ideas and values. Power dynamics in relationships and how these dynamics limit or enable responses are also important to consider (Devault and McCoy 2006; Smith 2006). Furthermore, the target community also shapes the possibilities and limits of the FBO response. It may be necessary to focus on some of these perspectives at times, but I argue that a multidimensional analysis of FBO antitrafficking work is needed, something that this dissertation will provide. Therefore, to answer the research questions, but also to offer a comprehensive understanding of FBOs as antitrafficking actors, I will be exploring four different analytical dimensions, which are visualized in Figure 16.

Figure 16. Analytical dimensions of the thesis concerning antitrafficking (AT) work of FBOs

Characteristic practices

The first dimension is to understand FBOs in the context of antitrafficking: Are there any specific characteristic practices of FBOs in this field? Do FBO antitrafficking activities differ from those of secular antitrafficking actors?

To explore the characteristics of FBOs in antitrafficking, I draw on previous research and categorization of antitrafficking work. I therefore look into what activities (e.g. awareness raising) they engage in, who they are targeting (Foot et al. 2015; Heiss and Kelley 2017; Limoncelli 2016), where they are intervening (e.g., rural or urban, which region or country) and also when in the trafficking chain they are intervening (e.g.,
prevention, rescue, rehabilitation, prosecution or repatriation) (Graw Leary 2015). I also look into collaborations and donors (Banks and Brockington 2020). The purpose here is to capture patterns in what antitrafficking FBOs are doing and thereby discern what may be the characteristic practices in their work.

To understand what FBOs are doing in more general terms, it is useful to contrast them (i.e., FBOs as a whole category) with secular NGOs. This contrast allows me to illuminate what is characteristic of the antitrafficking FBOs that therefore needs more attention. While there are differences between different kinds of FBOs (as elaborated on below), it is also important to understand the common features of antitrafficking FBOs. To explore characteristic practices, it is necessary to look closer into the programs of FBOs, uncovering how things are done, and not just what FBOs are doing.

In addition, to allow for a richer and deeper understanding of FBO characteristics in antitrafficking work, I will be subdividing the FBO concept into more nuanced categories based on faith infusion (Sider and Unruh 2004). Making use of these nuances in approaching FBOs will allow for a deeper understanding and appreciation of how FBOs operate in antitrafficking, and the variations that can be found between different kinds of FBOs. An example is provided in Table 1 below.

*Table 1. Example of analysis of faith infusion and antitrafficking practice*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faith category</th>
<th>Secular</th>
<th>Faith background</th>
<th>Faith affiliated</th>
<th>Faith centered</th>
<th>Faith permeated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prevention strategies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection strategies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecution strategies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of faith in interventions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donor types</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ideas and worldviews

The second dimension I explore is about ideas and worldviews, and how they connect to the policies and practices of actors. Fundamental to this analytical dimension is the proposition that societal problems, which actors seek to address, do not exist independently of how they are discursively produced. Problem representations are political, and underpinned by particular values and assumptions. These values and assumptions affect the understanding of problems, such as human trafficking, and this shapes which responses are seen as reasonable and legitimate. How problems are described, or represented, have consequences for what can be seen as problematic and how people think about these issues, but also for what is ignored (Bacchi 2009; Bacchi and Eveline 2010). Once a problem has been represented within a discourse, it is difficult imagine what it is like outside these established terms of references (Bacchi 2018).

The concept of problem representation draws on a Foucauldian understanding of the interlinkages between knowledge and power (Bacchi 2009; Feder 2014; Foucault 2002). The assumption here is that knowledge is foundational for the exercise of power (Feder 2014; Foucault 2002). Problem representations are the implied problems in policies, or how a problem is characterized and thought of within a policy, and as such it shapes how people make sense of, and act in, the world, and shapes what people view as true and reasonable (Bacchi 2009, 2018; Bacchi and Eveline 2010).

With the above understanding of the relationship between knowledge and power, I focus specifically on analyzing problem representations of human trafficking. Through problem representations, it is possible to understand why FBOs do what they do. This analytical perspective is derived from Carol Bacchi’s approach to critical policy analysis, the “what’s the problem represented to be” (WPR) approach (Bacchi 2009). The main difference between a WPR approach and more conventional policy studies is that in a WPR approach, policy problems are approached not as objectively existing but as discursively produced in policy. Problem representations shape how FBOs understand human trafficking, which in turn shapes their response to human trafficking. Ideas, knowledge and thought are intimately connected with policy, practice and governance. Governing takes place through policy, and policy carries implications for those who are governed. The analysis is thus focused on why actions (enacted policies) are chosen and how knowledge sets limits upon what is possible to think (Bacchi 2009).
Bacchi focuses on policy texts, where problems are concisely constructed and then coupled with distinct solutions (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016). My analysis is to a higher degree based on interview material, where practices and policies are described. But as Rönnblom and Keisu conclude, interviews can be also seen as a form of policy text (Rönnblom and Keisu 2013). The basic principle of a WPR analysis is to ask analytical questions to the material with the aim of understanding how policies are enacted (Bacchi 2009; Bacchi and Eveline 2010).

After an initial WPR analysis of the material, the next step was to connect the findings with theoretical concepts that can make sense of them. One important theoretical concept related to ideas and worldviews in my study is therapeutic governance. The concept of therapeutic governance was coined by Vanessa Pupavac to describe a trend in international development and humanitarian programming in which attempts to remedy societal problems are made through a change in the individual through psychosocial interventions. At the center of this approach is the concept of subjective well-being, and a form of governing that holds the individual responsible for his or her own well-being (Ecclestone 2017; Pupavac 2005; Shilton 2016).

An important aspect of the analysis is to see how this therapeutic form of governance connects to the practices of FBOs, but also how it aligns with the religious beliefs and values of the FBOs uncovered through the initial WPR analysis. Religious ideas are essential to consider (Freeman 2012, 2015, 2018). When studying the worldview of FBOs, there is a need to pay extra attention to how faith plays a role in shaping worldviews and identities (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011; Rakodi 2011, 2012).

Relationships

The third analytical dimension captures how relationships shape the work of the FBOs. To understand the practical embodiment of faith, it is important to study the nature of power relationships (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011). Ruling relations is one way to approach this analytically. Ruling relations is an analytical concept borrowed from institutional ethnography (IE) (Rankin 2017c; Smith 2005; Smith 2006). Ruling relations impact how things are done in an organization. These ruling relations are practices of power conveyed through discursive, managerial and professional forms of governance (Smith 2006; Walby 2007). The activities in local settings are coordinated and managed extralocally, often through the organizing power of texts and other instructions (Devault 2006). So, in essence, to understand the antitrafficking practices of FBOs, we need to consider the extralocal pressures shaping them. No one is
immune from the power projected through these institutionalized relationships (Rankin 2017c). These ruling relations are often textual, and can thus be found in instructions such as templates or manuals. However, they can also be carried via implicit norms, which can be revealed through interviews and observations (Smith 2005; Smith 2006; Williams and Rankin 2015). The relationships that are interesting to scrutinize in terms of ruling relations are between FBOs and internal mechanisms and policy frameworks, donors, local beneficiaries, and other organizations in the anti-human trafficking community. Faith-based practices need to be considered in light of the networks of relationships with which they connect (Leer-Helgesen 2020).

IE analysis is always done using a certain standpoint from which to explore the power dynamics and the effects of the ruling relations. The experiences and knowledge of people from whose standpoint the exploration starts provide a grounded entry into the social organization that may otherwise be misrepresented or hidden (Rankin 2017c). It is thus the perception of the complex web of actors, instructions and rules from the chosen standpoint that is of interest. In my case, this standpoint was the staff of the antitrafficking FBOs, and their experiences, which provided clues for what actually happens in the process of ruling, and how their work is organized to be as it is.

The final important concept relating to ruling relations is problematics, which is the experience of disconnect or tension between textual and actual realities, or between different opposing ruling relations. The analytical concepts of standpoint and problematics are interlinked, as the experience of disconnect or tension depends on who you are, and where you are located in an institution or a field (Rankin 2017a, b, c; Smith 2005; Smith 2006). In essence, it is the problematics (or tensions) that come to the fore in the analysis, as these areas are defining for the organizations’ practices. The analytical dimension contributes to understanding other interactions of faith with the power dynamics manifested in relationships of dependence.

Community reception

The fourth analytical dimension looks at the implementation level and how antitrafficking work is received and perceived by the local stakeholders, and the power dynamics between them. Relevant stakeholders for this thesis may include other antitrafficking organizations, local governments, program beneficiaries and local communities.
Development policy has often been described as an arena permeated by relations of power, which generates a clash of interests between different actors but where the agenda and decisions are externally shaped. This takes place under the guise of a partnership (see for example Crawford 2003). There is much warrantted critique of development from a decolonial perspective (Hu 2019; Mohanty 1984; Rosamond and Gregoratti 2020), where development cooperation is suggested to undermine the sovereignty of developing nations (Brown 2013). Another perspective, which this thesis draws on, is to recognize that all actors have power and influence, and it is therefore necessary when engaging with others to negotiate one’s position in order to gain trust or access, or achieve goals (Mosse 2004, 2005; Mosse and Lewis 2005, 2006), and essentially build local ownership over the antitrafficking efforts (Black 2020; Brolin 2017; Hasselskog 2020; Hasselskog and Schierenbeck 2017; van Zyl et al. 2019). This ability to negotiate one’s position is an important aspect of the fourth analytical dimension.

From the idea of negotiating one’s position, I introduce the concept of co-ownership. Co-ownership is a concept that enables a more nuanced understanding of the power relationships between implementers of development projects and recipient communities. Co-ownership acknowledges that both implementers and recipients have influence, and are co-dependent on each other for realizing a positive outcome from their respective interests. Co-ownership presupposes a process of co-creating a shared understanding of problems and solutions to these problems.

In the case of my study, co-creation takes place in a development context that is essentially dominated by a secular paradigm (Chowdhury et al. 2019; Jones and Juul Petersen 2011; Tomalin 2012), yet also takes place in a local context that is influenced by Buddhism (Ware and Thein Nyunt 2017). In such contexts of ontological differences, the question of a religious divide comes to the fore, particularly in instances when FBOs take on an explicit faith identity that is not shared by the majority of the participants in the intervention. The specific dynamics that exist in such circumstances needs to be further explored, specifically to understand when and whether religion becomes an obstacle for the implementation of development projects. Previous research has highlighted the need for establishing trust, religious literacy, and inclusion of faith leaders, as well as contextualization of discourse to bridge religious divides (Ware and Clarke 2017; Ware and Thein Nyunt 2017; Wimelius et al. 2020). It is of course a challenge to deal with the transcendental understanding of Buddhism as an outsider, but basic religious literacy (i.e., the ability to understand how different faith traditions interpret core concerns of development) can still be achieved (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011). It is
important to consider how the practices of FBOs are activated in the specific context in which they are situated (Leer-Helgesen 2020). These are important considerations in the fourth analytical dimension of the analysis, and answer the third research question about how the work of the antitrafficking FBOs is received by the local communities in Cambodia and Thailand.

Summary of theoretical points of departure

In summary, I will analyze antitrafficking FBOs using four analytical dimensions. When doing so, I consider what is characteristic of the practices of the FBOs, how ideas and social relations shape how the FBOs conduct antitrafficking, and how their antitrafficking work is received, perceived and negotiated when implemented in practice. This is not to say that there are no additional dimensions that one could add to the picture of antitrafficking FBOs. But the four dimensions of practices, ideas, social (ruling) relations, and local perception (and reception) in combination, I argue, provides a comprehensive understanding of antitrafficking FBOs in particular, and of the role of faith in development cooperation in general. In the table below, I summarize how the research questions, analytical dimensions, and the appended papers of the thesis correspond to each other.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Research questions</strong></th>
<th>RQ1: What are FBOs doing to counter human trafficking (HT) and what characteristics do their strategies have?</th>
<th>RQ2: What shapes the design of faith-based antitrafficking strategies?</th>
<th>RQ3: How is the work against HT of the FBOs received by local communities?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Analytical dimension and concepts</strong></td>
<td>FBOs’ characteristic practices</td>
<td>Ideas on human trafficking, Problem representations</td>
<td>Relationships, Ruling relations, power relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paper I</strong></td>
<td>Faith standing out? – Discovering the particularities of faith-based antitrafficking organizations</td>
<td>Transforming troubled souls – Faith-based antitrafficking work as therapeutic governance</td>
<td>It is who you know: The influence of faith-based donor networks on the antitrafficking work of faith-based organizations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
METHODS AND MATERIALS

The purpose of this section is to outline how I have carried out my research and to explain the choices I have made. I start by outlining the overall research design before I discuss the case selection. Following this, I discuss the different empirical materials that this thesis builds on, and the process of collecting them. I thereafter discuss research ethics, focusing on the data collection process. I conclude with a section on the overall analytical process in relation to the material at hand.

Research design

This doctoral research project was initiated as a cooperation between two development organizations working with antitrafficking in South-East Asia, and the Industrial Doctoral School for Research and Innovation at Umeå University. The two development organizations supporting the project framed the overall topic of the thesis – antitrafficking in South-East Asia – but other than that did not have any significant influence on the research questions or methods of enquiry. However, the supporting partners assisted in gaining access to the field, which influenced the selection of case studies, as will be discussed later in this section. The supporting partners are not the studied antitrafficking FBOs.

My epistemological standpoint is interpretivist, assuming that all knowledge is socially constructed and carries particular interests embedded in its construction (Rankin 2017b). I assume that interpretation is key to understanding social reality (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011). I argue that the best way to learn about the social world is from abduction, meaning from bottom-up empirical research, while at the same time drawing from previous research and existing theories (Ormston 2014). This allows me to capture empirical realities while at the same time being guided by theory. This influences the design of the study to have an emphasis on people’s local and personal experiences, while comparing these experiences with previous knowledge and theories. Accessing these personal experiences is best done through interviews and observations. It is important to safeguard trustworthiness in the research process and this can be achieved through reflexivity, and (explicit) positionality (Lincoln 1995).

The research is guided by political ethnography (Gustafsson and Johannesson 2016) in the pursuit of exploring FBOs as antitrafficking actors and in the use of a variety of methods. Rather than understanding
political ethnography as a set of specific methods, it should be understood as an approach to knowledge production. Political ethnography aims to acquire deep contextual understanding and often approaches the study object from an insider’s perspective to learn how people reason, feel, and experience the world. Contextual understanding is about striving towards deep and nuanced empirical insights, often through extensive experience in the studied context. Seeking an insider’s perspective means that I try to understand how the actors I study view their own social and political reality.

These two guiding principles in combination – contextual understanding and an insider’s perspective – opens up for a broader use of ethnography that is not limited to extensive periods of on-site observation. It also suggests that observations are not the only way to achieve ethnographic insights. Other important methods include interviews, document studies, analysis of websites, and shorter periods of field work (Gustafsson and Johannesson 2016), which I have been using in my research and will elaborate on below.

The research design that I make use of places the antitrafficking FBOs at the center of the study and then continues to explore the relational “ecosystem” around them (see Figure 17), borrowing ideas for research design from Dorothy Smith’s institutional ethnography (Smith 2005; Smith 2006). The research design can therefore be called an “FBO ecosystem approach.” This, again, creates opportunities to gain deep, nuanced and contextualized knowledge. Institutional ethnography, just like political ethnography generally, is a tradition that starts in people’s experience rather than in theory (Smith 2006). To answer the research

**Figure 17. Illustration of FBO ecosystem of relationships**

![Diagram of FBO ecosystem](image)
questions of this thesis, the FBO ecosystem approach has been shaped to include voices and observations from within the perspective of the FBOs, but also to capture the surrounding relationships of the FBOs, which may include beneficiaries, community members, authorities, peer organizations and donors. The research design allows for the study to uncover how antitrafficking FBOs are enabled and limited by different sources of power in the form of ideas and beliefs (Bacchi 2009; Smith 2017), and ruling relations (Devault and McCoy 2006; Smith 2005; Smith 2006), how this is manifested in what the FBOs do, and how this is received and perceived. Political ethnography emphasizes power, and in this case the focus is on formal and informal power relationships (Gustafsson and Johannesson 2016), and how FBOs relate to them.

Case selection

This thesis is in one sense a study of religious actors in development aid, focusing on the specific policy field of antitrafficking. Even though antitrafficking is a subset of development cooperation, it is distinctive in some regards. The antitrafficking community and response is interesting to study as it has been critiqued for being promoted by an “unholy” alliance of feminists and Christian conservatives (Zimmerman 2011, 2013). Human trafficking is also a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that has been described as involving intensely contested value issues of globalization, nationalization, morality, sexual values, crime, corruption, religion, economics, power imbalances, and stereotypical biases, to name some aspects (Alvarez and Alessi 2012; Berger 2012; Blackburn et al. 2010; Davy 2016; Foot et al. 2015; Graw Leary 2018; Heiss and Kelley 2017; Jones et al. 2018; Kempadoo 2015; Rodríguez-López 2018; Samarasinghe and Burton 2007; Yea 2014, 2021). Antitrafficking is also a policy field within development cooperation that engages a lot of small and unregulated actors (Bradley and Szablewska 2016; Limoncelli 2016; Molland 2019; Riback 2018). Thus, antitrafficking provides good insights into the general dynamics of religious actors in development, but particularly into the dynamics of development practice that is especially value-contested, small-scale, partially unofficial and far from the reach and view of major policy discussions. This partially unofficial space is often occupied by many smaller FBOs. Studying antitrafficking therefore provides good opportunities to gain insights into how the world of development cooperation shapes the work of FBOs in particular ways.

At the center of this research are three case studies of antitrafficking FBOs in Cambodia and Thailand. A study of several cases has the aim of gaining insights into a phenomenon and its manifestation in a wider range of
contexts in which it operates (Stake 2000, 2005, 2006). The selection of the cases matters, even though qualitative research does not strive towards generalizability, but instead towards understanding particularity and transferability (Marshall 1996). The cases should be relevant examples of the phenomenon (i.e., FBOs in antitrafficking) but also have variations to allow for a comprehensive understanding of the studied phenomenon. The cases do not need to share the same relationship with the studied phenomenon (Stake 2000, 2005, 2006). Below, I discuss some of the qualities relating to the case studies and what this means for the potential of transferability. Some characteristics of the studied FBOs are summarized in Table 3 below.

As stated earlier, FBOs are estimated to make up a considerable share of the antitrafficking NGOs in the Mekong region (Frame 2019; Lonergan et al. 2020) and are thus important to study when attempting to understand antitrafficking efforts. Illustrating this, in Paper I, I found that about half of the antitrafficking organizations in Thailand and Cambodia present in an online directory were FBOs. The number of organizations present in the online directory is estimated to represent about 1/3 of the antitrafficking organizations in Thailand (total of 84), and 1/5 of the antitrafficking organizations (total of 109) in Cambodia (Limoncelli 2016). In terms of faith infusion, the faith-background or faith-affiliated organizations were the minority groups (1/3 of the FBOs), and the faith-centered and the faith-permeated FBOs together represented more than two-thirds of the FBOs (Paper I). However, it is impossible to know the actual number of antitrafficking organizations operating in Thailand and Cambodia, or the exact share of FBOs among them. All indications mentioned above point toward the fact that FBOs are common in antitrafficking work in this region. In essence, the selected FBOs can help me to understand the phenomenon that I am studying, which is FBOs in antitrafficking.
Because FBOs make up a heterogenous category, it is important to consider which types of FBOs I am including in the case studies. FBOs come in various sizes, and with different affiliations, as well as different objectives (Clarke 2006; Clarke and Ware 2015; Occhipinti 2015). The three FBOs all either have antitrafficking as their main objective, or as one of their main objectives. They were established around the same period, varying from the late 1990s to mid-2000s.

In terms of size, it worth noting that some of the largest aid organizations in the world, such as Caritas Internationalis, World Vision and ACT Alliance, are faith-based (Haugen 2019). As can be seen in Table 3 above, the selected FBOs in my study range between $500,000 and $1,300,000 in annual budget, and are therefore small or medium-sized FBOs. As a point of comparison, the average Canadian development FBO has an annual revenue of $816,000 (Davis 2019). The size of an organization matters, as studies have found that certain traits of FBOs can be connected to their smallness (Haaland et al. 2023; Schnable 2015). Yet, given that the selected cases are more on par with average sizes, the findings can be assumed to be more associated with aspects of interest for this dissertation, namely faith identity, ideas, relationships, power relations and contextual factors rather than their size. This transferability is also relevant to other FBOs of medium size with Protestant Christian affiliations and, in some aspects, particularly affiliations to Evangelical forms of Protestantism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Type of FBO</th>
<th>Type of area</th>
<th>Expatriates</th>
<th>Est.</th>
<th>Budget</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCTP</td>
<td>Community development, including antitrafficking</td>
<td>Faith-centered Protestant Christian</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Late 1990s</td>
<td>$600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUAT</td>
<td>Anti-trafficking</td>
<td>Faith-affiliated Protestant Christian</td>
<td>Mainly source, but also transit &amp; destination</td>
<td>Few, mainly in leadership</td>
<td>Mid 2000s</td>
<td>$1,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWOT</td>
<td>Anti-trafficking</td>
<td>Faith-permeated Protestant Christian</td>
<td>Destination</td>
<td>Few, mainly in leadership</td>
<td>Mid 2000s</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The FBOs are all operating in either Cambodia or in Thailand, which are countries where human trafficking has been identified by researchers, practitioners and policymakers to be a significant problem and where there are also significant efforts from NGOs to address the problem (Limoncelli 2016; USDS 2019; Walk Free Foundation 2018). In selecting FBOs, one criterion was that they were operating in either Thailand or Cambodia. All of the FBOs needed to work actively with antitrafficking. I also sought to select at least one organization that was focusing on source areas, and at least one that was focusing on destination or transit areas. This is important to consider as the context of human trafficking shapes how the FBOs address it. That is, prevention activities are more natural in source areas, and rescue activities in transit and destination areas. Considering these aspects provides a variety in terms of the kinds of human trafficking challenges that the FBOs work to address, as well as their potential responses to these challenges.

In the contexts where the three FBOs operate, a majority of the people are Buddhists (Johnson and Grim 2013; Johnson et al. 2013), which is a different religion than the FBOs are affiliated with. This creates an interesting context for studying how the FBOs navigate potential religious barriers between them and the communities in which they are operating. Many studies of FBOs, and their potential advantages, assume that FBOs can tap into the religious values and ideas of the communities where they work. This is not necessarily the case in cross-religious contexts as there may be suspicions of a hidden Christian and neocolonial agenda (Chowdhury et al. 2019; De Cordier 2009). The context matters in terms of what human trafficking looks like as well as which culture, beliefs and practices are dominant, and shapes how the FBOs choose to, and are able to, navigate.

To avoid a simplified use of FBO as a category, I have employed the typology of faith-based organizations developed by Sider and Unruh, which I introduced in the theory section (see Appendix 8 for more details). Essentially, this framework allows for considering nuances regarding self-descriptive texts, affiliations, staff recruitment, religious environment, and the role of faith in the actual programming of the FBOs. In dialogue with my supporting partners, I sought to include FBOs with various degrees of faith infusion in the study. In practice, it is hard to make correct assessments before actually doing the study, but the contextual and relational knowledge of the supporting partners allowed me to make educated guesses, which meant that I included FBOs that were faith-affiliated, faith-centered, and faith-permeated, respectively (Bielefeld

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62 Observation of CCTP, 5; Observation of FUAT, 3; Observation of CWOT, 6
Including FBOs from different parts of the faith-infusion spectrum makes it possible to transfer the conclusions to a wider range of FBOs, even if there is need for caution as to whether the findings of this study may have bearing on FBOs affiliated with different Christian traditions, or with other religions.

While the study started out with an ambition to include organizations with affiliations to any faith, it turned out that all the organizations were affiliated with Protestant/Evangelical Christianity. One reason for this was the relationships and networks of the supporting partners, which skewed my access towards Protestant/Evangelical FBOs. The other was the prevalence of Protestant/Evangelical organizations active in development in general (Freeman 2018, 2020; Offutt 2020; Reynolds 2013; Schnable 2015, 2016, 2021), and in antitrafficking in particular (Frame 2017; Paper I; Pinkston 2019). This makes them both relevant and important to research.

As described in earlier sections, Evangelicals are a diverse Christian tradition estimated to make up of a quarter of all Christians (Coleman and Hackett 2015; Freeman 2020; Offutt 2020; PEW 2011). The selection of three FBOs with similar faith affiliations, i.e., Protestantism/Evangelicalism, reflects the high prevalence of such organizations, but there is also a bias in terms of language and connections to the US and Europe, and to the supporting partners who helped in granting me access. The fact that the three cases have similar faith affiliations matters for the conclusions that can be drawn.

Data collection

In line with the political ethnography tradition I embrace (Gustafsson and Johannesson 2016), I have used a combination of data collection strategies, choosing methods that allow me to answer the research questions. For research question one concerning the key characteristics of antitrafficking work of FBOs, I used website documents from FBOs and secular NGOs in combination with interviews with FBO staff to answer the question. For research question two, regarding what shapes the antitrafficking response of FBOs, I relied on interviews with FBOs, but also relationship mapping, observations and interviews with actors around the FBOs such as donors and NGOs. For the third and final research question, regarding the reception of the antitrafficking work of the FBOs, I relied heavily on interviews with FBOs, government officials and community members and beneficiaries. I also used observations and
documents. These methods of data collection will be discussed and further explained below.

In essence, qualitative methods are chosen because they are suitable to answer questions about motivations and behavior, and to explore how social phenomena play out and are experienced (Ritche 2014b). Qualitative methods turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews and memos to self (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Interviews with key informants can provide crucial information about the groups or individuals and the social relations between them. These will then be observed, and illuminate situations, behaviors, and attitudes that would otherwise be concealed from the researcher. It also empowers the interviewees to shape the questions being asked (Edwards and Holland 2013 Ch. 3).

The point of departure of this study is the FBOs as organizations and it is necessary to listen to the individual perspectives and experiences of the staff of these FBOs, that is, the standpoints of the staff. In addition to these perspectives from within the FBOs, I have also captured the perspectives of people representing other organizations around the FBOs through observations and/or interviews (Rankin 2017b; Smith 2006), in essence constructing a relationship “ecosystem” of the FBOs. I used a purposive and theoretical selection (or sampling) in which I looked for people with knowledge and experience of the subject within the field, but also external voices with knowledge and experience of the selected FBOs (Ritche 2014a). Sometimes, opportunities were seized to capture additional voices or observations, as deviating from the plan is necessary when confronted with a complex reality.

Originally, four FBOs were included, but one of the FBOs chose to drop out from the study. Prior to agreeing to participate in the research, these organizations were promised that they could exit the study at any time with no requirement to explain their choice. Abiding by this promise, I have not enquired further into the reasons why the fourth organization discontinued their participation in the study. However, these reasons likely included a combination of time and resource scarcity, aggravated by the ongoing pandemic, and changes of staff within the organization after it accepted participation in the study. This was compensated by spending more time and effort on the remaining three FBOs, but also by adding more perspectives from other antitrafficking NGOs from the contexts in which the studied FBOs are operating. Put simply, the guiding idea has been to learn as much as possible, and fill in the gaps of knowledge (Devault and McCoy 2006).
Interviews and relationship mappings

As can be seen in Table 4, I have strived to gather perspectives and voices both from within the FBOs, and from actors or persons in their proximity. A total of 17 FBO staff members have been interviewed individually, and these have included management as well operational staff. The staff working practically on the ground have embodied experiences of the antitrafficking work (Smith 2006). The staff on the ground can be viewed as the FBO versions of street-level bureaucrats, or development brokers (Leser and Pates 2019; Mosse and Lewis 2006). In addition, staff have been interviewed in groups with the objective of discussing the web of relationships that surround them, and how this impacts them (a step towards uncovering ruling relations). Other topics for the group discussions included dilemmas and perceived tensions in the work of the organizations.

Table 4. Respondents and methods of enquiry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of respondent</th>
<th>Method of enquiry</th>
<th>No of materials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mix of beneficiaries and community members</td>
<td>Individual interviews</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBO activists/staff and leaders</td>
<td>Individual interviews</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group discussions with relationship mapping</td>
<td>3 groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Document reviews</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antitrafficking NGOs and FBOs</td>
<td>Individual NGO interviews</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Website content analysis</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government officials</td>
<td>Individual interviews</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donor or partner representative(s)</td>
<td>Individual interviews</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Document reviews</td>
<td>(included above)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The community members and beneficiaries were selected in dialogue with the FBOs. Often, the interviews with community members or beneficiaries were carried out in connection with observations of the FBOs’ activities. A total of 23 beneficiaries or community members were interviewed. In addition, I chose people around the sites of interest where the FBOs work and where I have observed (Devault and McCoy 2006) to learn more about the studied FBOs and their practices. In essence, when doing observations of the work of the FBOs, I interviewed people who experienced those activities. To capture variations of experiences, I talked to a mix of women, men, elderly and young people (Devault and McCoy 2006).
Seven government officials overseeing the geographical areas in which the FBOs operate who have some insight into the human trafficking issue were also interviewed. These officials were contacted with help from the studied FBOs. This assistance from the FBOs has significantly helped with gaining access, but it may have created a bias towards participants with good relationships with the FBOs, which is something that needs to be taken into consideration during analysis. Furthermore, eight representatives of secular antitrafficking NGOs have been interviewed to capture their views on the antitrafficking community in Cambodia and Thailand. They also offer an outsider’s perspective on the studied FBOs, which offers another layer to my understanding of the studied FBOs.

The interviews were semi-structured, and the questions were constructed with my multidimensional analytical approach, and the research questions, in mind. The questions therefore revolved around the respondents’ understanding of human trafficking, how it can be stopped, the operations of the FBO, what sets FBOs apart from other antitrafficking actors, and the relationships of and influences on the FBO. The interview guides are appended (see Appendices 1–6). The interviews varied according to the interest and perspective of the participant. Due to COVID-19-related travel restrictions, 22 of the interviews were held over Zoom. These were primarily with the staff of FBOs, and some of the NGO representatives. While some of the topics raised were sensitive, in general the participants elaborated freely and possibly the “safety” of not being in the same room facilitated this. As the Zoom platform allowed for visual interaction, along with the convenience for the participant of connecting from anywhere they wished, it proved to be a good alternative to face-to-face interviews. In some ways, Zoom interviews were superior as they allowed for a visual connection but without the risk of the researcher encroaching on the personal space of the participant (as discussed by Hanna 2012).

The beneficiaries, community members, and government officials were all interviewed face to face, and almost exclusively with the help of an interpreter. The interviews with community members were less structured, but the topics raised included their views about the problems in the area, what they knew about human trafficking and what they thought about the work of the relevant FBO in their community. The interviews varied in length, and the longer ones were conducted with FBO and NGO representatives with an average of 107 minutes (some with interpretation). The interviews with community members were shorter, and these lasted anywhere between 6 and 21 minutes.
To answer research questions two and three, relating to how different relationships influence the stance and actions of the FBOs and reception by the local communities, I made sure to ask questions about different relationships that the FBOs had. In addition, I conducted group interviews where a significant focus was given to describing the intricate web of relationships that surround the FBOs. I asked the group to illustrate these relationships on a piece of paper, instructing them to consider local relationships, national relationships, as well as international relationships. I also instructed them to take note of target groups, other stakeholders, and partners or donors. I asked them to reflect on whether they were important and frequent, or less important and less frequent. I also asked questions regarding the actors’ faith status. The conversations were recorded and transcribed, and the relationship maps were then anonymized, as can be seen in the example in Figure 18.

**Figure 18. Relationship map of one of the antitrafficking FBOs**

Interviews were all recorded and then transcribed. The transcription was in most cases aided by automatic transcription software, but all
transcriptions were then manually checked and edited while listening to the recordings. This exercise proved to be a good balance between efficiency and immersing myself in the material, as is customary in qualitative research.

Documents and websites

In addition to interviews, the three FBOs were also studied with the help of various documents. Most of these were accessed through the organizations’ websites, but several were also shared with me in connection with interviews. The types of documents that were typically included in the analysis were self-descriptive texts such as vision and mission statements, project descriptions, and annual reports. These documents are examples of self-descriptive, and official, documents providing insight into how the FBOs want to present themselves to the world. As such, they are an interesting complement to interviews and observations, which may reveal more unscripted versions of the FBOs’ realities and in which there is more room for reflections and perhaps self-doubt. In total, 40 documents of these types, produced by the three studied FBOs, were analyzed.

For the purpose of contrasting antitrafficking FBOs with their secular NGO counterparts, I use a web-based directory for antitrafficking organizations throughout the world. The website is currently run by Freedom Center and the purpose is to help users find local organizations to donate time, skills or resources to. Organizations that wish to display their work in the directory submit information, which is then posted. The organization does very little curating of the content of the website, thus preserving the voice of the organizations present in the directory. Since there is no annual fee for being listed, the list is not pruned, and some websites were not updated (but still included). The list is searchable for any country. At the time of searching, there were 27 organizations in Thailand and 21 organizations in Cambodia included in the directory. This is a sizeable portion of the total number of organizations for each country, 84 for Thailand and 109 for Cambodia, according to an estimate from 2016 (Limoncelli 2016). In addition to these organizations, when encountering new organizations through searching the websites, 11 organizations were added, making the total number of organizations in the sample 59. In the directory, there is an English-speaking bias, leading to an underrepresentation of small and local organizations. There is also a Western bias since the organization behind the directory primarily targets an American audience. These biases are not expected to affect the

63 https://www.endslaverynow.org/about
inclusion of FBOs more than secular NGOs, but perhaps there is a bias against small and local FBOs affiliated with other religions than Christianity. The online directory was then used to discern patterns in antitrafficking work and contrast antitrafficking organizations that are faith-based with those that are secular, thereby addressing research question one by distinguishing the distinct characteristics of faith-based antitrafficking work.

**Observations**

Interviews enable the researcher to inquire about the motives and the reasoning behind actions and positions (Edwards and Holland 2013). Observations, on the other hand, enable the researcher to discover the participants’ perspectives, and how these are manifested, as well as the indigenous meanings of the actions they take (Emerson et al. 1995 p. 2). Observations allow for discovery of aspects that are not accessible via interviews or documents, and as such allowed me to take notice of how things were done, the context, the mood and the symbols. I used an observation guide (see Appendix 7) with supporting questions that reminded me of things to look for. This could be “which people are active/passive?” or “what routines are there?” I took note of what happened, what was said, and by whom, including taking time to describe key people I encountered (Emerson et al. 1995). An example of what these notes could look like is provided in Figure 19.

During observations, I made sure to describe the surroundings, taking particular note of signs, posters and religious symbols. Often, I asked questions to the participants to clarify what was going on, or why they were doing what they were doing. Thus, I did not attempt to be a “fly on the wall.” Instead, my presence was duly acknowledged and noted by everyone, but I did not participate in the activities.

I tried to find a balance between staying focused on the main event while at the same time noting what happens outside the immediate focus. I had interpreters with me that helped with the translation of signs or interpreting of what was said. These interpreters were recruited with the help of the supporting partners or studied FBOs, but the interpreters were independent of them. I also used these interpreters to aid my understanding of the cultural contexts, asking them about the significance of certain events that I noted. Throughout my observations, I made theoretical notes (Schatzman and Strauss 1973), which are ideas that emerge during the observations or during the process of writing up the notes. These notes sometimes describe connections that I make between observations and previous research findings, or established theory. This
is common practice in political ethnography (Devault 2006; Gustafsson and Johannesson 2016).

Figure 19. Example of observational notes

I conducted a total of 21 observations of the activities of the three FBOs. Many of the observations were pre-planned with the FBOs, but there were also occasions where observations were more spontaneous as interesting events occurred. Formal interviews often took place in connection with observations, and so the observations and the interviews complement each other, providing a rich, nuanced and contextual view of the antitrafficking activities of the FBOs.

Ethical considerations

An important aspect in qualitative research is reflexivity. One aspect of this to consider is what the researcher brings to the process of data collection and to the analysis (Guillemin and Gillam 2004). My background working in secular international development, and with faith-based organizations, meant that I had certain advantages in gaining access and trust in some of these settings. These advantages meant I could bridge over the differences. I have also experienced failures in which my overbridging capacities were insufficient.

Being a man from northern Europe created some cultural and language barriers. Different perspectives were sought to gain a comprehensive and heterogenous understanding, but this is a difficult balancing act that entails wrestling with my own preconceptions and insider knowledge.
I strived to make myself aware of my own biases throughout the process, including how my positionality influenced how questions were asked, and how interpretations were made. To achieve this, I tried to expose myself to several competing viewpoints. Competing viewpoints were accessed by different participants and their different perspectives. I was also confronted with competing viewpoints through getting feedback on texts and analysis. I challenged my biases by noting down reactions or realizations and thus making them visible and manageable (Morrow 2005).

The research has been assessed by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority twice, due to the potentially sensitive nature of the topic. The reason for the second review was that I decided to include young people between the ages of 15 and 18, which was not part of my original plan. The main reason for doing a formal ethics review was the sensitive topics of religious and ethnic identities, and potentially sexual orientation, that I expected could be raised during data collection. However, in my experience, these topics have not been sensitive from the perspective of the research participants. Instead, the potential backlashes that the participants could face from the political systems of Thailand and Cambodia, and from their own organizations, have been more important to consider. Some participants have felt unease discussing weaknesses of their own organization, or other organizations, and it has therefore been relevant for them to have anonymity and confidentiality. To safeguard this, I am not naming any organization that has participated in the case studies. I have also been careful in how I quote websites, documents, or people so that it is not possible to deduce the identity of individuals or organizations.

The ethics committee (in their second decision) suggested that consent forms be used. I have used these when possible but there are some instances where these have not been appropriate and where I have instead made sure that the participants gave informed consent through verbal communication. First and foremost, verbal consent was chosen when the participant did not read or write. In addition to the problem of not reading or writing, the consent forms sometimes made people nervous. In the context of Thailand and Cambodia, consent forms may be perceived as entering into a formal contract. To counter this in the instances of literate research participants, after thoroughly explaining what it means to participate, I explained that even upon signing the consent form they were free to end their participation in the study at any time, and that they could choose not to answer any or all of my questions. The written consent forms were, however, always used when interviewing FBO staff, NGO representatives, donors and government officials.
Throughout the process, reflexivity stresses the interpersonal aspects of research, the ethics in practice, such as respecting the autonomy, dignity and privacy of the participants in the study (Guillemin and Gillam 2004). As has been discussed, this goes beyond consent forms, and also concerns how to pose questions, how to respond to answers, and the importance of staying vigilant to subtle signs from the participant that they do not wish to talk about a particular topic (Sheftel 2018).

When doing observations, consent was assured directly but also, in some instances, indirectly. The FBOs clearly consented to my observations, and the FBOs also chose activities that they assessed to be ethically appropriate for me to observe. For example, I was not allowed to observe shelters where victims of trafficking were staying. When travelling with the FBOs to observe their activities, the team explained the purpose of my presence to the community members or project participants. During these observations, I took notes, and in some cases photographs, to aid my memory. I did not note down names, and the photographs taken (for the benefit of my own memory) excluded faces as far as possible. In the notes, I wrote the names of places and organizations, but these are omitted in the text of the thesis.

In some instances, I have interviewed victims of human trafficking. These interviews have been challenging as the interviewees have relatively fresh traumas that they are processing. It is important to understand that there are many problems associated with interviewing survivors of trauma. They may feel compelled to tell stories that fit a certain dominant narrative of what they are supposed to feel, or experience, or they may feel like their stories do not fit these narratives. It is important to recognize that they may choose to omit certain aspects for these or other reasons. The interviewer thus needs to be critical and aware of what we expect, what we are given, and what we did not ask for because it didn’t occur to us as interviewers (Sheftel 2018).

These challenges were aggravated by the fact that I am a white European man, and thus could share similarities with the survivors’ potential perpetrators. In those instances, I was accompanied by a female interpreter, adding a sense of security on behalf of the interviewee, and this defused some of the tension in the situation. Using an interpreter also allowed for natural pauses, allowing more time to reflect on what they wanted to reveal, or what they wanted to leave out of their story. On a few instances, it was necessary to pause the interviews to allow the participant to regain composure, and I asked if they wanted to end the interview. However, the interviewee told me that, despite the painful memories, it was important to share their story.
Analysis of the material

In this section, I will describe how I have analyzed the material in order to answer the research questions. I begin by describing the overall analytical approaches to the material. Next, I discuss how I employed the multidimensional analysis of antitrafficking FBOs, and how each analytical dimension corresponds to the research question of my thesis. The four analytical dimensions, as presented in an earlier section, are shown below in Figure 20.

The first research question concerning what is characteristic of the antitrafficking work of FBOs corresponds to the first analytical dimension of characteristic practices. The second research question asking what shapes the strategies of the antitrafficking FBOs corresponds to the second and third analytical dimensions of ideas about human trafficking and relationships. The third research question is concerned with the implementation level of the antitrafficking work of the FBOs and how it is received by the local stakeholders, and this corresponds to the fourth analytical dimension of community perception.

Figure 20. Analytical dimensions in the thesis of antitrafficking (AT)

Overall analytical approach

My analysis is characterized by an abductive approach, in which I go back and forth between the empirical material and theories (Ormston 2014). In other words, while I am not approaching the empirical material with the aim of testing established theories, I have sought to continuously bring theory and empirical data into conversation. I emphasize people’s local and personal experiences, while comparing these experiences with previous knowledge, theories and models. Previous theories have informed my coding practices, but I have not limited my analysis to what is covered by theorized categories or concepts from previous literature.

As has been discussed above, I make use of several different types of empirical material. This flows from the choice of research questions,
leading to the multidimensional analytical approach, which has in turn required an ethnographic approach to the empirics (Gustafsson and Johannesson 2016). While the different sources of information, such as observations, interviews or documents, provide different kinds of information, I have not decided on a hierarchy where any particular type of source material is more valuable than the other. Instead, as an example, observations reveal knowledge of a different kind compared to interviews and documents, and all of them enrich the analysis. All the various sources of information have nonetheless been transcribed and entered into a software program for qualitative analysis. The software program has allowed me to get an overview of patterns that emerge in the totality of the material, but also to zoom in on particular cases, or to compare cases with each other. Throughout the coding and the analytical process, writing memos and testing writing ideas has been essential to the development of conclusions. As mentioned, the analytical process differs depending on the analytical dimension, which will be explained below. Next, I discuss the analytical approaches in detail.

Characteristic practices

The analytical dimension of characteristic practices connects to research question one concerning the characteristics of the antitrafficking FBOs’ work and strategies.

To answer this question, I have used a mix of materials and analytical tools. One part of the analysis relied on websites and related documents from organizations (both FBOs and secular NGOs) working against human trafficking in Thailand and Cambodia. The information on the websites was used to determine what kind of organization they were, using the categories suggested by Sider and Unruh (Sider and Unruh 2004), i.e., whether they were secular NGOs, faith-background FBOs, faith-affiliated FBOs, faith-centered FBOs or faith-permeated FBOs. In addition, the websites were used to determine what the organizations were doing to counter human trafficking. The information was then systematized using descriptive statistics, looking for similarities or differences between the different types of antitrafficking organizations.

The second part of the analysis was a case study of the three Christian antitrafficking FBOs, which I used to further explore the patterns revealed in the website survey. The antitrafficking FBOs were also analyzed from the perspective of type of FBO (Sider and Unruh 2004) to allow for comparison with the website analysis. The type of material that was used for the case study was all the semi-structured interviews with research

64 MAXQDA
participants. The interview material was coded with an abductive approach, as some of the codes were derived from previous research on antitrafficking, but I also derived some codes inductively from the material itself and then categorized them into clusters: strategies/activities, thoughts on own role, advancement opportunities, target groups, and type of trafficking. The codes allowed for a comparison with the website analysis, and thus added depth to the picture. The codes were then clustered to answer questions about what the FBOs do, who they target, reflections on their own role, and what they can do differently or better in the future.

The codes were then used to see patterns concerning characteristic practices of FBOs, but also to identify the differences between the three organizations. Informing the analysis was Smith’s analytical approach to consider how material influences (funding, aims, partners and major activities) and sacred influences (theory of change, values, and views on development) interact to produce outcomes and shape the work of FBOs (Smith 2017). Thus, the second part of the analysis allowed me to deepen the understanding of the patterns detected through the website analysis and to see what the antitrafficking work of FBOs looks like in practice.

Worldviews and ideas about human trafficking

This analytical dimension focusing on ideas about human trafficking connects to research question two, concerning what shapes the strategies of the antitrafficking work of FBOs. To answer this question, I used the “what’s the problem represented to be” (WPR) approach, which has been developed by Carol Bacchi (Bacchi 2009, 2018; Bacchi and Goodwin 2016).

The material used for the analysis was semi-structured interviews with representatives from the three studied antitrafficking FBOs. I also used documents produced by these organizations, which were either accessed through the FBOs’ websites or requested from them in connection with the interviews.

My analysis was guided by the analytical questions associated with the WPR approach. The first analytical question I used was: How is human trafficking represented as a problem by the FBOs? This question was the starting point of my analysis. Thus, I started inductively by identifying representations of human trafficking in the material, rather than deducing them from the proposed solutions. An extract from the material that was coded as relevant for this first question and thus highlights problem representation of the FBOs is:
I would say that at the root, it starts with broken families, vulnerabilities, [...] And usually, I mean, a lot of times there’s sexual abuse in families or neglect and abandonment and physical abuse and things like that, that break down a person’s self-confidence and ability to make good choices in life.65

The quote illustrates how the staff of the FBOs view human trafficking as a problem caused by individual traumatic experiences.

The second analytical question asks what assumptions underpin the problem representation of the FBOs? This question is important as it helps to explicate what makes it possible for the FBOs to understand the problem of human trafficking in the way that they do. An extract from the material that illustrates the worldview enabling the problem representation mentioned above is:

And we believe that God created a perfect world in the beginning but because of the greed of people, the sins of people, people used the wrong power and then we ended up like this.66

The quote illustrates the worldview of a fallen creation in need of moral redemption, and by extension this enables a problem representation where human trafficking is interpreted as a result of the brokenness of human beings, and the world.

The third analytical question asks what the silences are, and what is left out of the narrative provided by the FBOs. Examples of this are when certain aspects of human trafficking, or certain profiles of human trafficking, are not mentioned or downplayed. This question can further illuminate how the FBOs view human trafficking, and its potential solutions. The fourth and final question used in the analysis asks what the effects and consequences associated with the kind of problem representation that has been identified may be.67

The second part of the analysis was to make sense of the findings and connect them to a larger theoretical framework, which in this case was Pupavac’s concept of therapeutic governance (Pupavac 2005). This was elaborated on in the previous section on theoretical departure points. The framework of therapeutic governance (TG) allowed me to understand the

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65 Interview with staff of CWOT, 1
66 Interview with staff of CCTP, 1
67 My analysis only used four of the six analytical questions of the WPR analysis, which was sufficient for my purposes. The two unanswered analytical questions are: 1. How has this representation of the “problem” come about? and 2. How is this representation of the “problem” produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?
(religious) ideas of the antitrafficking FBOs as part of a larger trend in international governance.

Relationships

The analytical dimension of relationships connects to research question two concerning what shapes the strategies of the antitrafficking work of FBOs. To answer this question from this particular analytical angle, I used the framework of institutional ethnography (IE). From the analytical toolbox of IE, I employ three key analytical concepts: ruling relations, standpoint, and problematics. I used these concepts to analyze the way the relationships of the studied FBOs contributed to shaping the antitrafficking work. Below, I will briefly describe what they are and how I have used them analytically. IE is often attributed to the sociologist Dorothy E. Smith (Smith 2005; Smith 2006), but many other scholars have contributed to its development (see for example Devault 2006; Devault and McCoy 2006; Rankin 2017a, b, c; Teghtsoonian 2016).

The material used for this analytical dimension has been diverse and extensive, in line with political ethnographic ambitions. Interviews with FBO staff, donors, authorities, NGOs, community members and beneficiaries is one important part. I also used group interviews with the FBO staff in which I asked the participants to map the relationships that the organizations had on the local level, national level and international level. In connection with this, I asked the FBO staff to describe tensions, conflicts or dilemmas that they have experienced between the different actors. Another important empirical material was observations of the antitrafficking work of the three studied FBOs. I also included documents belonging to the studied FBOs, such as descriptions about themselves, applications/project descriptions, or reports.

When beginning the analysis, I read through the material carefully, looking for evidence of ruling relations, and problematics, from the standpoint of the FBO staff. After this coding, I used a thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006, 2019) to identify patterns in problematics, which were then categorized into themes constituting the most salient problematics. These were then explored further in the extensive empirical material. The salient problematics that were analyzed further were faith in antitrafficking and complexities in human trafficking. Knowledge gaps in the literature also directed the focus, as I explored how the antitrafficking work was influenced by their particular faith-based donor networks in how they managed the two identified problematics.
Community reception

This analytical dimension of community reception connects to research question three concerning how the antitrafficking work of the FBOs is received and perceived by the local stakeholders. To answer this question, I consider the perceptions of the different stakeholders surrounding the antitrafficking FBOs. The backdrop to this question is the differences in religious identity that exist between the Christian FBOs and the primarily Buddhist communities in which they are working, and the question is whether these differences entail obstacles in the implementation of antitrafficking efforts.

The material used in this analysis is the interviews with participants representing the studied FBOs, community members and beneficiaries, NGOs, authorities and donors. In addition, the analysis was based on observations of the antitrafficking FBOs. The codes were derived from three analytical questions asked to the material: 1) Are FBO priorities compatible with the perceived needs of the communities?, 2) How are the antitrafficking FBOs perceived and how does this differ from how the FBOs present themselves?, and 3) What do the community relationships of the FBOs look like?

Using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006, 2019), the content was summarized for each participant and coding category. Following from these summaries, I was able to contrast the perspectives of the local stakeholders with those of the FBOs to see to what extent they aligned or diverged from each other. I also used the coded segments to look for signs of co-ownership (e.g., trust, shared understanding or shared values, reciprocity, etc.), which I defined from conceptual developments in previous literature. In addition, I also observed the antitrafficking practices in which co-ownership was demonstrated.

In this section, I have explained how I have carried out a political ethnography of the studied FBOs and the “ecosystem” of actors around them. In the next section, the findings generated through the use of these materials and methods are summarized through an overview of the four appended papers.
PRESENTING THE PAPERS: FINDINGS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In the following section, I summarize the contributions of the four appended papers. I focus on the main findings and how they correspond to the research questions of the thesis. The appended papers collectively contribute to the aim of the thesis: to understand and explain the role and impact of faith in development cooperation, and in particular in the antitrafficking efforts of FBOs in Thailand and Cambodia. The comprehensive answers to my research questions will be presented in the next and concluding section.

I. Faith standing out? Discovering the particularities of faith-based antitrafficking organizations

This paper responds to the first research question: What are FBOs doing to counter human trafficking and what characteristics do their strategies have? While there is need for more research on how human trafficking is countered, there is even greater need for more research on the faith-based response to human trafficking.

I pose two questions in the paper: (1) In what ways are faith-based antitrafficking organizations similar to or different from their secular counterparts in Thailand and Cambodia?, and (2) What does a Christian response to human trafficking look like in Thailand or Cambodia and how does faith interact with other factors to shape the work of FBOs? To answer the research questions, I use a combination of data collection strategies. First, I make a comparison with secular NGOs through a content analysis of 59 organizations’ websites, and then I continue to explore three case studies of FBOs with varying degrees of faith infusion. The organizations all have operations in either Thailand or Cambodia. The organizations are categorized using Sider and Unruh’s typology of faith infusion as either faith-permeated, faith-centered or faith-affiliated (in descending order of level of faith infusion). I then continue to map what they are doing, what they are focusing on, who they target and how they are funded.

The analysis shows that FBOs tend to focus more than their secular counterparts on the post-trauma stages in interventions: rescue, shelter,
restoration and repatriation of victims. Taking the nuances of faith infusion of FBOs into account, I also find that faith-affiliated FBOs resemble the secular NGOs to a high degree. This is particularly true regarding the degree of focus on employment/vocational training, research, legal assistance, system strengthening and social enterprises. The faith-centered FBOs have fewer similarities to secular NGOs in terms of what they focus on.

Another main finding is that the FBOs have distinct donor patterns that diverge from those of secular NGOs. The donor networks of FBOs consist of churches, other FBOs and individual donors. When FBOs do receive institutional funding, this funding is channeled through intermediate FBOs. In contrast, the donor networks of secular NGOs consist to a higher degree of other NGOs and institutional donors, and they rarely receive funding from churches.

The case study analysis reveals that the FBOs see faith as an added value, either through engaging religious leaders for change, or as a motivational factor for their staff. The emphasis on religion is viewed as a contextual necessity by the studied FBOs. When the FBOs are engaging in protection strategies, they have additional tools at their disposal, such as spiritual counselling. The faith-permeated FBO in particular intertwines religion in its programming, and makes holistic transformation a core idea as it strives to offer survivors of human trafficking dignified work and inner healing.

While the FBOs highlight the positive impact of religion, they also recognize the potentially negative effect of religion when religion is not used in a respectful way. For less faith-infused FBOs, faith is seen as a potential divider, and they consider that secular actors perceive faith-based actors as less professional. These two ideas in combination motivate a continual de-emphasizing of the religious identity of the faith-affiliated FBO. More faith-infused FBOs, on the other hand, resist the skeptical secular views on religion and instead invest in their faith identity and faith-based networks. This choice often leads to many FBOs secluding themselves from the professional mainstream development discourse.
II. Transforming troubled souls – Faith-based antitrafficking work as therapeutic governance

This paper responds to the second research question: What shapes the design of faith-based antitrafficking strategies? There are two dimensions to answering this question – ideas and relationships – and this paper deals with the first dimension of ideas on human trafficking through an analysis of problem representations. There is a general lack of understanding of FBOs as antitrafficking actors, and the knowledge of their impact on policy responses to human trafficking is fragmented and unclear.

This study begins to address this gap through an analysis of the discourse and activities of three FBOs working in Thailand and Cambodia. Drawing on interviews and document analysis, the analysis demonstrates that the Christian faith-based identity of the studied organizations is clearly reflected in their conception of human trafficking, which centers on the inner, spiritual qualities of individual victims, traffickers, and consumers. Thus, human trafficking is represented as a problem significantly caused by emotional trauma and brokenness of the soul, which can fundamentally only be addressed by individual self-transformation. This problem representation, I argue, leads FBOs to practice a specific, faith-infused form of “therapeutic governance.” Coined by Vanessa Pupavac (2005), the concept of therapeutic governance describes forms of governance that hold the individual responsible for their well-being and seek to achieve change through reforming the character, attitudes and behaviors of the individual, thus de-emphasizing structural dynamics and causes of societal problems (Klein and Mills 2017; Pupavac 2005; Rehberg 2014). The idea of human trafficking as an issue of troubled souls is manifested in practices that focus on awareness raising, existential health, entrepreneurship, improving self-esteem and dignified work.

Underlying such ideas about human trafficking, and their associated practices, is the theological concept of holistic development. Holistic development is a widespread notion among Evangelical FBOs globally. This problem representation fits within the holistic development theology common among FBOs. The holistic development theology enables the FBOs to appeal to both secular as well as religious arenas of antitrafficking. Underneath the religious language, there are similarities to secular ideas expressed though therapeutic governance regimes manifested through a focus on well-being, subjectification, relativization of poverty and individualized problematizations and solutions. My analysis also suggests that religious ideas have had an impact on the
emergence of this “therapeutic culture” in international development and governance, but this has so far not been recognized, perhaps due to the failure by the social sciences to take religion and faith seriously.

III. It is who you know: The influence of faith-based donor networks on the antitrafficking work of faith-based organizations

This paper also responds to the second research question: *What shapes the design of faith-based antitrafficking strategies?* However, the paper addresses the third analytical dimension concerning the relationships of the FBOs. The paper explores how antitrafficking FBOs are influenced by their particular faith-based donor networks, and how their donors contribute to shaping how FBOs conduct antitrafficking.

The prominence of FBOs in antitrafficking work (Frame et al. 2019; Harrelson 2010; Lonergan et al. 2020) is in part due to the substantial resources that are available within faith-based donor networks consisting of Christian individuals, churches and donor FBOs. In pursuit of a better understanding of the dynamics existing between FBOs and their specific faith-based donor networks, in this appended paper I ask: *What do the donor networks of the three studied FBOs look like? How do these donor networks shape the role of faith in the antitrafficking work of the FBOs? What are the effects on their antitrafficking work?*

In the paper, I make use of analytical concepts and research practices associated with institutional ethnography (IE), namely *standpoint, ruling relations* and *problematics* (Smith 2005; Smith 2006), which has been elaborated in previous sections. My analysis demonstrates that the three FBOs have, within the broader pattern of faith-based donor networks, three distinctly different compositions of donors, which produce different ruling relations concerning faith in antitrafficking. The donors of faith-centered CCTP are primarily FBOs that channel significant amounts of institutional funding. However, the foundational premise of the relationship between the faith-based donors and CCTP is their shared faith identity. At the same time, the institutional funds establish firm boundaries for the role of religion in antitrafficking. CCTP resolves this problematic by drawing on religiously inspired values in society for positive change, and by highlighting the significant role of religious leaders. The FBO instead chooses a kind of lifestyle evangelism, which is only vaguely linked to the antitrafficking project. CCTP also seeks out partners and future donors who share their faith, while at the same time
working across religious divides in the communities in which they operate.

Faith-affiliated FUAT, on the other hand, has a heterogenous mixture of donors, including churches and FBOs, but also secular donors. However, the majority of the donors are faith-based. The diversity of donors generates competing expectations regarding the role of faith in antitrafficking, and several of the donor relationships are strained, from the standpoint of the staff of FUAT. FUAT resolves these tensions and problematics by adopting a pragmatic faith identity, and an ambivalence towards the role of faith in antitrafficking. However, FUAT maintains its religious literacy in its work. To some extent, FUAT conforms to a secular logic that the absence of religion is the neutral ground, but clearly retains a certain religious literacy in which they emphasize the importance of considering religion and religious leaders in society at large, and in antitrafficking. The mix of donors of different faith traditions contributes to resisting ruling relations on siloing the antitrafficking efforts into certain groups of beneficiaries. This is partially resolved through adapted donor communications.

From the standpoint of faith-permeated CWOT, on the other hand, CWOT experiences significant pressure from its donors to integrate Christianity in its antitrafficking programs. This comes from a donor network that largely consists of Christian individuals and churches with similar worldviews. The reliance on volunteers from the churches also contributes to this pressure to center Christianity in its activities. One consequence of the dynamics between antitrafficking FBOs and their Christian donor networks is the difficulty of addressing structural matters relating to human trafficking. It is difficult to operate outside the donors’ expectations and understanding of what human trafficking is. This problematic, in the case of CWOT, is to some degree resolved by emphasizing a victim-centered approach and advocacy.

In conclusion, this paper highlights that the FBOs are shaped by their (religious) ideas in combination with money. Not all faith-based donor networks are created equal, and they have different expectations concerning the role of faith in antitrafficking. In sum, it’s about who you know, and in particular which donor you know.
IV. Bridging the divides? How Christian faith-based antitrafficking organizations construct co-ownership in Buddhist South-East Asia

This paper responds to the third and final research question: How is the work against human trafficking of the FBOs received by local communities? In this paper, I explore the antitrafficking work of Christian FBOs in Buddhist South-East Asia, and the ability of the FBOs to cross religious divides. My findings provide important insights about the obstacles and opportunities of Christian antitrafficking FBOs in constructing co-ownership when engaging with stakeholders from other religions.

I find that despite religious differences between the Christian antitrafficking FBOs and the largely Buddhist recipient communities, the FBOs are able to construct co-ownership. The evidence for this is a shared understanding of human trafficking, and its solutions. I argue that the FBOs are particularly skilled in adapting discourse, allowing them to bridge cultural and religious divides and to find overlapping identities and interests. To construct co-ownership, the FBOs engage in active listening, trust building, translation and persuasion, and employ several discursive practices parallelly, including religious discourses. In essence, they can engage with development professionals, Christian donors, and Buddhist community members. I propose that a shared religious ontology, i.e., the mutual acknowledgement of a spiritual reality, between the Christian antitrafficking FBOs and the Buddhist communities expedites this process of constructing co-ownership. This makes religion a resource, not a problem, in establishing co-ownership with local stakeholders in Buddhist South-East Asia.

I also find that the FBOs are less successful in creating co-ownership with secular antitrafficking actors. However, certain FBOs are more successful in crossing the secular–religious divide, notably FBOs with lower degrees of faith infusion (Sider and Unruh 2004; Paper I). However, one crucial element in the ability to cross the secular–religious divide is to what extent religious experiences are important in the program of the FBO. Contrary to expectation, the degree of faith infusion is less of an issue when crossing the Christian–Buddhist divide. Whether there is a trade-off between the ability to master secular development discourses and religious literacy at some point needs further exploration. The findings contribute to a nuanced and deeper understanding of FBOs in general, but also of the dynamics between implementors and recipients within small-scale
development projects. As such, the findings are important for practitioners, policymakers, and donors: FBOs can bridge identity divides and manage to construct co-ownership in multireligious contexts.
CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This thesis has aimed to understand and explain the antitrafficking work of FBOs in South-East Asia. This aim was divided into three research questions that have guided the overall analysis and the focus of the appended papers: (1) What are FBOs doing to counter human trafficking and what characteristics do their strategies have?, (2) What shapes the design of faith-based antitrafficking strategies?, and (3) How is the work against human trafficking of the FBOs received by local communities? These questions were designed to provide a comprehensive understanding of faith-based antitrafficking work.

In this final section, I summarize and synthesize the findings, and discuss how the appended papers collectively contribute to answering the above-mentioned research questions. The summary and synthesis will be structured around the three research questions. While all three research questions are interrelated, the characteristic practices (research question 1) are a direct consequence of the power dynamics in relationships, ideas and worldviews explored in my second research question. Therefore, I sometimes reference back and forth between the two sections exploring the two research questions. While the third research question concerning local reception is contingent on the characteristic practices of the FBOs, in terms of writing there is less need for referencing back and forth.

After answering the research questions, I take a step back to analyze the bigger picture and reflect on the larger lessons learned about faith-based antitrafficking work. I then conclude with a discussion on future research needs and policy implications.

What are FBOs doing to counter human trafficking and what characteristics do their strategies have?

The first of my research questions asks what FBO antitrafficking work looks like. To answer this question, I have explored what the FBOs typically do, who they collaborate with, and the role of faith in their antitrafficking work.

What is the focus of the antitrafficking work of FBOs?

While FBOs oftentimes engage in a combination of intervention strategies, what stands out in contrast to secular NGOs is their emphasis on protection. Protection is defined as an intervention strategy against
human trafficking that includes activities such as rescue, shelter, repatriation, after-care and restoration. Generally, FBOs prefer to focus more on the restoration phases, or post-trauma phases, of antitrafficking work (Paper I). However, the trend of focusing on restoration is accentuated with higher degrees of faith infusion (Sider and Unruh 2004). The focus on post-trauma intervention is associated with the faith-based ideas of holistic development (Freeman 2018). From the theology of holistic development, it follows that societies are changed through a series of personal transformations, which includes a spiritual dimension. From such ideas flow practices emphasizing (re)building self-esteem, trauma healing and individual morality. These are aspects that are viewed as important in the protection strategies of FBOs, but that are also seen as important preventive factors (Paper II).

Another important feature of the antitrafficking work of FBOs is the emphasis on entrepreneurship, employment and vocational training (Papers I and II). Handicraft programs and vocational training are presented as viable solutions to the problem of human trafficking. The FBOs emphasize these strategies as a means to offer agency to survivors of human trafficking, or to at-risk populations. Typical examples of vocational training are sewing or jewelry making, but there are also examples of rural livelihood activities such as farming (Paper II). Working against sex trafficking and helping women to find alternative sources of income to prostitution, is also associated with a faith-based response to human trafficking (Papers I and II).

The studied FBOs have a complicated relationship to structural and political dimensions of antitrafficking work. This is particularly true for faith-permeated FBOs with a donor portfolio dominated by churches and individuals associated with churches, but aspects of this are shared by all three FBOs. FBOs focus on soft advocacy and survivor-centered justice. By soft advocacy, I mean non-confrontational capacity building targeting local authorities. Hence, the local authorities are not criticized for not implementing effective policies against human trafficking, but instead they are offered capacity building, and the FBOs work in partnership with the authorities to carry out each other’s agendas (Paper III). The upside of this strategy is that the FBOs are seen as trusted actors in the community, and not as political actors. The downside is that the FBOs may be legitimizing authoritarian governments and their policies (Paper III).

I define survivor-centered advocacy as assisting survivors to get the means for therapy, or any other help they may need, and assistance with repatriation, or legal permission to stay in the country that they have been trafficked to. This kind of advocacy is not seen as political by faith-based
networks, but it can still require pushing the authorities to follow their own guidelines and laws. I find that this is one way for faith-permeated FBOs to reconcile the complexities of human trafficking with the reluctance from their donors to engage with structural or political issues. This type of advocacy often includes dealing with different government departments for permits, or registering papers, but sometimes even includes advocating for legal compensation from the state, or from the perpetrator. At other times, FBOs find other resources from the UN system, or from their networks of individual donors and churches (Paper III). While this may not be unique to FBOs, it is certainly something that the FBOs invest in.

Faith and faith-based actors in antitrafficking

Taking faith seriously in antitrafficking is unsurprisingly one of the key features of the antitrafficking work of FBOs. However, FBOs apply their faith in their antitrafficking work in different ways, depending on their level of faith infusion (Papers I, II, IV), which is in turn linked to which kinds of donors they have (Paper III).

In the case studies, one of the FBOs included proselytizing in their work, while the other two did not. However, what sets the FBOs apart from other type of actors, and what unites the three FBOs in the case studies, is the high regard for people’s spirituality, and for the role of religious leaders in society. While it is also possible for secular NGOs to take the religious beliefs of recipient communities into account, they seldom do so due to their secular bias against religion (Ager and Ager 2011; Butcher and Hallward 2018; Dragovic 2017; Hallward 2008). Throughout this thesis, I have carefully analyzed what kind of FBO I am looking at through the categorization developed by Sider and Unrugh (Sider and Unruh 2004). Faith-permeated FBOs emphasize their faith identity more, and make faith an integral part of their programming. Faith-centered FBOs still emphasize their faith identity but do not necessarily relate all activities to faith. Faith-affiliated FBOs downplay their faith identity to a certain degree, and faith is considered an aspect outside of the program parameters.

All three of the FBOs demonstrate the use of faith and religious ideas in their programming. During my observations of the antitrafficking work, and retold in several interviews, I have found many examples of how the FBOs engaged with spiritual worldviews. The FBOs did so in relation to survivors of human trafficking, their own staff members, donors, community members or leaders from different faith traditions (Papers I, II and IV). At the same time, the FBOs also demonstrated that they could
conduct antitrafficking activities without any explicit faith component in them. Their vocational training, or awareness-raising activities, were similar to those of secular NGOs. Such instances are called the religious non-effect (Leer-Helgesen 2016, 2020). Sometimes religion has nothing to do with the chosen strategies, and we should refrain from forcing a connection. I will return to this question later on.

The studied FBOs all draw from a holistic worldview (Freeman 2018), which, in the context of FBOs, means that they emphasize that humans have multidimensional needs, and these include spiritual needs (Paper II). While many FBOs, as discussed above, separate proselytism from social work, the holistic approach to development, including antitrafficking, challenges the secular separation between spiritual and other needs. As an example of how this is challenged, one FBO included financial management in a Bible study, to insert spiritual (Christian) ideas on how to relate to money.68 Thus, to the FBOs, all matters can be connected to spiritual principles, but not all matters are connected to explicit spiritual principles. Some FBOs therefore disregard the secular separation between religion and development, while other FBOs choose to maintain such a separation but acknowledge that all religion can be a resource for social change. In both literature and in practice, this is referred to as religious literacy (Juul Petersen and Le Moigne 2016), that is, knowing enough about the worldview of the communities that religious principles can be evoked for positive change. In Paper III, I demonstrated that the ways that religion is invoked in antitrafficking work is dependent on the differing ruling relations of the faith-based donor network of the antitrafficking FBOs.

Some FBOs, e.g. CWOT, add spiritual components particularly to their aftercare programs (Papers I and IV). When dealing with the restoration of survivors of human trafficking, FBOs such as CWOT can utilize a larger span of tools, including spiritual ones, which can provide them with an added dimension in contrast to secular antitrafficking organizations. Examples of such spiritual tools include trauma therapy based on religious worldviews. This is typically done through Bible studies, weekly or daily devotions, and ongoing mentoring of clients. Including vocational training is also a typical trait of FBOs. While having vocational training in the programs is by no means exclusive to FBOs, some FBOs integrate spiritual elements into vocational training. Employment is seen as an important aspect of restoring the survivors’ dignity and is therefore seen as therapeutic (Paper II). By adding a spiritual dimension to therapy, the FBOs clearly violate the boundaries between religion and development, as

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68 Interview with staff of CWOT, 5
defined by secular actors. As such, these practices are highly controversial and criticized by many actors, and in particular by secular NGOs and donors. But again, such practices can be maintained through the support of faith-based donor networks (Paper III). It is not as simple as to say that if there were no institutional funding, or secular actors, then the boundary between religion and development would be completely torn down. In fact, the criticism towards mixing religion and development is also shared by many FBOs (Paper IV). However, in practice there are a multitude of ways to set the boundaries for the role of religion in development, and this is many times a moving target. It is possible to acknowledge the need for religious values or dimensions without necessarily having an explicit Christian agenda (Paper III).

Cooperating partners and donors

One key aspect of the FBOs’ approach to antitrafficking is who they cooperate with. There is a clear and striking difference in donor patterns between FBOs and secular NGOs. While secular NGOs tend to have a higher percentage of institutional donors, as well as other NGO donors, the FBOs rely on individuals, churches and other FBOs as their donors (Paper I). However, the donor portfolio of the FBOs is not necessarily a bad hand for the FBOs due to the substantial resources of the faith-based donor network. Several of the largest international organizations in the world are FBOs (Haugen 2019). It is increasingly difficult to access institutional funds, as an ever-growing proportion of these are allocated to larger and more professionalized organizations (Banks and Brockington 2020). This means that small and medium-sized FBOs have a hard time accessing such funds.

In terms of cooperation on the ground, the analysis in the appended papers shows a wide and heterogenous network of partners to the FBOs. These partners range from other FBOs, local churches and international churches, to schools, police officers, lawyers, community-based organizations, other religious institutions, local authorities, local business owners, international businesses, hospitals, foreign embassies, national authorities, international NGOs, UN agencies, and individuals across the world (Papers III and IV). Examples of these types of partners are all represented by the three studied FBOs. It is important to point out that these collaborations span secular–religious divides, as well as boundaries between different faith traditions (Papers III IV). In addition, it is important to know that within this broader category of faith-based donor networks, there are considerable differences in composition, which is influenced by the level of faith infusion of the FBO (Sider and Unruh 2004). I find that the faith-permeated CWOT has a majority of churches
and individuals as their donors, while the faith-affiliated FUAT has a much more heterogenous donor profile with some notable secular donors (Paper III).

The FBOs are open to, and to some degree rely on, volunteers to implement their work. This is particularly true for the faith-permeated FBO, which has a significant reliance on individuals and churches as primary donors (Paper III). These volunteers can be part of the daily work close to the communities, work at the office, or work with fundraising, communication and public relations in the West. Here, it is important to recognize that these are characteristics that may be shared with many smaller organizations that rely on personal networks to access different kinds of resources for their programs (Schnable 2015, 2016, 2021; Tomalin 2012). Nonetheless, the FBOs are able to use the spiritual mandate to offer donations to great effect; they can access significant funds and can offer lower salaries for employees and capitalize on volunteer hours to help their cause (Davis 2019; Schnable 2015, 2016).

What shapes the design of faith-based antitrafficking strategies?

One of my research questions asks what shapes the faith-based response to human trafficking. This question has been dealt with in two of the appended papers, focusing on different analytical dimensions. The second paper focused on the impact of ideas about human trafficking, as shaped by broader worldviews. The third paper focused on relational aspects. As I synthesize what I have uncovered relating to what shapes the response to trafficking by FBOs, I will be discussing concepts such as therapeutic governance, holistic transformation, ruling relations and secular–religious divides, and how they contribute to shaping the antitrafficking work of FBOs.

Holistic transformation

I have investigated to what extent religious beliefs (faith) matter for how people and organizations act. It has therefore been necessary to consider the actual religious beliefs that the FBOs hold, and how these impact on their antitrafficking work. As actors within development broadly, and antitrafficking specifically, the FBOs need to position themselves theologically on core assumptions about development, what a good society is, and how to achieve that society. They also need to position themselves on what the boundaries are, if any, concerning the role of religion in development. Previous research, as well as my own empirical
material, has found that Evangelical, and many Protestant, denominations and affiliated FBOs have ideas that can be summarized in the concept of holistic development (Dotsey and Kumi 2019; Freeman 2018; Leer-Helgesen 2016, 2020). Holistic development recognizes all dimensions of human needs, and is often used in contrast to secular development, which tends to neglect spiritual needs. In contrast, the idea of holistic development includes financial, social, psychological and spiritual needs. The emphasis is on the spiritual needs, but not in isolation. The distinctive idea in holistic development, and a common idea among Evangelical development organizations (Bebbington 1989; Dotsey and Kumi 2019; Freeman 2012, 2015, 2018, 2020; Reynolds and Offutt 2013) is the emphasis on spiritual, or existential health (Melder 2012). The worldview that underpins the idea of holistic development is based on the doctrines of creation, fall and redemption. It assumes that the world and everything within it have been infused with evil and the ultimate resolution is found in redemption (Freeman 2018). This worldview is repeated in one of the interviews with an FBO staff member:

“And we believe that God created a perfect world in the beginning but because of the greed of people, the sins of people, people used the wrong power and then we ended up like this.”

The quote illustrates the importance of this theology within the CCTP, but also for the other FBOs, and the potential it has to shape the practices of the FBOs. This theology carries implications, I find, for the broader antitrafficking work of the studied FBOs, as it shapes the views on human trafficking, and what is seen as an appropriate response to human trafficking (Paper II).

The general view of FBOs, within this holistic development framework, is that religion and religious leaders are important factors to consider. This has already been discussed briefly above. Fundamentally, this view of the potential role that religion and religious leaders can play, causes the FBOs to consider ways to activate religion and religious leaders as a force for change. This need not, hypothetically, be unique to FBOs, as secular NGOs can choose to identify ways that religious beliefs and religious leaders can be pivotal for change as well. However, due to the general secularist view of religion as a problem to avoid (Dragovic 2017; Hallward 2008), secular NGOs rarely do this. It is, however, important to stress that sometimes religious beliefs and religious leaders can be in opposition to desired change. In these instances, the FBOs can choose to engage in dialogue

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69 Interview with staff of CCTP, 1
with the religious leaders, or people with religious beliefs, and attempt to recontextualize religion from part of the problem to part of the solution. I find that having a shared religious ontology can expedite such processes, even if there are differences in religious beliefs (Paper IV).

The holistic development framework, however, carries other consequences for the antitrafficking work of the FBOs. For instance, that FBOs participate in therapeutic governance regimes, and pivot towards an emphasis on individual dignity. This will be discussed below.

Therapeutic governance

In my second appended paper, I discuss how the problem of human trafficking is understood by FBOs. While they often have a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of human trafficking as a phenomenon, I found that they fundamentally saw it as a problem of troubled souls caused by emotional or spiritual trauma, or immorality (Paper II). The understanding of human trafficking in this way, is essentially what leads to the emphasis on protection discussed above (Paper I). The emphasis on troubled souls individualizes the problem of human trafficking, but also internalizes it, placing the problem inside the spirituality and psychology of human beings. This spiritualized way of understanding human trafficking also makes the FBOs particularly well-placed to counter it, according to their own understanding. This view of human trafficking translates into antitrafficking practices that often focus on awareness raising, because the problem is lack of awareness of risk, or lack of knowledge or education. It also produces activities focusing on improving self-esteem and existential health, because victims of human trafficking are perceived as scarred and troubled individuals. The same is applicable for the perpetrators, as it is clear that the FBOs view perpetrators as scarred and troubled individuals in need of inner transformation. It is also common to have a focus on entrepreneurship or vocational training, because it is the lack of skills that is fundamentally causing people to be trafficked (Paper II).

I argue that this kind of problem representation of human trafficking, and the practices that it produces, can be seen as a form of therapeutic governance. Therapeutic governance is an analytical concept used to describe and explain certain forms of governing, and it was developed by Vanessa Pupavac as a critique of humanitarian programming (Pupavac 2005). Pupavac analyzed the shift in policy by the World Bank, and her critique, in essence, was that as the World Bank emphasized immaterial aspects of human development at the expense of material aspects of human development and global structural inequalities (Paper II).
My thesis points towards the Protestant and Evangelical underpinnings of therapeutic ideas. These groups have historically been skeptical of the welfare state helping “undeserving” and “deserving” poor alike (Hackworth 2012). Societies influenced by Protestantism developed a separate category for the poor – pauperism – who have themselves to blame for their situations due to bad judgment or character (Katz 2013). This kind of thinking can then be transferred to a human trafficking context, and be implemented as therapeutic forms of governance. I therefore highlight the varied ways faith is shaping global governance trends (i.e., therapeutic governance promoted by the World Bank, among others), and how these trends also influence the antitrafficking work of FBOs.

Another important aspect of what shapes the antitrafficking work of FBOs is the racialized ideas stemming from Evangelical denominations dominated by white privileged groups in Northern America (Yukich and Edgell 2020). The theological interpretation of these Evangelical groups pivots away from structural economic reform, and ignores structural and racial injustice (Reynolds and Offutt 2013; Williams 2020; Yukich and Edgell 2020). The influence of these ideas is not recognized as racialized by the Christian antitrafficking FBOs themselves, but is instead translated as individualistic ideologies emphasizing hard work and individual transformation. Such theological interpretations align well with approaches to development associated with therapeutic governance (Paper II).

The FBOs emphasize entrepreneurship and vocational training (Papers I and II). These ideas are associated with solving the problem of poverty by entering into the global marketplace (Klein and Mills 2017), as free enterprise, individual liberty and private ownership are seen as essential to human freedom (Kempadoo 2015; Kempadoo et al. 2015). This is in itself an expression of white Evangelicalism’s preference for helping people to help themselves (Hackworth 2012). The emphasis on handicrafts and vocational training partly draws on the dichotomy between dignified and undignified work. Sex work is perceived as undignified, even if the sex worker’s pay is better, or the hours shorter, and any alternative employment is seen as dignified. This dichotomy is a result of Christian ideas on sexual morals (Zimmerman 2011, 2013). The risk is that such ideas produce a dichotomy of “bad prostitutes” and “good victims” (Alvarez and Alessi 2012) – echoing “undeserving” and “deserving” poor discussed above – which may lead to further victim blaming, and to the neglect of certain victims because they are blamed for their own situation. The FBOs’ ideas of undignified work connect to the
forms of therapeutic governance practiced by the FBOs, as it resonates with their worldview of holistic transformation (Paper II).

The secular–religious divide

To understand the antitrafficking work of FBOs, it is important to examine how Christian ideas about religion in development, and antitrafficking, are in dialogue with other competing worldviews such as secularism. In my research, I have seen how FBOs interchangeably adapt to secularism, or act in resistance to it. This relationship between Western secularism and FBOs has effects on the antitrafficking work of the FBOs, as I will discuss below.

My results show that the skeptical view that secular actors hold regarding the role of religion in development creates two tangible effects on FBOs. The first is the “shy” FBO, meaning that FBOs tend to adapt how they present their faith identity, and de-emphasize it in relation to critical (secular) audiences. Previous research has discussed the ability of FBOs to adapt their discourse depending on whether they are addressing a secular or a religious audience (Tomalin 2018). This carries the effect that some FBOs are not recognized as FBOs because they veil their religious identity in secular discourse (Papers I, II and III). There is a sense that FBOs are seen as less professional and competent and thus, to be taken seriously, they need to present themselves using secular modes of communication. Lonergan and Tomalin calls this strategy a dual register (Lonergan et al. 2020), and this is something that resonates with the results of this thesis. The effect on research is that sometimes FBOs are analyzed as secular NGOs, and thus the conclusions drawn concerning both secular NGOs and FBOs can be erroneous. But for many of the FBOs with higher degrees of faith infusion (Sider and Unruh 2004), this means that they find it difficult to participate in certain forums where the secular development discourse is pervasive. The secular–religious divide can indeed be difficult to cross, and particularly so for a faith-permeated FBO, but less so for a faith-affiliated FBO where faith is already downplayed (Paper IV).

The second effect of secular actors’ skepticism towards religion is on the type of donors that the FBOs have. FBOs tend to rely more heavily on individuals, churches and other FBOs, and less on institutional donors (Paper I). Secular NGOs, which effortlessly adopt the secular development discourse, are more often funded by institutional donors and other NGOs (Davis 2019). One plausible explanation for this segregation of donor portfolios is that institutional donors prefer partners that express faith in a more passive way (Tomalin 2012). This has been suggested in previous
research, and this explanation fits with the studied FBOs. I also see that, in some ways, FBOs prefer to be associated with faith-based donors.\textsuperscript{70}

The impact of faith-based donor networks

One of the key characteristics of FBOs is their reliance on individuals, churches and other FBOs (Paper I). Being left with donors that are individuals, churches and FBOs is not necessarily a bad lot for the FBOs, as there is a lot of money available to fundraise from these groups. Within faith-based networks, religion provides ways of thinking that legitimize development work, and it also provides networks for recruiting donors and volunteers (Schnable 2016).

Part of the theoretical framework of this thesis has been the categorization of FBOs in terms of how faith-infused they are, based on Sider and Unruh’s typology (Sider and Unruh 2004). My thesis shows that level of faith infusion matters to a significant degree. Even if the three studied antitrafficking FBOs all conform to this pattern of having donor networks dominated by faith-based donors, there are considerable differences between them in the specific compositions of their donor portfolios. This carries significant consequences for what kind of antitrafficking work the FBOs choose to implement, and in particular for what role religion or faith has in antitrafficking. Broadly speaking, the antitrafficking FBOs and their donors are partly reflections of each other.

FUAT, a faith-affiliated FBO, has a mix of secular and faith-based donors, many of which channel institutional funding. CCTP, a faith-centered FBO, is primarily funded by other like-minded FBOs with access to institutional funding. CWOT, a faith-permeated FBO, is by a significant degree funded by churches and Christian individuals. These differing funding profiles have tangible effects on the antitrafficking work of the FBOs, and in particular on the role of religion in antitrafficking. The three different FBOs manage these tensions concerning the role of faith in antitrafficking differently. The problematic that the FBOs are faced with are contradicting expectations concerning faith in antitrafficking, which needs to be resolved (Paper III).

One strategy used by the faith-affiliated FBO to resolve the tensions relating to faith in antitrafficking from a diverse donor network is to de-emphasize the faith identity and adopt an ambivalent stance towards faith in antitrafficking. This strategic ambivalence allows for appealing to partners expecting a more explicit role of faith, while at the same time satisfying partners who want to have a toned-down role of faith. In one

\textsuperscript{70} Interview with donor of CCTP, 1
sense, this is to conform to a secular logic that the absence of religion is neutral ground. In contrast to secular actors, FBOs clearly retain a religious literacy as they emphasize the important role of religion (Paper III).

Another strategy used by the faith-centered FBO is to emphasize the role of religious literacy and, drawing on religiously inspired values in society, to advocate for antitrafficking measures. Such FBOs do not engage in proselytism, but instead choose a kind of lifestyle evangelism. The third strategy used by the faith-permeated FBO is to intertwine faith in antitrafficking work. This means that Christianity is an essential part of the work in the form of regular devotions for staff and clients, but also faith-based counselling for clients. Such antitrafficking practices are harder for secular donors to accept, something which makes it harder to attract secular donors (Paper III). A consequence of the faith-based donor–FBO dynamics is difficulty in addressing structural matters relating to human trafficking, because these are not in alignment with the donors' expectations and understanding of what human trafficking is. This understanding often leans towards being individualized and spiritualized. Such representations of human trafficking have been found to be present among Evangelical Christian antitrafficking FBOs (Paper II). Illustrating these boundaries relating to politics, one NGO representative with insights into the FBOs stated this: "[…] the minute that you start to talk about community development or having the gospel change how we interact. Oh, that’s like communism."71 This problematic is resolved through a focus on victim-centered advocacy, which allows the FBOs to address injustices without being perceived as political (Paper III).

How is the FBOs’ work against human trafficking received by local communities?

The final research question is concerned with how the antitrafficking work of the Christian FBOs is received by local communities. The backdrop to this research question is the abilities of Christian FBOs, whose core defining feature is their faith identity, to operate in a context that is not Christian, but where Buddhism is the majority religion. The answer to this question needs to deal with how the FBOs manage, if at all, to reach across various divides. One essential divide is the potential divide between Christian FBOs and Buddhist communities. Another divide is the one between implementing development organization and recipient communities, and the power dynamics that exist between them. The

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71 Interview with NGO representative, 2
answer will therefore be structured in two sections: bridgeable divides, and co-ownership.

Bridgeable divides

In Paper IV, I show that the studied FBOs all demonstrate effective abilities to work across religious, organizational, cultural and governmental divides and differences. Level of faith infusion (Sider and Unruh 2004) mattered less in this regard. When I investigated this, I interviewed FBOs, local authorities and donors, and asked the FBOs to make relationship maps. The interviews in tandem with the relationship maps (Papers III) showed that the FBOs had complex and heterogeneous relationships in the communities: secular/Buddhist government departments, Muslim governments (from places of origin of trafficking victims), secular NGOs, health clinics, embassies, community-based groups, UN agencies, schools, private business owners and communities of various faiths. One FBO representative explained the different levels they are cooperating with from the intergovernmental level, the national level and the locally implementing NGO: “We cooperate with the government organizations, law enforcement antitrafficking department, immigration department, IOM, we partner with other NGOs.” The point is that the religious divides do not necessarily hinder the FBOs from cooperating with a diverse group of actors (Paper IV).

Co-ownership across religious divides

A key puzzle in development studies is local ownership and the power dynamics between implementers and recipients. The issue of local ownership, how to achieve it, and why it matters, has been received intense research attention (Black 2020; Brolin 2017; Hasselskog 2020; Hasselskog and Schierenbeck 2017; Kluczewska 2019). These questions also apply to the antitrafficking work of FBOs, and in particular when they are engaging with actors and communities that are affiliated with a different faith tradition than their own, such as Buddhism. The key question is if the FBOs and the Buddhist communities can agree on what human trafficking is, and how to address it collectively. Can they achieve co-ownership over the problem of and solution to human trafficking?

As I established earlier, the religious differences are not a significant obstacle for cooperation across religious divides. In addition, I find that the FBOs and local communities, as well as local authorities, align very well in terms of their understanding of human trafficking as a phenomenon, and what the main problems are in the community. They

72 Interview with staff of CWOT, 1
have what I call co-ownership in defining the problem and solution. This does not mean that there are no imbalances in the power dynamics between implementors and recipients, but rather points towards a more nuanced picture than an either/or scenario. In the case of the Christian antitrafficking FBOs, I argue that they are particularly skilled in adapting discourse, allowing for the FBOs to bridge cultural and religious divides and to find overlapping interests with local communities (Clarke and Ware 2017; Ware and Clarke 2017; Wimelius et al. 2020). They achieve this through active listening, trust building, persuasion, contextualization, translation and adaptation of ideas and concepts. They also manage to engage in several discursive practices simultaneously, including in religious discursive practices. I suggest that a shared religious ontology between Christian FBOs and Buddhist local communities, despite differences in religious beliefs, expedites the process of creating co-ownership (Paper IV).

In previous sections, I have discussed that the secular–religious divide is hard to bridge for FBOs, and particularly for the more faith-infused FBOs. My research highlights that in some instances, such as in the case of Thailand and Cambodia, the divide between Christians and Buddhists is easier to bridge than the divide between secular actors and FBOs. Yet many of the FBOs master a dual register to bridge the divide. However, for some FBOs in antitrafficking, there is no need to make this jump due to the extensive resources available to them in terms of funding, volunteers and partnerships within faith-based networks (Papers I and III). What they do miss out on is the ability to learn from secular actors, and as a consequence, the secular actors miss out on the experiences from the FBOs, and often overlook the importance of religion and religious leaders in development.

Contextualized faith matters for antitrafficking

Above, I have discussed the answers to the research questions that this thesis set out to answer. To be able to answer the research questions, I have been guided by the multidimensional analysis of FBOs, as shown in Figure 21 below. I have analyzed the characteristic practices of antitrafficking FBOs (1), the ideas about human trafficking held by antitrafficking FBOs (2), the relationships that are enabling and limiting what the antitrafficking FBOs can and cannot do (3), and finally, how the antitrafficking work of the FBOs is received in the communities where they are working (4).
I will now take a further step back and synthesize what the answers to the research questions and my underlying analytical dimensions collectively illuminate. In doing this, I see two major points that I wish to elaborate on.

Firstly, it is evident that the presence as well as the absence of faith matters significantly for how antitrafficking is done. In some ways, studying FBOs has been a proxy for studying the role of faith in antitrafficking, and in development cooperation more broadly. It is therefore important to bear in mind that it is not only religious actors that hold beliefs, and we should thus attempt to analyze how beliefs and values matter for all actors, secular as well as religious (Smith 2017). This thesis has also provided evidence for how the values of secular NGOs influence their ways of interacting with religious actors.

Figure 21. Multidimensional analysis of antitrafficking (AT) FBOs

The point that I am making is not that faith has a purely positive or negative impact, but rather that it matters for shaping antitrafficking practices for better or worse. My thesis shows that faith shapes the response to human trafficking towards protection strategies (Paper 1). Faith also matters for highlighting the role of religion and religious leaders (Papers I, II, III and IV). Faith matters for funding dynamics, as faith and religious ideas intertwine with logics of funding and produce effects for how antitrafficking is done (Papers I and III). Faith matters too for shaping ideas on how human trafficking is perceived as a problem, and which solutions are imagined and put into practice (Paper II). Faith matters for the relationships that the FBOs are willing to, or able to, form, and the contentions that arise between the FBOs and their potential stakeholders or partners (Papers III and IV). Finally, faith presents obstacles when dealing with a secularly dominated antitrafficking sector, but it can open up opportunities for creating co-ownership with Buddhist communities in South-East Asia (Paper IV).

The picture that is emerging from these conclusions is that even if faith on the surface seems to be a non-factor (Leer-Helgesen 2016, 2020), as when...
FBOs engage in similar activities as secular NGOs, faith still contributes to shaping the contexts in which the FBOs are able to, allowed to, or willing to operate. It is not unreasonable to infer that secular beliefs matter in the same dimensions as religious beliefs – shaping ideas about human trafficking and how it should be solved, cooperation patterns, and funding patterns – but with distinctly different effects. It is also plausible to assume that interpretations of other religions (e.g., Buddhism, Hinduism or Islam) also matter in similar ways, but with distinctly different effects associated with their beliefs. I have also shown that in certain dimensions, the level of faith infusion (Sider and Unruh 2004) matters significantly as well. In particular, I have shown that faith infusion matters when engaging with actors influenced by secular ideals, which is often the case for institutional policymakers and donors from the West. So, while the dimensions of importance can be transferred to all actors, religious as well as secular, the particularities of how they matter are only transferable to Protestant Christian FBOs, and perhaps in particular to Evangelicals, given that levels of faith infusion are considered.

This conclusion on religion shaping the very context of the antitrafficking work of FBOs leads us to another reflection on the role of religious actors in development. The secular ideal of separating religion and development activities is not as clear-cut as it may seem. The idea that one can isolate and remove religion is to a large extent a Western (Christian) construct, which may not align well with other cultures and religions, as I discuss in Paper IV. While many FBOs agree that there should be certain boundaries for the role of religion in development work, determining those boundaries is a challenging enterprise, just as it may be challenging to determine who is religious and who is not. This thesis has demonstrated a wide variety of opinions on the boundaries between religion and development, and even among FBOs in antitrafficking there are different contextualized and fluid solutions to the question of such boundaries. However, just because it is difficult does not mean that it isn’t important to ponder on. But the main point is that these judgments depend very much on the context from which they are made. And this brings me to my second point.

Secondly, across the four papers of this thesis, I see the traces of, and effects of, contextualized beliefs. By contextualized beliefs I mean when religious beliefs are reinterpreted and contextualized, and thus merged with cultural values, or competing religious or secular worldviews (Leer-Helgesen 2016, 2020). Finding common ground is essential, and thus the contextualization is expediated by shared religious ontology. This process allows for the FBOs to bridge divides across religions and cultures but also into secular discursive fields (Paper IV). It is evident that the FBOs choose
different aspects of their faith to contextualize depending on what is socially acceptable within their network of partners and donors (Paper III). I would propose to add to Sider and Unruh’s typology that level of faith infusion (Sider and Unruh 2004) does not necessarily translate into levels of contextualization, or levels of conservation of beliefs or identity. My thesis illustrates several instances in which the faith-affiliated FBOs are skilled in adapting to the secular development discourse. While the more faith-infused FBOs are more guarded against secularism, and choose to maintain a more outspoken religious identity, they too contextualize their beliefs and practices to persuade, attract support and mobilize for change. When FBOs are confined, or choose to confine themselves, to faith-based donor networks, the contextualization of beliefs works within that “bubble.” When the donor network is more diverse, differing perspectives enter the mix and thereby influence the response to human trafficking (Paper III). Regardless, in essence, the participation of the FBOs in antitrafficking is contributing to changing the implications of their faith within the field of antitrafficking, as they are exposed to additional worldviews and perspectives.

In addition, my thesis has also shown that the secular antitrafficking field is compatible with religious beliefs in certain ways. That is, secular development practices are also subjected to influence by religious ideas and values. The resemblance between religious ideas and secular polices is exemplified through how secular therapeutic governance regimes mimic and are potentially reinforced by Protestant and Evangelical ideas of holistic development, which emphasizes non-material aspects of development (Paper II). This is in line with the previous research that has established the Christian influence on the larger antitrafficking agenda, as implemented by the US administration in the early 2000s (Feingold 2014; Wilson and O’Brien 2016; Zimmerman 2011). Thus, when secular and religious discourses collide, there is a potential for reinforcement in both directions. The one-way street towards secularism is turned into a multiple-lane street of various beliefs and worldviews in an ongoing dialogue. This, too, happens in the context of antitrafficking.

Further research and policy implications

In this section, I will suggest a few research avenues worthy of future pursuit. I will also discuss a few potential policy implications of my findings for donors, NGOs, and FBOs.
Further research

In my research, I have seen that donors influence the way faith is utilized in the antitrafficking programs of the FBOs. One of the faith-centered FBOs was very reliant on institutional funding, yet managed to retain an explicit faith identity. More research would be warranted to study faith-centered FBOs with and without institutional funding to explore the impact of institutional funding on how they work, and the role of faith in the work of the FBO.

Other researchers have concluded that more focus should be directed towards FBOs affiliated with other faith traditions besides Christianity. I still see the relevance of this suggestion, and FBOs affiliated with other religions should be studied further. This can be done by exploring FBOs affiliated with other faith traditions, but it can also be done through comparisons. One avenue would be to study organizations of similar size and objectives but which adhere to different faith traditions, and thereby explore the specific influence of the faith of these other religious traditions. In such a research venture, it would be possible to use similar analytical dimensions as in this thesis.

One central concept in my thesis has been faith infusion, and I have concluded that faith-affiliated FBOs have a certain religious literacy. This religious literacy enables faith-affiliated FBOs to understand the relevance of religion and religious actors, but also to understand how to work with religious actors of different faiths. My analysis showed that faith-affiliated FBOs were struggling to maintain a balance between secular and religious discourses but still managed to maintain a religious literacy. An interesting research pursuit would be to see if there is any trade-off in religious literacy when reducing faith infusion, i.e., becoming a faith-background or faith-affiliated FBO. Relating to this, it would also be an interesting research agenda to continue to explore the different ways that religious literacy is manifested in development cooperation in different organizations. One aspect of this could be to compare between different degrees of faith affiliation, as well as faith infusion, and between FBOs and NGOs.

In my research, I have argued that some of the FBOs fall under the radar of many institutional and government donors and policymakers. They belong to the undergrowth of development practice. However, there are many FBOs that are locally based, and not organized as NGOs. I suggest that more research attention is directed towards such local faith actors who are outside the realm of Western-funded development.
Lastly, my thesis has explored how a shared religious ontology can bridge religious and other divides. I suggest that more research is directed to exploring the mechanisms, the conditions and the boundaries for such bridging abilities. When are shared religious ontologies insufficient for bridging divides?

Policy implications

One of my ambitions with this thesis has been to enrich policy discussions within antitrafficking as well as in development cooperation. In particular, my research carries implications for religious actors in antitrafficking as well as in development cooperation generally. Below, I list some recommendations:

- FBOs need to balance their current emphasis on post-trauma and individual justice with addressing structural causes of human trafficking, and thereby employ their full arsenal of tools against human trafficking.
- FBOs working with secular donors manage to retain vital religious literacy, with an inclusive stance towards other religions. This combination, at its best, can merge the best of two worlds. Achieving this merging of worlds requires an openness to alternative assumptions and prescriptions about faith, religion and society.
- Defining the boundaries for religion in development is difficult without considering the cultural context, and the context of the thematic field. I caution against too-simplified and generalized boundaries, as such boundaries tend to be derived from a secularist understanding in which religion is detached from culture and identity. It may prove difficult to work with any type of change process in a context where religion and religious leaders are natural parts of life and community while trying to avoid religion. Religion will often be part of any problem as well as any solution in such contexts.
- While religion is a possible obstacle to cooperation, it is also important to consider ways in which secularism creates boundaries, and becomes exclusive and not inclusive as intended.
- Secular actors and religious actors can learn from each other. I suggest that space for dialogue across the secular–religious divide continues, and expands. Identifying spaces where such dialogue can take place is crucial, and initiative for these dialogues should be taken by both secular as well as religious actors.
I invite practitioners and policymakers, as well as academia, to discuss more policy implications based on this thesis. By engaging in informed dialogue, we can move forward, and hopefully create a better response to human trafficking.
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APPENDICES

Interview guide: FBOs

ABOUT YOU

- Tell me a little about yourself:
  - What is your role?
  - How long have you worked in the organization?
  - Where did you work prior to this organization?
- What is your organization’s link to faith?

ABOUT HUMAN TRAFFICKING

- What is human trafficking? What forms does it take?
- Where is it most common that human trafficking takes place?
- What do you think causes human trafficking?
- Who do you think are affected most by human trafficking?
- Who are the perpetrators of human trafficking?
- What role does religion and FBOs play in human trafficking?

ABOUT THE WORK AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Describe your work against human trafficking:

- Which activities are you implementing? Why?
- Which categories of people are you focusing on? Why?
- Out of all of your activities, what is most effective? Why so?
- Which actors in society do you think are most important in the fight against human trafficking?
- In what way are FBOs important in the fight against human trafficking?
- Is there anything unique in the way that FBOs are working against human trafficking when comparing to secular organizations?
- Do you often cooperate with other organizations who are working against human trafficking? In what way? On whose initiative? Are you part of any networks against human trafficking? What are the greatest challenges in the cooperation?
- What do you think is the opinion of the community, other organizations or the authorities about your work against human trafficking?
- How do you use faith in the work against human trafficking in your project (facilities, network, theology, leaders etc.)?
- Can you describe what kind of instructions, policies or traditions in your organization that you have to guide you in the work against human trafficking? Is there anything that you return to, or use, more frequently?

**INFLUENCES**

- Can you tell me about how you plan your work against human trafficking? What are the most important steps?
- How are your activities against human trafficking financed? Who are your most important donors?
- Are there any requirements from your donors that you struggle with? Have you managed to influence them to change their stance on something? How do you know what it important to adjust to?
- In what way do you learn from other organizations? Which organizations are most important to learn from?
- What impacts your organization the most concerning how you choose to work against human trafficking?
- What role does your faith have when shaping your strategies?
- Which organizations and persons do you cooperate most with?
Interview guide: focus group and relationship mapping

The interviews will primarily be made with individuals from the FBs already interviewed. Ideally around 4-7 people. The interview will be a mix of drawing and group discussion centering on the different important relationships of the FBO. The discussion will center around the nature of these relationships and how they have shaped the organization and their work against human trafficking. Drawings, notes as well as conversations will be used as material. Prepare the session by bringing a large paper with the organization’s name in the center. Make an example of what they should do on a board, or a separate piece of paper. Remind them that the drawing is meant to complement the discussion, and it is both the drawing and the conversations that is used as research material.

QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED THROUGH THE SESSION:

1. Which are your most important national and local relationships?
2. Which are your primary target groups? Describe them. How has your focus changed over time?
3. Which are your most important international relationships?
4. Which relationships shapes your work the most?
5. In what way have the particular actor influenced your work?
6. Noting major changes/events, or defining moments, in the organization: reflect on the consequences.

Thick lines represent intense and important relationships. Thinner lines less significant.
Larger bubbles represent larger organizations, smaller bubbles represent smaller organizations.
Blue represents international relationships
Red represents national or local relationships
Green represents different target groups and communities.
+ Represents FBO/Christian
$ Represents donors

Reflect on them and write key words about what they bring to you?
7. Long-lasting and significant donations? Any particular requirements from them?
8. Changes in how you work; both organizationally and individually. Reflect on what caused you to make these changes.
9. Any dilemmas that you have faced, individually or collectively, that you can share?
10. How much do you think that you should focus on helping individuals change and how much to change the circumstances surrounding the individual?
11. Which issues or topics cause most discussion internally?
12. What topics or issues are you most in agreement on?
13. Which issues or topics causes most discussion between your organization and others?
14. Are there instances when your religious faith clashes with what you believe is the most effective way to counter human trafficking?
Interview guide: community/beneficiaries

ABOUT YOU

- Even though you will be completely anonymous do you mind telling me your name and something about yourself?

ABOUT HUMAN TRAFFICKING

- What is human trafficking?
- What kind of human trafficking is common here?
- What causes human trafficking?
- Who are most vulnerable to human trafficking?
- Who are the perpetrators of human trafficking?
- How can trafficking be prevented?

ABOUT FBO’S WORK AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKING

- In your community, who is doing most to fight human trafficking?
- Do you know about [NAME OF FBO]? What is your own experience of [NAME OF FBO]’s work against human trafficking?
- What is special about [NAME OF FBO]’s work against human trafficking?
- What is most effective and important in the work of [NAME OF FBO]?
- Who are [NAME OF FBO] helping the most?
- How can you tell that [NAME OF FBO] is Christian when they work against human trafficking?
- Is there a connection between religion and human trafficking or antitrafficking?
- Who do you think [NAME OF FBO] listens most to when planning their work?
- Do you think [NAME OF FBO] is a foreign or a local Anti-Trafficking Organization?
- What do you think [NAME OF FBO] could do better or differently?
Interview guide: authorities

ABOUT YOU

- Even though you will be anonymous and your answers confidential, can you start by telling me your name and a little bit about yourself and what you do?

ABOUT HUMAN TRAFFICKING

- What is human trafficking?
- What kind of human trafficking is common here?
- What causes human trafficking?
- Who are most vulnerable to human trafficking?
- Who are the perpetrators of human trafficking?
- How can trafficking be prevented?

ABOUT FBO’S WORK AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKING

- In your community, who is doing most to fight human trafficking?
- Do you know about [NAME OF FBO]? What is your own experience of [NAME OF FBO]’s work against human trafficking?
- What is special about [NAME OF FBO]’s work against human trafficking?
- What is most effective and important in the work of [NAME OF FBO]?
- Who are [NAME OF FBO] helping the most?
- How can you tell that [NAME OF FBO] is Christian when they work against human trafficking?
- What is the cooperation like between you and [NAME OF FBO]? Does it matter that they are faith-based?
- In general, is there a good cooperation between Anti-Trafficking Organizations?
- Is there a connection between religion and human trafficking or Anti-Trafficking?
- Who do you think [NAME OF FBO] listens most to when planning their work?
- Do you think [NAME OF FBO] is a foreign or a local Anti-Trafficking Organization?
- What do you think [NAME OF FBO] could do better or differently?
Interview guide: NGOs

ABOUT THE OWN ORGANIZATION

- What is your name and role?
- Tell me briefly about your organization, what is your goal and purpose, and where are you working?
- From where do you mainly receive your resources to work against human trafficking?

ABOUT HUMAN TRAFFICKING

- What is human trafficking?
- What kind of human trafficking is common here?
- What causes human trafficking?
- Who are most vulnerable to human trafficking?
- Who are the perpetrators of human trafficking?
- How can trafficking be prevented?

ABOUT FBOs WORK AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKING

- Which actors are most important against human trafficking?
- In general, what is your opinion about faith-based organizations and their work against human trafficking?
- How do you cooperate with FBOs against human trafficking?
- Do you have any knowledge of [NAME OF FBO]? What is your experience and opinion of their work against human trafficking?
- Which persons, or groups, are the [NAME OF FBO] helping the most?
- What is special or unique about [NAME OF FBO’s] work against human trafficking?
- From your perspective, which aspect do you appreciate most about [NAME OF FBO’s] work against human trafficking?
- What do you think [NAME OF FBO] could do better or differently?
- How can you tell that [NAME OF FBO] is Christian when they work against human trafficking?
- In what way is [NAME OF FBO] listening to local people when doing their work against trafficking?
- In what way do you think [NAME OF FBO] are representing foreign and international perspectives on human trafficking?
Interview guide: donors

ABOUT OWN ORGANIZATION

- Tell me about your organization: what is the purpose and the goal? Where do you operate?
- From where do you access funds?
- Why are you funding FBOs? Which are the most important criteria for funding an organization?
- What must be included in projects that you fund?
- What kind of activities can you not fund?

ABOUT HUMAN TRAFFICKING

- What is human trafficking?
- What kind of human trafficking is common here?
- What causes human trafficking?
- Who are most vulnerable to human trafficking?
- Who are the perpetrators of human trafficking?
- How can trafficking be prevented?

ABOUT FBOs’ WORK AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKING?

- How would you describe [NAME OF FBO’s] work against human trafficking? What are the most important activities and strategies that they use?
- Which issues are most difficult to agree on with your cooperating partner?
- Is there anything that you would like [NAME OF FBO] to do more or less of?
- Is [NAME OF FBO]’s faith identity an asset, or an obstacle, when working against human trafficking? And for your cooperation with them?
- In what way is [NAME OF FBO] listening to local people when doing their work against trafficking?
- What is your most important way to influence [NAME OF FBO] in their work against human trafficking? Describe the process.
- In what way can you tell that [NAME OF FBO] is a Christian organization?
- From your perspective, which aspect do you appreciate most about [NAME OF FBO]’s work against human trafficking?
- What do you think [NAME OF FBO] could do better or differently?
Observation guides

Below is the pre-printed guide and template for taking notes. The notes were taken by hand, before written on the computer. The questions were there to remind me of things to take notice of, and aspects that should be observed. In some instances, I noted other aspects. When writing the notes, theoretical notes were added by me, when I saw connections to the literature, or when I had theories or questions on the observed activity or phenomenon.

ABOUT THE SITE/OBSERVATION

Where am I?
What activity am I observing?
Are there any noteworthy signs or symbols?
Signs and posters about human trafficking, organizations or FBOs?

OBSERVED ACTIVITIES AGAINST TRAFFICKING

Which actors/people are present or talked about?
Children/youth/women/men/old/ minorities?
What activities are taking place?
Which people are active/passive?
Is faith/religion used in the activity (facilities, network, theology, leaders etc.)?
What is the interaction like?
What kind of emotions are there?
What routines/rituals can be seen?
Use of instructions, policies, templates, material etc.
Which solutions are presented?
Who are suggesting the solutions?
Table 5. Typology of faith infusion

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mission statement and self-descriptive texts</td>
<td>Includes explicitly religious references.</td>
<td>Includes explicitly religious references.</td>
<td>Religious references may be either explicit or implicit.</td>
<td>May have implicit references to religion (e.g. references to values).</td>
<td>No religious content.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Founding</td>
<td>By religious group or religious purpose.</td>
<td>By religious group or religious purpose</td>
<td>By religious group or religious purpose.</td>
<td>May have historic tie to a religious group but connection is no longer strong.</td>
<td>No reference to religious identity of founders.</td>
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<tr>
<td>If affiliated with an external entity, is that religious?</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Often.</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Selection of controlling board</td>
<td>Explicitly religious; may be (a) self-perpetuating board with explicit religious criteria or (b) board elected by religious body.</td>
<td>Explicitly religious; may be (a) self-perpetuating board with explicit religious criteria or (b) board elected by religious body.</td>
<td>Some, but not all, board members may be required or expected to have a particular faith or ecclesiastical commitment.</td>
<td>Board might have been explicitly religious at one time but is now selected with little or no consideration of members' faith.</td>
<td>Faith commitment of board members not a factor.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Selection of senior management</td>
<td>Faith or ecclesiastical commitment an explicit prerequisite.</td>
<td>Faith or ecclesiastical commitment an explicit or implicit prerequisite.</td>
<td>Normally (perhaps by unwritten expectation) share the organization’s religious orientation but explicit religious criteria are considered irrelevant or improper.</td>
<td>Religious criteria considered irrelevant or improper.</td>
<td>Religious criteria considered improper.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Selection of other staff</td>
<td>Faith commitment is important at all staff levels; most or all staff share organization’s religious orientation, with faith an explicit factor in hiring decisions.</td>
<td>Faith commitment may be an explicit selection factor for jobs involving religion but may be less important in other positions.</td>
<td>Staff expected to respect but not necessarily share the religious orientation of the organization; religious beliefs motivate self-selection of some staff.</td>
<td>Little or no consideration of faith commitment of any staff; religious beliefs may motivate self-selection of some staff/volunteers.</td>
<td>Religious criteria for staff considered improper.</td>
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<td>Financial support and non-financial resources</td>
<td>Intentional cultivation of support from religious community; policy of refusing funds that would undermine religious mission/identity.</td>
<td>Intentional cultivation of support religious community; often has policy of refusing funds that would undermine religious mission/identity.</td>
<td>May cultivate volunteer and in-kind support from religious community.</td>
<td>May or may not cultivate support from religious community.</td>
<td>Little cultivation of support from religious community.</td>
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<td>Organized religious practices of personnel</td>
<td>Religious practices play a significant role in the functioning of the organization; personnel are expected or required to participate.</td>
<td>Religious practices play a significant role in the functioning of the organization; personnel may be expected to participate.</td>
<td>Religious practices are optional and not extensive.</td>
<td>Religious practices are rare and peripheral to the organization.</td>
<td>No organized religious practices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of programs/projects</td>
<td><strong>Faith-permeated</strong></td>
<td><strong>Faith-centered</strong></td>
<td><strong>Faith-affiliated</strong></td>
<td><strong>Faith-background</strong></td>
<td><strong>Secular</strong></td>
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<td>Religious content of program</td>
<td>In addition to acts of compassion and care, also includes explicitly religious,</td>
<td>In addition to acts of compassion and care, also includes explicitly religious,</td>
<td>The religious component aspect is primarily in acts of compassion and care;</td>
<td>No explicitly religious content in the program; religious materials or resources may be</td>
<td>No religious content.</td>
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<td>Main form of integration of religious content with other program components</td>
<td><strong>Mandatory content integrated into the program; beneficiaries are expected to participate in religious activities and discussions of faith.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Content that may be segregated from provision of care; beneficiaries may also be invited to religious activities outside the program parameters.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Program includes little (and entirely optional) or no explicitly religious content; staff may invite beneficiaries to religious activities outside program parameters or hold informal religious conversations with beneficiaries.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Available to beneficiaries who seek them out; the religious component is seen primarily in the motivation of individual staff members.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Expected connection between religious content and desired outcome</strong></td>
<td>Expectation of explicitly religious experience or change, and belief that this is essential or significant to desired outcome.</td>
<td>Strong hope for explicitly religious experience or change, and belief that this significantly contributes to desired outcome.</td>
<td>Little expectation that explicitly religious experience or change is necessary for desired outcome.</td>
<td>No expectation that religious experience or change is needed for desired outcome.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>