

Impacts of Global Christian Engagement on Economic Development vis-a-vis Human Trafficking Elimination Efforts

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Christians have engaged in economic development projects ever since the early days of the colonial period. The gap between religion and economics has only increased over time as groups from both fields are guilty of distancing themselves and their work from the categorical “other.” Such a tendency perpetuates mutual misunderstandings of the opposite members’ motivations for involvement in economic enterprises. We have seen an unprecedented response of NGOs to global issues such as poverty and human trafficking, however these problems are too big for organizations to attempt to tackle alone or unilaterally. Now more than ever, there is a need for multiparty communication, coordination, cooperation and collaboration efforts between faith-based organizations and their secular counterparts. This paper argues that current trends toward global economic development are a direct result of earlier Christian colonial missions, thus religious rhetoric is a constitutive element of contemporary discourses on development. This paper pays particular attention to faith dialogues and interfaith commitments--or lack thereof--regarding anti-trafficking initiatives worldwide.

There is a canyon-size chasm that exists between the disciplines of economics and theology with regard to how these respective fields both influence and interpret the hermeneutic paradigm of “human flourishing.” To the rational economist who derives development theories from empirical analysis, a theologian might debate the dangers of an over-nuanced approach towards promoting progress; to the theologian who philosophizes the achievement of the common good with an eschatological defense (meaning earthly investments for heavenly returns), an economist might point his finger at religion, calling it an unsatisfactory insurance policy that undermines intellectual scholarship.

Historically, the dialectic between secular society and the faith community has been “grounded by the tension between God’s transcendent intention for human living and the immanent practices of human living” (Sauer, 2003, 18). In plainer language, there has long endured in these two groups a mutual misunderstanding—rather, a simultaneous *lack* of understanding—of the role of the “other” in development praxis. In their own ways, both communities are engaged in social justice work through the implementation of development structures and strategies. Multilateral collaboration is crucial in order to speed up rather than slow down the process of making progress.

In this paper I will argue the following thesis: *current trends toward global economic development*

are a direct result of earlier Christian colonial missions, thus religious rhetoric is a constitutive element of contemporary discourses on development. To develop this thesis, I will examine the ebb and flow of Western Christianity in global development efforts, explain the evolution and effects of Christian engagement, and evaluate the overall impact of faith-based initiatives on economic enterprise. I will consider the aforementioned items *vis-à-vis* the issue of human trafficking, as doing so will certainly fine-tune the nebulous gray that is “religion in economic development” and hopefully add to available research in the fight to end modern-day slavery.

CAVEAT REGARDING MY REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In my extensive review of the literature, an overwhelming number of publications tended to align with one of two perspectives: 1) zealous Christian exaltation or 2) passionate anti-religious sentiment. This affirms, albeit ironically, two key points: 1) there is a general deficiency in unbiased analyses in this realm of research, hence 2) there is a polarized academic audience which reflects *and* reinforces the broader societal division of opinions on the role of Christianity in economic development. I intend to set aside my personal religious convictions in order to provide an academically objective presentation of my research.

(A quick author’s note: this paper looks specifically at the *Christian* religion. I purposely use the

word “Christian” in reference to all denomination types.)

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS: POVERTY, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE COMMON GOOD

It is important to acknowledge that poverty is a reason in and of itself for economic development. “Economic development” is simply a euphemism for “poverty-alleviation” efforts, which begs the inescapable question, “What, then, is ‘poverty’?” In their popular book *When Helping Hurts*, Christian economists Steve Corbett and Brian Fikkert (2012) define poverty as “the absence of *shalom* in all its meaning” (p. 59). Since poverty is the fated result of broken Creator-creature relationships, they contend “development” as a solution to poverty can be stated as “a process of ongoing change that moves all the people involved—both the helpers and the helped—closer to being in right relationship with God, self, others and the rest of creation” (p. 100). In contrast, Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen in *Development as Freedom* (1999) distinguishes poverty from any religious connotation by describing it as a state of un-freedom where individuals lack the ability to make meaningful choices.

Just as there is no universally accepted definition of poverty, there is no consensus on a poverty elimination blueprint. This disunion largely stems from a disparity on the fundamental nature of poverty. The material definition of poverty emanates from the modern view that all problems are material in nature and can be solved by using human reason to manipulate world conditions. Spiritual definitions of poverty, on the other hand, imply that the only way to overcome god-complexes formed by cultural materialism is to see poverty as a problem solved by reconciling relations between humanity and Divinity (Corbett & Fikkert, 2012). While definitions of poverty are as vast as the faces of the problem, there is general agreement across all parties on hope for its elimination. In *Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty*, MIT professors Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo (2011) emphasize the importance of hope as a part of the equation to solve poverty suggesting, “It is not easy to escape from poverty but a sense of possibility and a little bit of well-targeted help (a piece of information, a little nudge) can sometimes have surprisingly large effects” (as cited by Klay & Steen, 2013, p. 176). An important discrepancy to make here between theological and non-theological conversations on hope is that the former focuses almost exclusively on eschatological implications (Manji & O’Coill, 2002).

If a world without poverty is the end for which de-

velopment economists and theological thinkers alike aim, then Aristotle would call this end the “common good” (Yuengert, 2001). According to Cronin (1966), individuals are inclined not only to seek a common good but also to achieve a society with laws, customs, and institutions directed toward the promotion of a common good (as cited by Yuengert, 2001). This concept is strongly prevalent in St. Augustine’s *magnum opus*, *The City of God*. In Book XII, St. Augustine refers to God as the source of the common good; in book XIX, he concludes positively that human wellbeing is found in the good of all society (Augustine of Hippo trans. 1890). Augustine is arguably one of the most influential figures in Christian theology and Western philosophy, as his ideas shaped much of how the global Church sees its role in political and social affairs including responses to the poor. The common good might be a common end to rally behind, although the means and motivations for achieving it are main sites of divergence not only between “the Word (Bible)” and “the World,” but also between “the West” and “the Rest.”

CHRISTIAN INVOLVEMENT IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

The distinction between colonialism and imperialism is vague. Generally, colonialism is considered to be the practice of expansion, whereas imperialism is considered to be the driving force behind the practice (Dunch, 2002). If there were ever one group most commonly held to caricaturize the operation of cultural imperialism to its utmost, it would be the Christian missionaries (Dunch, 2002). The three ‘M’s of imperialism—missionaries, merchants, and militaries—were each impelled by a similar “missionary-like urge” to spread the Gospel of Western capitalism, Western religious truth, and Western state power (Dunch, 2002, p. 308). Fear of revolution also served as a propelling force behind Western desires to rule over undeveloped or unclaimed areas (Manji & O’Coill, 2002). The century between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries is known as the age of imperialism. During this time, missionary societies were important actors in the ideological war because they were viewed as bearers of Good News and bringers of wealth. According to one researcher, “Missionaries were simultaneously *agents* of the spread of modernity *vis-à-vis* Western societies and *products* of its emerging hegemony” (Dunch, 2002, p. 574).

In the case of Africa, for example, conversion to Christianity in the colonial era meant special access to benefits such as formal education institutions (Njoh &

Akiwumi, 2011). It is no surprise that these Christianized communities profited the most and positioned their region on a fast track to progress when compared to others. Max Weber elaborates on the “Protestant ethic thesis” in his famous book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. He argues that capitalism emerged and evolved from a Protestant work ethic that engaged Christian charity enterprises in the developing world (as cited by Williams, 1983). The Church’s presence in the global South as well as in part of another south—the United States’—was not without severe negative side effects, the most significant being the justified institutionalization of slavery. Some Christian slaveholders claimed that they were only participating in God’s plan to Christianize Africa while others cited the theological teachings of Scripture as *de facto* evidence for bonded serfdom (Peach, 2000; Zimmerman, 2011). A small few might have even invoked what Søren Kierkegaard called in *Fear and Trembling* (1843) the “teleological suspension of the ethical,” that is, the temporary deferral of moral law for the sake of a higher goal known only through dutiful obedience to holy commands. Christian legacies in slavery are historicized as “antithetical and mutually contradictory,” seeing how the very individuals who celebrated their religion’s doctrinal elements of freedom were the same ones who incarcerated their fellow man to their Westerns ideologies (Peach, 2000, p. 73 as cited by Zimmerman, 2011).

Around the turn of the 20th century, Christian missionaries were uniquely placed as intercultural communication conduits. Missionaries were the most widely diffused Westerners in non-Western countries, which meant that they also served as information sources and access points to indigenous people groups. Translation was at the heart of the missionary enterprise, which meant a number of costs and benefits: missionaries would employ an already-existing terminology, coin new words, and sometimes learn a completely different language in order to communicate beliefs and concepts, theological or otherwise. Missionaries would create written forms of oral languages, traditions, proverbs, or folklore, which served as tangible resources that the indigenous community might have otherwise never acquired. Missionaries would educate others on scientific ideas in order to spark development projects or plans for democratization; and missionaries by nature of their presence would raise awareness of foreign cultures. Implicit to these (trans)actions, however, were dangers of cultural loss or subjugation. In other words, what colonialism sometimes left in its wake was not necessarily a changed or even hybrid culture, but

the absence of a culture (Dunch, 2002).

For these reasons and then some, the word “missionary” has a split connotation. In English literature and academic publications, these Christian agents of colonization are routinely typified as “narrow-minded chauvinists whose presence and preaching destroyed indigenous cultures and opened the way for the extension of colonial rule” (Dunch, 2002, p. 307). Two famous modern examples are the *Poisonwood Bible* by Barbara Kingsolver and the movie *The Mission*. One scholar summarizes the *Poisonwood Bible* as using “scriptural rhetoric to hide the real story of imperial greed” by demonstrating “how a dominant European and American technique for diverting attention from the truth involved a language of righteous zeal and religious reckoning” (Ognibene, 2003, p. 19). A commentator said likewise about the Indians in *The Mission* movie: “They do not need to be manipulated...into accepting alien theology and lifestyle by a religious zealot disguised as a humanitarian” (Hancock, 1990, p. 27).

It is necessary to move beyond mere praise-and-blame tendencies that reinforce polarized perspectives when assessing the evolution of the missionary figure. My goal for this section was not to take sides, per se, but to rather historicize the role and reputation of Christian responders in the formative beginnings of Western expansion. I will now examine a modernized portraiture of Christian involvement in economic development.

CHRISTIAN INVOLVEMENT IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: A MODERN PORTRAITURE

The Christian faith calls its followers to live as an “alternative society” in the world but in contrast with it (Taber, 2002, p. 102). Some Christian traditions understand the “cultural mandate” in Genesis 1-3 as God instructing mankind to create, work, and exchange—three guiding principles which can be applied to economic activities of stewardship and justice (Klay & Steen, 2013, p. 179). There is a definite place for the Christian community in matters of development, but what lessons did the Church learn from its earlier colonial efforts? The aim of this section is to highlight events of the more recent past to help explain the present-day position of the Christian Church in the global economy.

When the Roman Empire collapsed, the entire world—but especially the West—felt the lasting aftermath of its fall. Political authority, economic activity, and basic education went into severe decline. The Church, which remained the only viable and credible mega-institution, acted as a stabilizer and thus became the “matrix” of

Western civilization (Taber, 2002, p. 100). Along with the rise of Western civilization was individualism, which naturally transformed concepts of human rights. Protection of human dignity—whether self-defined or God-defined—was the driving force behind a new Christian crusade that began at the end of the nineteenth century. At this time, the way of missions was to develop non-Western societies less through intimate exchanges of ideology and more through the building-up of public Christian institutions (Skreslet, 2012).

Fast forward a few hundred years to today, Christians still remain *engaged* around the globe just like colonial times, but what we see now that we did not see then is international Christian *activism*. The reason for this is twofold. The first reason has to do with a “tectonic shift” of concentrated Christian populations to the developing world, which is a momentous movement that Philip Jenkins (2002) captured in his book *The Next Christendom* (as cited by Hertzke, 2005, p. 4). A vast majority of Christians lived in Western parts of Europe and North America in the 1990s, whereas now at least 60% all Christians come from Africa, Asia and parts of Latin America (Jenkins, 2002). The United States still tops the chart by far as the country that sends out the most missionaries each year, but a report issued in 2013 by the Center for the Study of Global Christianity (CSGC) revealed surprising trends in the changing contours of mission fields. Nearly half of the top missionary-sending countries are now located in the global South, and of the top ten countries sending out the most missionaries in 2010, three were in the global South: Brazil, South Korea, and India (Steffan, 2013). Many Christian congregations are increasingly situated amidst poverty, violence, corruption, persecution and exploitation, which are problems present in every country but more common in undeveloped regions (Hertzke, 2005). By nature of proximity, Christians are at the forefront fighting these issues with resources channeled from their respective (usually Western) bases and also with what they would regard their most powerful antidote: the Gospel message.

Up until the end of the twentieth century, Christians were known internationally for mission outreach and domestically for political activism on social issues (Zimmerman, 2011). Foreign policy issues were largely beyond their purview; at the turn of the century, however, an unexpected “faith-based quest to advance human rights through the machinery of American policy” burst in full-force on the global stage (Hertzke, 2005, p. 1). Scholarly interest in contemporary “missiology,” or the theology

of missions, as it relates to processes of religious change is an increasingly popular area of study. Forty years ago when Harvard sinologist John King Fairbank called the foreign missionary the “invisible man of American history,” few would have predicted how century-old foundations laid by missionaries would eventually become the bedrock of modern international policies pertaining to religious freedom and human rights (Skreslet, 2012, p. 62).

I will now turn to an in-depth synopsis of one of these issues where Christians are heavily invested: human trafficking. This next section will diagnose the global reach of human trafficking, describe the role of Christians in responding to it, and evaluate the overall impact of the Church.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING AS MODERN-DAY SLAVERY

Pope Benedict XVI, in his 2002 Message for the World Day of Migrants and Refugees, used the phrase a “recognizable sign of the times” to describe the perduring prevalence of human trafficking in the world. The US State Department in 2003 called it “one of the greatest human rights challenges of our time.” More recently, on September 25, 2012, President Obama delivered a speech at the Clinton Global Initiative reaffirming the United States’ commitment to the fight. He said:

[Human trafficking] ought to concern every person because it’s a debasement of our common humanity. It ought to concern every community because it tears at the social fabric. It ought to concern every business, because it distorts markets. It ought to concern every nation because it endangers public health and fuels violence and organized crime. I’m talking about the injustice, the outrage of human trafficking, which must be called by its true name—modern slavery. (2013 TIP Report)

“Human trafficking” defined by the Trafficking Victims in Persons Act (TVPA) is:

- a.) Sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by fraud, force or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age; *or*
- b.) The recruitment, harboring, transportation, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subju-

gation to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.

There are 27 million people around the world living in the process or state of modern-day slavery (generally accepted figure across sources incl. Zimmerman, 2011; Zimmerman, 2013; 2013 TIP Report; Belser, 2005). In perspective, this equals one trafficked person every sixty seconds (Bernadin, 2010). Every year over 800,000 people are trafficked across international borders with 50% of victims classified as children and 80% as women and girls (Bernadin, 2010). The problem, tragically, is not specific to “somewhere over there.” The US Health Department estimates 200,000 American teens are sold into slavery each year and there are roughly 10,000 enslaved at any moment on our own soil (Bernadin, 2010). Human trafficking is a lucrative \$36 billion industry, second to the drug trade in highest gross profits (Bernadin, 2010; Belser, 2005; Wheaton, Schauer, & Galli, 2010). Statistically this amounts to an average annual revenue of \$15,000 per trafficked victim (Wheaton, Schauer, & Galli, 2010). In summary, human industry is an industry where demand and profits are the driving forces (Wheaton, Schauer, & Galli, 2010).

A common misconception is that human trafficking refers only to sex trafficking. Trafficking is not exclusively a “sex” issue. While acts of sex trafficking are unquestionably pervasive and problematic, this particular type of trafficking accounts for just 11% of all cases (Belser, 2005; Zimmerman, 2011). Labor trafficking, including forced and bonded labor, is by far the largest category of human trafficking (Zimmerman, 2011). Most forced labor cases happen in the agriculture sector. John Bowe, a leading researcher on this topic, calls agriculture the “ground zero for modern slavery” (Belser, 2005, p. 8). One study calculated wage payments for forced workers in agriculture to equal slightly less than \$1 a day (Belser, 2005). This same study, which aimed to identify general prices for bonded labor, found that victims needed to pay off anywhere from \$3,000 to \$60,000 of debt in order to be freed (Belser, 2005). Additionally, these researchers found that average costs for sexual services in Asia and Sub-Saharan is around \$15-16 and \$100 in industrial countries. Results from the study revealed that prostitutes had roughly 80 clients each month, with 5 to 10 customers per day considered a relatively “normal” number (Belser, 2005, p. 14). Today a trafficked victim is a relatively low-cost item compared to a \$100,000 price-tag for a “strong, young male Creole Mulatto slave on the DuParc

plantation in Louisiana in May 1808 before emancipation” (Wheaton, Schauer, & Galli, 2010, p. 129).

Vulnerability, not gender, is the most significant predictor of human trafficking (Zimmerman, 2011). “Vulnerability” can be qualitatively measured by a number of indicators including loss of agency, exposure to factors such as globalization, corruption, disease, economic instability, or war, or phenotypic attributes such as hair type, eye color, or skin tone (Zimmerman, 2011; Wheaton, Schauer, & Galli, 2010).

HUMAN RIGHTS, JUSTICE, AND POLICY JUSTIFICATIONS

From an economist’s perspective, human trafficking impedes proper development processes and decreases economic efficiency by increasing burdens for law enforcement, destroying people’s lives, and disrupting local governance structures (Wheaton, Schauer, & Galli, 2010). The prevalence of human trafficking leads to increased crime and immigration problems, infringed safety for vulnerable populations, and reduced welfare for nation states (Wheaton, Schauer, & Galli, 2010). Thus, human trafficking is an economic problem. From a Christian’s perspective, humans are made in the *Imago Dei* (“Image of God”) and a Creator endows human rights. Both of these premises imply, respectively, that human dignity must be preserved and justice must be served when rights are violated (Taber, 2002; Hoksbergen, 1999). Thus, human trafficking is also a spiritual problem.

In his book *Good News About Injustice*, Gary Haugen (1999), president of International Justice Mission and former Officer in Charge for the United States Department of Justice, says that “injustice occurs when power is misused to take from others what God has given them, namely, their life, dignity, liberty or the fruits of their love and labor” (p. 72). For the anti- or non-religious, an acceptable altered and less-Christian definition might say that “injustice occurs when power is misused to take from others their life, dignity, liberty, or returns/rewards from labor.” Regardless, religion has the potential to function as a source of freedom or oppression, justice or injustice, protection or persecution (Peach, 2000). Equally, religion can be a “rival, partner, mediator or barrier to the realization of rights” (Hackett & Sullivan, 2005, p. 2).

If holistic and holy development of the human community is a focus of Christian theology, then justice is a means of achieving that end (Robinson, 1994; see also Micah 6:8). Religion aside, if justice opens the door to development—and it does—then all parties can agree that policy change is a path to justice (Bernstein, 2012).

The earliest and perhaps greatest stride in human rights policy happened in 1948 when the UN General Assembly adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Their purpose was to establish a “common standard of achievement for all people and all nations” (UN Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). Barbieri (1999) observed that the historic passing of this legislature paved the way for “human rights parlance [to] now achieve the status of a moral *lingua franca* for global politics” (as cited by Hackett & Sullivan, 2005, p. 6). The Declaration of Human Rights was not religiously oriented or intended, although Christian groups did find common ground with the language of its opening clause: “[R]ecognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world” (UN Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). Christians latched onto the Declaration’s concept of human *dignity* but understood it in alignment with their personal conviction that humans are made in God’s likeness (Taber, 2002). This mindset and motivation for social justice sustained into the twenty-first century where Christian involvement in anti-human trafficking efforts really took off.

In June 1999, over 130 religious leaders met to sign a statement of conscience for the purpose of putting pressure on Congress to pass federal anti-trafficking policy. The statement asserted an *Imago Dei* conception of fellow mankind by explaining that “the God-given dignity and integrity of each individual compels us to take action to combat this evil” (Zimmerman, 2010, p. 81). This gathering preceded the passing of the Trafficking Victims in Persons Act (TVPA) in Congress by President Clinton on October 28, 2000 just before the end of his term. The TVPA is not fundamentally faith-based, nor was faith the reason for its inception, however, the Bush Administration—to whom most references about the TVPA are directed—received much scrutiny for a repeated use of religion rhetoric, i.e. the language of “evil,” in efforts to expose and eliminate this global phenomenon (Zimmerman, 2010).

Richard Shweder (2004) criticized Bush for his “missionary moral progressivism” stance on policy decision-making (27). He makes the case that Bush (ab)used his power and influence in order to promote his theologically-grounded conception of human progress through an anti-trafficking agenda (Shweder, 2004). From the outside it might have appeared as another case of presidential parochialism or Protestant particularism yet Bush accomplished more for *all* faith-based groups in eight short years

than the Christian community could accomplish for itself, at least on a political level, in decades. Bush expanded on Clinton’s “Charitable Choice” provision by creating an Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives and eleven corresponding centers for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives across federal agencies. In doing so, faith-based organizations (FBOs) could widen social services by applying for federal funds (White House website; Bernstein, 2012). According to one study, between 2002 and 2004, funding for faith-based anti-trafficking projects increased at an average rate of 15% per year (Zimmerman, 2010). While not restricted to Christian-affiliated groups, this initiative reflects Bush’s overall commitment to religious expression and action (Zimmerman, 2010). His decisions were met mostly with praise, but some “pietistic separatist” crowds complained about a breach of church and state distinctions (Black, 2004). Bush defended himself:

I believe in the power of faith in people’s lives. Our government should not fear programs that exist because a church or a synagogue or a mosque has decided to start one. We should not discriminate against programs based upon faith in America. We should enable them to access Federal money, because faith-based programs can change people’s lives, and America will be better off for it. (White House, 2001b)

The Bush Administration will be remembered for its stance against human trafficking and for opening doors that gave religiously affiliated groups more influence in global development projects. This next section looks more closely at the work that international faith-based organizations are doing for human trafficking, poverty alleviation, and economic development.

INTERNATIONAL [FAITH-BASED] ORGANIZATIONS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Development NGOs have an integral and necessary part in issue awareness, activism and advocacy. They have taken the “missionary position” in the sense of how they deliver services that are motivated by charity albeit with participatory approaches (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p. 581). Christian NGOs have the same tasks as their non-religious equivalents, including offering a sense of purpose, understanding people, assessing needs and acting responsibly, except there is the added (obvious) element of being Christian and still aligning with best practices of

all NGOs (Hoksbergen, 1999). The ethos of the United Nations around the millennium emphasized a heavy reliance on NGOs, and along with this next era of Christendom, as Philip Jenkins' (2002) book title suggests, FBOs naturally flocked into the global political arena (Bernstein, 2012). Harvard political scientist Robert Putnam identified American Christians as builders of the "largest, best organized grassroots" social networks in the last 25 years (as cited by Hertzke, 2005, p. 5). I will now examine the evolution of international organizations and evaluate their engagement in global economic development initiatives. I will compare FBOs with their non-religious counterparts in order to highlight points of intersection and other areas in need of increased collaboration.

INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE MISSION AND FREE THE SLAVES

International Justice Mission (IJM), headed by Gary Haugen, is a faith-based human rights organization headquartered in Washington, D.C. with field offices in eleven developing countries (IJM website). It is the largest evangelical anti-trafficking organization in the US (Bernstein, 2012). Private donations account for 80% of IJM's funding and not all of its donors are faith-affiliated. In fact, two of IJM's largest grants over the last five years came from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and Google Foundation (IJM website; "Google", 2011, December 14). IJM's purpose is fourfold: victim relief, perpetrator accountability, victim aftercare, and structural transformation. IJM works within the legal systems of other countries to enforce laws against forced labor and other forms of exploitation (IJM website). IJM's "rescue-and-restore" model of activism has received criticism from scholars who assert that IJM epitomizes "militarized humanitarianism" (Bernstein, 2012, p. 1). Others criticize faith-based anti-trafficking interventions for exemplifying Savior-like complexes where good Christian helpers save—in both literal and figurative ways—voiceless, powerless suffering victims who are trapped in the darkness of heathendom (Zimmerman, 2013). As an illustration, VAMP is a sex workers' collective in India with the slogan: "Save us from our saviors. We're tired of being saved" (as cited by Bernstein, 2012, p. 12).

Located down the street from IJM in D.C. is another well-known anti-slavery organization, Free the Slaves. It was formed in 2000 as the sister of Anti-Slavery International, which is the oldest international human rights organization (Free the Slaves website). Free the Slaves is a non-partisan international non-governmental organization and lobby group that campaigns against modern slavery in

six developing countries (Free the Slaves website). Free the Slaves has fifteen organizational partners across these six countries, none of which are faith-affiliated.

There are several alliances that bring together faith- and non-faith-based anti-trafficking organizations. The purpose of these alliances is to foster multilateral communication and collaboration on anti-trafficking efforts. Both IJM and Free the Slaves are members of the Action Group to End Human Trafficking and Modern-Day Slavery, which is "a U.S.-based non-partisan group of complementary organizations dedicated to abolishing modern-day slavery and human trafficking" (The Action Group, 2008, p. vi). Other members of the Action Group include: Not for Sale Campaign, Polaris Project, the Alliance to Stop Slavery and End Trafficking (ASSET), Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (CAST), Ricky Martin Foundation, Solidarity Center, and Vital Voices Global Partnership (The Action Group, 2008). IJM and Free the Slaves are also partners with Humanity United, which is a member organization of CAST's "Collaborative Community" network (CAST website).

WORLD VISION AND SAVE THE CHILDREN

World Vision International is a "global Christian relief, development and advocacy organization dedicated to working with children, families and communities to overcome poverty and injustice" (World Vision website). Although it is faith-based, World Vision serves all people regardless of religion. It is headquartered in Washington and has a worldwide reach of nearly 100 countries. Since its founding in 1950, World Vision has risen to the #10 spot on Forbes' "50 Largest U.S. Charities" list (Forbes, 2013). The organization is clear about its mission: "Motivated by our faith in Jesus Christ, we serve alongside the poor and oppressed as a demonstration of God's unconditional love for all people" (World Vision website). World Vision's policies reflect their desire to be Christ-like in the world (Tripp, 1999). World Vision has a *Statement of Faith* that aligns with the National Association of Evangelicals' faith declaration and acts as a theological frame in which the organization must operate (World Vision website). World Vision's staff is made up of many Christian denominations. On the "Our Approach" webpage, World Vision US President Richard Stearns states:

We do not proselytize, and we pledge never to exploit the vulnerable to obtain a profession of faith. We do not feed the hungry as a means to an end. We feed the hungry because God cares about the people

who are hungry, and He wants them to be fed (citing Psalm 145:13-17). (World Vision website)

World Vision partners with a wide range of humanitarian agencies, governments, institutional donors, corporations and foundations. Among its many secular affiliates are World Food Program, UNICEF, UNHCR, ICRC, UKAID, USAID, European Commission, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (World Vision website).

Save the Children is a UK-based international non-governmental organization that promotes children's rights and supports children in developing countries (Save the Children website). Save the Children works worldwide and has partners in over 120 countries. Due to similar priorities, Save the Children and World Vision have teamed up on numerous occasions to call children's needs to the attention of world leaders. Both organizations appeared together in New York for the 2012 UN General Assembly summit pressuring global powers to tackle undernutrition in India (World Vision website). Additionally, at WHO's 2014 World Health Assembly in Geneva, Save the Children and World Vision were among the more than 50 attendees, and both organizations made a pledge to help developing countries improve infant mortality rates ("Sixty-seventh", 2014, May 20).

CONCLUSION

Mark Lagon, Former Director for the US Department of State Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, said that "actions to end this injustice will be most effective when done in collaboration with each other across faith communities and in relations with governmental and international organizations" (as cited by Bernadin, 2010). While he was speaking specifically to the issue of modern-day slavery, Lagon's observation also applies to broader conversations on development. The intersection of Christianity and economic development is a critical area of analysis with social, political, cultural and ethical implications (Zimmerman, 2011). Religion (re)shapes our moral categories of freedom, our conceptions of progress, and our manifestations thereof. The challenge, then, remains of how to simultaneously celebrate the eagerness of Christian-based communities to engage in economic development projects while critically evaluating their effectiveness.

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