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#### The effort to increase a bilateral partnership against human-trafficking is anthropocentric – we must eliminate the human/non human binary

**Deckha, 10** – Associate Professor at the University of Victoria Faculty of Law in Victoria (Maneesha, 12/13/10, “It’s time to abandon the idea of ‘human’ rights”, http://www.thescavenger.net/animals/its-time-to-abandon-the-idea-of-human-rights-77234-536.html)//VP

While the intersection of race and gender is often acknowledged in understanding the etiology of justificatory narratives for war, the presence of species distinctions and the importance of the subhuman are less appreciated. Yet, the race (and gender) thinking that animates Razack’s argument in normalizing violence for detainees (and others) is also centrally sustained by the subhuman figure. As Charles Patterson notes with respect to multiple forms of exploitation: Throughout the history of our ascent to dominance as the master species, our victimization of animals has served as the model and foundation for our victimization of each other. The study of human history reveals the pattern: first, humans exploit and slaughter animals; then, they treat other people like animals and do the same to them. Patterson emphasizes how the human/animal hierarchy and our ideas about animals and animality are foundational for intra-human hierarchies and the violence they promote. The routine violence against beings designated subhuman serves as both a justification and blueprint for violence against humans. For example, in discussing the specific dynamics of the Nazi camps, Patterson further notes how techniques to make the killing of detainees resemble the slaughter of animals were deliberately implemented in order to make the killing seem more palatable and benign. That the detainees were made naked and kept crowded in the gas chambers facilitated their animalization and, in turn, their death at the hands of other humans who were already culturally familiar and comfortable with killing animals in this way. Returning to Razack’s exposition of race thinking in contemporary camps, one can see how subhuman thinking is foundational to race thinking. One of her primary arguments is that race thinking, which she defines as “the denial of a common bond of humanity between people of European descent and those who are not”, is “a defining feature of the world order” today as in the past. In other words, it is the “species thinking” that helps to create the racial demarcation. As Razack notes with respect to the specific logic infusing the camps, they “are not simply contemporary excesses born of the west’s current quest for security, but instead represent a more ominous, permanent arrangement of who is and is not a part of the human community”. Once placed outside the “human” zone by race thinking, the detainees may be handled lawlessly and thus with violence that is legitimated at all times. Racialization is not enough and does not complete their Othering experience. Rather, they must be dehumanized for the larger public to accept the violence against them and the increasing “culture of exception” which sustains these human bodily exclusions. Although nonhumans are not the focus of Razack’s work, the centrality of the subhuman to the logic of the camps and racial and sexual violence contained therein is also clearly illustrated in her specific examples. In the course of her analysis, to determine the import of race thinking in enabling violence, Razack quotes a newspaper story that describes the background mentality of Private Lynndie England, the white female soldier made notorious by images of her holding onto imprisoned and naked Iraqi men with a leash around their necks. The story itself quotes a resident from England’s hometown who says the following about the sensibilities of individuals from their town: To the country boys here, if you’re a different nationality, a different race, you’re sub-human. That’s the way that girls like Lynndie England are raised. Tormenting Iraqis, in her mind, would be no different from shooting a turkey. Every season here you’re hunting something. Over there they’re hunting Iraqis. Razack extracts this quote to illustrate how “race overdetermined what went on”, but it may also be observed that species “overdetermined what went on”. Race has a formative function, to be sure, but it works in conjunction with species difference to enable the violence at Abu Ghraib and other camps. Dehumanization promotes racialization, which further entrenches both identities. It is an intertwined logic of race, sex, culture and species that lays the foundation for the violence. b) Present-day slavery and/or slavery-like practices While humans may not legally be property of other humans in any country, many human rights scholars and activists largely argue that non-legal slavery and its trappings still exist in a wide variety of industries where children and adults are kept imprisoned to perform labour of some sort against their will and for little or no remuneration. Kevin Bales is at the foreground of this area of activism and scholarship. He is President of the American-based Free the Slaves organization, a sister organization of the Anti-Slavery International based in the United Kingdom. In his book, Ending Slavery: How We Free Today’s Slaves, Bales identifies three core components of slavery today: “control through violence, economic exploitation, and the loss of free will”. Again, it is the denial of humanity that is identified as the dynamic that exposes individuals to being perceived and treated violently as slaves. This is not to deny, of course, that the causes of slavery are multiple; poverty, extreme capitalism, international debt policies, greed, state corruption and apathy, and armed conflict are just some of the causes Bales identifies. Yet, the subhuman figure highlights the conceptual vehicle, a denial of equal humanity, which facilitates violence against humans to compel their labour. c) Laws of war The resonance of the subhuman figure may also be found in western jurisprudence relating to the conduct of war. As the title of his recent article, ‘Species War: Law, Violence and Animals’, intimates, law lecturer Tarik Kochi argues that a species war is at the root of war and violence generally. He notes that the “laws of war” that describe how nations may engage each other in combat differentiate between two categories of violence: legitimate and non-legitimate violence. He insists that the human-nonhuman distinction is the primary political distinction organizing the laws on war and not, as many would believe, the notion of friend-enemy as Carl Schmidt espoused. Kochi locates the war of humans against nonhumans as lying at the crux of race war and western political and legal theory. In making this claim, Kochi’s argument joins posthumanist, postcolonial and feminist theory by locating species difference as intricately connected to the axes of gender, race, and cultural difference. He adds to Razack’s “race thinking”, which incorporates gender and religious/cultural difference, but misses adverting to species difference. From our treatment of nonhumans we learn that only certain deaths are valued in our cultural and legal order as “genocide” or “murder” while others are comparatively diminished through their representations as “slaughter”, “culling” or “harvest”. Kochi’s emphasis on legitimate violence and life value explains this approach to the human/animal distinction, a binary which goes on to inform what humans may do to other humans in executing war. Whether it is the laws of war on what counts as legitimate violence, the logic of the camps as to which bodies may be subject to violence without legal rights and protection, or the flourishing of contemporary slavery and/or slavery-like practices, the subhuman figure is critical to producing violence against humans. Doing away with the subhuman If this role of contributing to contemporary manifestations of violence played by subhumanization is accurate, a pressing question presents itself: should we continue to rely on anti-violence discourses (i.e., human rights or other “human” justice campaigns) that entrench the subhuman category? In other words, human rights discourses do not instruct us to purge the subhuman category or the human/nonhuman divide from our critical repertoire. Instead, they seek to convince us that we should see all human beings as definitely human and not subhumanize them. This approach does not effectively achieve its aims of protecting vulnerable human groups from violence because it leaves the subhuman category intact, a category that humanized humans can always assert should convictions sway about the relative moral worth of a particular human group. The subhuman category is then poised to “animalize” or dehumanize the targeted group and generate corresponding justifications as to why the human group does not deserve better than subhuman treatment. A better strategy would be to eliminate the subhuman category from the outset by impugning the human/nonhuman boundary itself and thus the claim to human superiority. Time for a new discourse That the human/subhuman binary continues to inhabit so much of western experience raises the question of the continuing relevance of anthropocentric concepts (such as “human rights” and “human dignity”) for effective theories of justice, policy and social movements. Instead of fighting dehumanization with humanization, a better strategy may be to minimize the human/nonhuman boundary altogether. The human specialness claim is a hierarchical one and relies on the figure of an Other – the subhuman and nonhuman – to be intelligible. The latter groups are beings, by definition, who do not qualify as “human” and thus are denied the benefits that being “human” is meant to compel. More to the point, however, a dignity claim staked on species difference, and reliant on dehumanizing Others to establish the moral worth of human beings, will always be vulnerable to the subhuman figure it creates. This figure is easily deployed in inter-human violent conflict implicating race, gender and cultural identities as we have seen in the context of military and police camps, contemporary slavery and slavery-like practices, and the laws of war – used in these situations to promote violence against marginalized human groups. A new discourse of cultural and legal protections is required to address violence against vulnerable humans in a manner that does not privilege humanity or humans, nor permit a subhuman figure to circulate as the mark of inferior beings on whom the perpetration of violence is legitimate. We need to find an alternative discourse to theorize and mobilize around vulnerabilities for “subhuman” humans. This move, in addressing violence and vulnerabilities, should be productive not only for humans made vulnerable by their dehumanization, but nonhumans as well.

#### Rejection of the term “human” is a pre-requisite to an analysis of gender and disposability- solves the root cause of the aff

**Best, 07** – Chair of Philosophy (Steven Best, Chair of Philosophy at UT-EP, 2007 [JCAS 5.2])//VP

While a welcome advance over the anthropocentric conceit that only humans shape human actions, the environmental determinism approach typically fails to emphasize the crucial role that animals play in human history, as well as how the human exploitation of animals is a key cause of hierarchy, social conflict, and environmental breakdown. A core thesis of what I call “animal standpoint theory” is that animals have been key driving and shaping forces of human thought, psychology, moral and social life, and history overall. More specifically, animal standpoint theory argues that the oppression of human over human has deep roots in the oppression of human over animal. In this context, Charles Patterson’s recent book, The Eternal Treblinka: Our Treatment of Animals and the Holocaust, articulates the animal standpoint in a powerful form with revolutionary implications. The main argument of Eternal Treblinka is that the human domination of animals, such as it emerged some ten thousand years ago with the rise of agricultural society, was the first hierarchical domination and laid the groundwork for patriarchy, slavery, warfare, genocide, and other systems of violence and power. A key implication of Patterson’s theory is that human liberation is implausible if disconnected from animal liberation, and thus humanism -- a speciesist philosophy that constructs a hierarchal relationship privileging superior humans over inferior animals and reduces animals to resources for human use -- collapses under the weight of its logical contradictions. Patterson lays out his complex holistic argument in three parts. In Part I, he demonstrates that animal exploitation and speciesism have direct and profound connections to slavery, colonialism, racism, and anti-Semitism. In Part II, he shows how these connections exist not only in the realm of ideology – as conceptual systems of justifying and underpinning domination and hierarchy – but also in systems of technology, such that the tools and techniques humans devised for the rationalized mass confinement and slaughter of animals were mobilized against human groups for the same ends. Finally, in the fascinating interviews and narratives of Part III, Patterson describes how personal experience with German Nazism prompted Jewish to take antithetical paths: whereas most retreated to an insular identity and dogmatic emphasis on the singularity of Nazi evil and its tragic experience, others recognized the profound similarities between how Nazis treated their human captives and how humanity as a whole treats other animals, an epiphany that led them to adopt vegetarianism, to become advocates for the animals, and develop a far broader and more inclusive ethic informed by universal compassion for all suffering and oppressed beings. The Origins of Hierarchy "As long as men massacre animals, they will kill each other" –Pythagoras It is little understood that the first form of oppression, domination, and hierarchy involves human domination over animals Patterson’s thesis stands in bold contrast to the Marxist theory that the domination over nature is fundamental to the domination over other humans. It differs as well from the social ecology position of Murray Bookchin that domination over humans brings about alienation from the natural world, provokes hierarchical mindsets and institutions, and is the root of the long-standing western goal to “dominate” nature. In the case of Marxists, anarchists, and so many others, theorists typically don’t even mention human domination of animals, let alone assign it causal primacy or significance. In Patterson’s model, however, the human subjugation of animals is the first form of hierarchy and it paves the way for all other systems of domination such as include patriarchy, racism, colonialism, anti-Semitism, and the Holocaust.As he puts it, “the exploitation of animals was the model and inspiration for the atrocities people committed against each other, slavery and the Holocaust being but two of the more dramatic examples.” Hierarchy emerged with the rise of agricultural society some ten thousand years ago. In the shift from nomadic hunting and gathering bands to settled agricultural practices, humans began to establish their dominance over animals through “domestication.” In animal domestication (often a euphemism disguising coercion and cruelty), humans began to exploit animals for purposes such as obtaining food, milk, clothing, plowing, and transportation. As they gained increasing control over the lives and labor power of animals, humans bred them for desired traits and controlled them in various ways, such as castrating males to make them more docile. To conquer, enslave, and claim animals as their own property, humans developed numerous technologies, such as pens, cages, collars, ropes, chains, and branding irons. The domination of animals paved the way for the domination of humans. The sexual subjugation of women, Patterson suggests, was modeled after the domestication of animals, such that men began to control women’s reproductive capacity, to enforce repressive sexual norms, and to rape them as they forced breeding in their animals. Not coincidentally, Patterson argues, slavery emerged in the same region of the Middle East that spawned agriculture, and, in fact, developed as an extension of animal domestication practices. In areas like Sumer, slaves were managed like livestock, and males were castrated and forced to work along with females. In the fifteenth century, when Europeans began the colonization of Africa and Spain introduced the first international slave markets, the metaphors, models, and technologies used to exploit animal slaves were applied with equal cruelty and force to human slaves. Stealing Africans from their native environment and homeland, breaking up families who scream in anguish, wrapping chains around slaves’ bodies, shipping them in cramped quarters across continents for weeks or months with no regard for their needs or suffering, branding their skin with a hot iron to mark them as property, auctioning them as servants, breeding them for service and labor, exploiting them for profit, beating them in rages of hatred and anger, and killing them in vast numbers – all these horrors and countless others inflicted on black slaves were developed and perfected centuries earlier through animal exploitation. As the domestication of animals developed in agricultural society, humans lost the intimate connections they once had with animals. By the time of Aristotle, certainly, and with the bigoted assistance of medieval theologians such as St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, western humanity had developed an explicitly hierarchical worldview – that came to be known as the “Great Chain of Being” – used to position humans as the end to which all other beings were mere means. Patterson underscores the crucial point that the domination of human over human and its exercise through slavery, warfare, and genocide typically begins with the denigration of victims. But the means and methods of dehumanization are derivative, for speciesism provided the conceptual paradigm that encouraged, sustained, and justified western brutality toward other peoples. “Throughout the history of our ascent to dominance as the master species,” Patterson writes, “our victimization of animals has served as the model and foundation for our victimization of each other. The study of human history reveals the pattern: first, humans exploit and slaughter animals; then, they treat other people like animals and do the same to them.” Whether the conquerors are European imperialists, American colonialists, or German Nazis, western aggressors engaged in wordplay before swordplay, vilifying their victims – Africans, Native Americans, Filipinos, Japanese, Vietnamese, Iraqis, and other unfortunates – with opprobrious terms such as “rats,” “pigs,” “swine,” “monkeys,” “beasts,” and “filthy animals.” Once perceived as brute beasts or sub-humans occupying a lower evolutionary rung than white westerners, subjugated peoples were treated accordingly; once characterized as animals, they could be hunted down like animals. The first exiles from the moral community, animals provided a convenient discard bin for oppressors to dispose the oppressed. The connections are clear: “For a civilization built on the exploitation and slaughter of animals, the `lower’ and more degraded the human victims are, the easier it is to kill them.” Thus, colonialism, as Patterson describes, was a “natural extension of human supremacy over the animal kingdom. For just as humans had subdued animals with their superior intelligence and technologies, so many Europeans believed that the white race had proven its superiority by bringing the “lower races” under its command. There are important parallels between speciesism and sexism and racism in the elevation of white male rationality to the touchstone of moral worth. The arguments European colonialists used to legitimate exploiting Africans – that they were less than human and inferior to white Europeans in ability to reason – are the very same justifications humans use to trap, hunt, confine, and kill animals. Once western norms of rationality were defined as the essence of humanity and social normality, by first using non-human animals as the measure of alterity, it was a short step to begin viewing odd, different, exotic, and eccentric peoples and types as non- or sub-human. Thus, the same criterion created to exclude animals from humans was also used to ostracize blacks, women, and numerous other groups from “humanity.” The oppression of blacks, women, and animals alike was grounded in an argument that biological inferiority predestined them for servitude. In the major strain of western thought, alleged rational beings (i.e., elite, white, western males) pronounce that the Other (i.e., women, people of color, animals) is deficient in rationality in ways crucial to their nature and status, and therefore are deemed and treated as inferior, subhuman, or nonhuman. Whereas the racist mindset creates a hierarchy of superior/inferior on the basis of skin color, and the sexist mentality splits men and women into greater and lower classes of beings, the speciesist outlook demeans and objectifies animals by dichotomizing the biological continuum into the antipodes of humans and animals. As racism stems from a hateful white supremacism, and sexism is the product of a bigoted male supremacism, so speciesism stems from and informs a violent human supremacism -- namely, the arrogant belief that humans have a natural or God-given right to use animals for any purpose they devise or, more generously, within the moral boundaries of welfarism and stewardship, which however was Judaic moral baggage official Chistianithy left behind.

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**Interpretation – “economic engagement” means the aff must be an exclusively economic action to bolster economic development between countries**

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The approach to engagement as economic engagement focuses exclusively on economic instruments of foreign policy with the main national interest being security. Economic engagement is a policy of the conscious development of economic relations with the adversary in order to change the target state‟s behaviour and to improve bilateral relations.94 Economic engagement is academically wielded in several respects. It recommends that the state engage the target country in the international community (with the there existing rules) and modify the target state‟s run foreign policy, thus preventing the emergence of a potential enemy.95 Thus, this strategy aims to ensure safety in particular, whereas economic benefit is not a priority objective. Objectives of economic engagement indicate that this form of engagement is designed for relations with problematic countries – those that pose a potential danger to national security of a state that implements economic engagement. Professor of the University of California Paul Papayoanou and University of Maryland professor Scott Kastner say that economic engagement should be used in relations with the emerging powers: countries which accumulate more and more power, and attempt a new division of power in the international system – i.e., pose a serious challenge for the status quo in the international system (the latter theorists have focused specifically on China-US relations). These theorists also claim that economic engagement is recommended in relations with emerging powers whose regimes are not democratic – that is, against such players in the international system with which it is difficult to agree on foreign policy by other means.96 Meanwhile, other supporters of economic engagement (for example, professor of the University of California Miles Kahler) are not as categorical and do not exclude the possibility to realize economic engagement in relations with democratic regimes.97 Proponents of economic engagement believe that the economy may be one factor which leads to closer relations and cooperation (a more peaceful foreign policy and the expected pledge to cooperate) between hostile countries – closer economic ties will develop the target state‟s dependence on economic engagement implementing state for which such relations will also be cost-effective (i.e., the mutual dependence). However, there are some important conditions for the economic factor in engagement to be effective and bring the desired results. P. Papayoanou and S. Kastner note that economic engagement gives the most positive results when initial economic relations with the target state is minimal and when the target state‟s political forces are interested in development of international economic relations. Whether economic relations will encourage the target state to develop more peaceful foreign policy and willingness to cooperate will depend on the extent to which the target state‟s forces with economic interests are influential in internal political structure. If the target country‟s dominant political coalition includes the leaders or groups interested in the development of international economic relations, economic ties between the development would bring the desired results. Academics note that in non-democratic countries in particular leaders often have an interest to pursue economic cooperation with the powerful economic partners because that would help them maintain a dominant position in their own country.98 Proponents of economic engagement do not provide a detailed description of the means of this form of engagement, but identify a number of possible variants of engagement: conditional economic engagement, using the restrictions caused by economic dependency and unconditional economic engagement by exploiting economic dependency caused by the flow. Conditional economic engagement, sometimes called linkage or economic carrots engagement, could be described as conflicting with economic sanctions. A state that implements this form of engagement instead of menacing to use sanctions for not changing policy course promises for a target state to provide more economic benefits in return for the desired political change. Thus, in this case economic ties are developed depending on changes in the target state‟s behaviour.99 Unconditional economic engagement is more moderate form of engagement. Engagement applying state while developing economic relations with an adversary hopes that the resulting economic dependence over time will change foreign policy course of the target state and reduce the likelihood of armed conflict. Theorists assume that economic dependence may act as a restriction of target state‟s foreign policy or as transforming factor that changes target state‟s foreign policy objectives.100 Thus, economic engagement focuses solely on economic measures (although theorists do not give a more detailed description), on strategically important actors of the international arena and includes other types of engagement, such as the conditional-unconditional economic engagement.

**Violation- Human trafficking efforts involve limits to trade to decrease incentives and roads for trafficking**

Brown et al. 11– Drusilla Brown is the Associate Professor of Economics and Director of Tufts International Relations Program; her expertise includes Applied General Equilibrium Models, International Trade Policy, International Labor Standards, Child Labor; Ph.D. University of Michigan, M.A. University of Michigan, B.A. Indiana University \*\*AND Alan Deardorff is the John W. Sweetland Professor of International Economics and a Professor of Economics and Public Policy at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He is also the Associate Dean at the Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy. Former Chair of the Economics Department, Professor Deardorff received his Ph.D. in Economics from Cornell University \*\*\*AND Robert Stern is the Professor of Economics and Public Policy at Umich (Drusilla, Alan, Robert, “Labor Standards and Human Rights: Implications for International Trade and Investment”, 8/19/11, International Policy Center, http://ipc.umich.edu/working-papers/pdfs/ipc-119-brown-deardorff-stern-labor-standards-human-rights-international-trade-investment.pdf)//AY

Forced Labor and Human Trafficking.16 Human trafficking typically involves kidnapping, inducing workers to migrate based on false pretenses, or physically preventing workers from abrogating a labor contract. The most egregious cases involve trafficking of women or children into sex slavery. Less horrific but still a violation of labor and human rights are the cases of migrant workers who do not control their travel documents, working papers, or residency permits. Such restrictions on the freedom of movement are a violation of the core labor standard prohibiting forced labor Clearly, violations related to forced labor arise due to a governmental failure to protect each individual’s property-rights claim to her or his own body. Domestic legal structures that permit forced labor generate a transfer from the individual to the trafficker and incidentally exert downward pressure on wages and employment opportunities for workers with fully protected property rights. Following Srinivasan,17 human-rights activists may attempt to transfer wealth to a government that is failing to protect property rights or buy the right to the worker from the trafficker. However, in both cases, the use of a positive transfer provides a perverse incentive to increase trafficking in order to elicit a larger payment from the human- rights activist. **A negative penalty attached** to the failure to prohibit trafficked/forced labor, such as **a refusal to trade** in goods produced with trafficked/forced labor, provides a well-targeted tax on the human rights violation (see Srinivasan,1998).18

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#### **US economic engagement with Mexico is a vehicle for neoliberal exploitation for the entire region – the plan becomes a tool for military intervention and US security interests while strengthening its economic grip over Latin America**

Jacobs, 04 – Assistant Prof of Polisci at West Virginia University (Jamie Elizabeth, "Neoliberalism and Neopanamericanism: The View from Latin America," Latin American Politics & Society 46.4 (2004) 149-152, MUSE)//VP

The advance of neoliberalism suffers no shortage of critics, both from its supporters who seek a greater balance in the interests of North and South, and from its opponents who see it as lacking any real choice for developing states. The spread of neoliberalism is viewed by its strongest critics as part of the continuing expression of Western power through the mechanisms of globalization, often directly linked to the hegemonic power of the United States. Gary Prevost and Carlos Oliva Campos have assembled a collection of articles that pushes this debate in a somewhat new direction. This compilation addresses the question from a different perspective, focusing not on the neoliberal process as globalization but on neoliberalism as the new guise of panamericanism, which emphasizes a distinctly political overtone in the discussion. The edited volume argues that neoliberalism reanimates a system of relations in the hemisphere that reinforces the most negative aspects of the last century's U.S.-dominated panamericanism. The assembled authors offer a critical view that places neoliberalism squarely in the realm of U.S. hegemonic exploitation of interamerican relations. This volume, furthermore, articulates a detailed vision of the potential failures of this approach in terms of culture, politics, security, and economics for both North and South. Oliva and Prevost present a view from Latin America that differs from that of other works that emphasize globalization as a general or global process. This volume focuses on the implementation of free market capitalism in the Americas as a continuation of the U.S. history of hegemonic control of the hemisphere. While Oliva and Prevost and the other authors featured in this volume point to the changes that have altered global relations since the end of the Cold War—among them an altered balance of power, shifting U.S. strategy, and evolving interamerican relations—they all view the U.S. foreign policy of neoliberalism and economic integration essentially as old wine in new bottles. As such, old enemies (communism) are replaced by new (drugs and terrorism), but the fear of Northern domination of and intervention in Latin America remains. Specifically, Oliva and Prevost identify the process through which "economics had taken center stage in interamerican affairs." They [End Page 149] suggest that the Washington Consensus—diminishing the state's role in the economy, privatizing to reduce public deficits, and shifting more fully to external markets—was instead a recipe for weakened governments susceptible to hemispheric domination by the United States (xi). The book is divided into two main sections that emphasize hemispheric and regional issues, respectively. The first section links more effectively to the overall theme of the volume in its chapters on interamerican relations, culture, governance, trade, and security. In the first of these chapters, Oliva traces the evolution of U.S. influence in Latin America and concludes that, like the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny in the past, the prospect of hemispheric economic integration will be marked by a dominant view privileging U.S. security, conceptualized in transnational, hemispheric terms, that is both asymmetrical and not truly integrated among all members. In this context, Oliva identifies the free trade area of the Americas (FTAA) as "an economic project suited to a hemispheric context that is politically favorable to the United States" (20). The chapters in this section are strongest when they focus on the political aspects of neoliberalism and the possible unintended negative consequences that could arise from the neoliberal program. Carlos Alzugaray Treto draws on the history of political philosophy, traced to Polanyi, identifying ways that social inequality has the potential to undermine the stable governance that is so crucial a part of the neoliberal plan. He goes on to point out how this potential for instability could also generate a new period of U.S. interventionism in Latin America. Treto also analyzes how the "liberal peace" could be undermined by the "right of humanitarian intervention" in the Americas if the NATO intervention in Yugoslavia served as a model for U.S. involvement in the hemisphere. Hector Luis Saint-Pierre raises the issue of "democratic neoauthoritarianism," responsible for "restricting citizenship to the exercise of voting, limiting its voice to electoral polls of public opinion, restraining human rights to consumer's rights, [and] shutting down spaces to the citizens' participation" (116). While these critiques are leveled from a structuralist viewpoint, they often highlight concerns expressed from other theoretical perspectives and subfields (such as the literature on citizenship and participation in the context of economic integration). These chapters also emphasize the way inattention to economic, social, and political crisis could damage attempts at integration and the overall success of the neoliberal paradigm in the Americas. In general, the section on hemispheric issues offers a suspicious view of the U.S. role in promoting integration, arguing that in reality, integration offers a deepening of historical asymmetries of power, the potential to create new justifications for hegemonic intervention, and the further weakening of state sovereignty in the South. [End Page 150] If the first section of the book is joined with skepticism of integration as panamericanism and chooses to focus broadly on the negative effects of the implementation of these policies, part 2 links these regional issues with the politics of specific countries. This section offers articles that speak to country-specific issues in a regional context and to ways that bilateral relations with the United States shape the overall context of regional and hemispheric integration. The regional issues range from CARICOM's evolution to the different approaches to balancing human security and globalization in Central America, the special relationship of Mexico and the United States, and the disincentives for political parties to embrace the Mercosur process. Again, the authors offer continued pessimism about the process of integration unless Latin American states can exercise more control over its evolution. Key to this idea of alternative integration are Brazil and Mexico, the former more successful in asserting its independence than the latter, in the authors' view. Jaime Preciado Coronado singles out the geopolitics of U.S.-Mexican relations and their magnified effect in the region, where the United States has collaborated in Mexico's insertion into the world networks of interdependence and, in return, Mexico promotes the idea of the Washington Consensus intensely and its model of the promotion of free trade with the United States for the rest of Latin America, in order to achieve the consolidation of the continental bloc that maintains American hegemony through the use of the advantages of the international division of labor.

#### Neoliberalism causes extinction

Darder, 10 – Professor Antonia Darder, Distinguished Professor of Education, University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign (“Preface” in *Critical Pedagogy, Ecoliteracy, & Planetary Crisis: The Ecopedagogy Movement* by Richard V. Kahn, 2010, pp. x-xiii)//VP

GENDER MODIFIED

It is fitting to begin my words about Richard Kahn’s Critical Pedagogy, Ecoliteracy, and Planetary Crisis: The Ecopedagogy Movement with a poem. The direct and succinct message of The Great Mother Wails cuts through our theorizing and opens us up to the very heart of the book’s message—to ignite a fire that speaks to **the ecological crisis** at hand; a crisis orchestrated by the inhumane greed and economic brutality of the wealthy. Nevertheless, as is clearly apparent, none of us is absolved from complicity with the devastating destruction of the earth. As members of the global community, we are all implicated in this destruction by the very manner in which we define ourselves, each other, and all living beings with whom we reside on the earth. Everywhere we look there are glaring signs of political systems and social structures that propel us toward **unsustainability and extinction**. In this historical moment, the planet faces some of the most horrendous forms of “[hu]man-made” devastation ever known to humankind. Cataclysmic “natural disasters” in the last decade have sung the environmental hymns of planetary imbalance and reckless environmental disregard. A striking feature of this ecological crisis, both locally and globally, is the **overwhelming concentration of wealth** held by the ruling elite and their agents of capital. This environmental malaise is characterized by the staggering loss of livelihood among working people everywhere; gross inequalities in educational opportunities; an absence of health care for millions; an unprecedented number of people living behind bars; and trillions spent on fabricated wars fundamentally tied to the control and domination of the planet’s resources. The Western ethos of mastery and supremacy over nature has accompanied, to our detriment, the unrelenting expansion of capitalism and its unparalleled domination over all aspects of human life. This hegemonic worldview has been unmercifully imparted through a host of public policies and practices that conveniently gloss over gross inequalities as commonsensical necessities for democracy to bloom. As a consequence, the liberal democratic rhetoric of “we are all created equal” hardly begins to touch the international pervasiveness of racism, patriarchy, technocracy, and economic piracy by the West, all which have fostered the erosion of civil rights and the unprecedented ecological exploitation of societies, creating conditions that now threaten our peril, if we do not reverse directions. Cataclysmic disasters, such as Hurricane Katrina, are unfortunate testimonies to the danger of ignoring the warnings of the natural world, especially when coupled with egregious governmental neglect of impoverished people. Equally disturbing, is the manner in which ecological crisis is vulgarly exploited by unscrupulous and ruthless capitalists who see no problem with turning a profit off the backs of ailing and mourning oppressed populations of every species—whether they be victims of weather disasters, catastrophic illnesses, industrial pollution, or inhumane practices of incarceration. Ultimately, these constitute ecological calamities that speak to the inhumanity and tyranny of material profiteering, at the expense of precious life. The arrogance and exploitation of neoliberal values of consumption dishonor the contemporary suffering of poor and marginalized populations around the globe. Neoliberalism denies or simply mocks (“Drill baby drill!”) the interrelationship and delicate balance that exists between all living beings, including the body earth. In its stead, values of individualism, competition, privatization, and the “free market” systematically debase the ancient ecological knowledge of indigenous populations, who have, implicitly or explicitly, rejected the fabricated ethos of “progress and democracy” propagated by the West. In its consuming frenzy to gobble up the natural resources of the planet for its own hyperbolic quest for material domination, the exploitative nature of capitalism and its burgeoning technocracy has dangerously deepened the structures of social exclusion, through the destruction of the very biodiversity that has been key to our global survival for millennia. Kahn insists that this devastation of all species and the planet must be fully recognized and soberly critiqued. But he does not stop there. Alongside, he rightly argues for political principles of engagement for the construction of a critical ecopedagogy and ecoliteracy that is founded on economic redistribution, cultural and linguistic democracy, indigenous sovereignty, universal human rights, and a fundamental respect for all life. As such, Kahn seeks to bring us all back to a formidable relationship with the earth, one that is unquestionably rooted in an integral order of knowledge, imbued with physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual wisdom. Within the context of such an ecologically grounded epistemology, Kahn uncompromisingly argues that our organic relationship with the earth is also intimately tied to our struggles for cultural self-determination, environmental sustainability, social and material justice, and global peace. Through a carefully framed analysis of past disasters and current ecological crisis, Kahn issues an urgent call for a critical ecopedagogy that makes central explicit articulations of the ways in which societies construct ideological, political, and cultural systems, based on social structures and practices that can serve to promote ecological sustainability and biodiversity or, conversely, lead us down a disastrous path of unsustainability and extinction. In making his case, Kahn provides a grounded examination of the manner in which consuming capitalism manifests its repressive force throughout the globe, disrupting the very ecological order of knowledge essential to the planet’s sustainability. He offers an understanding of critical ecopedagogy and ecoliteracy that inherently critiques the history of Western civilization and the anthropomorphic assumptions that sustain patriarchy and the subjugation of all subordinated living beings—assumptions that continue to inform traditional education discourses around the world. Kahn incisively demonstrates how a theory of multiple technoliteracies can be used to effectively critique the ecological corruption and destruction behind mainstream uses of technology and the media in the interest of the neoliberal marketplace. As such, his work points to the manner in which the sustainability rhetoric of mainstream environmentalism actually **camouflages** wretched neoliberal policies and practices that left unchecked **hasten the annihilation of the globe’s ecosystem**. True to its promise, the book cautions that any anti-hegemonic resistance movement that claims social justice, universal human rights, or global peace must contend forthrightly with the deteriorating ecological crisis at hand, as well as consider possible strategies and relationships that rupture the status quo and transform environmental conditions that threaten disaster. A failure to integrate ecological sustainability at the core of our political and pedagogical struggles for liberation, Kahn argues, is to blindly and misguidedly adhere to an anthropocentric worldview in which emancipatory dreams are deemed solely about human interests, without attention either to the health of the planet or to the well-being of all species with whom we walk the earth.

#### The alternative is to reject the 1ac to interrogate neoliberal economic engagement with latin America from the starting point of knowledge production- that is a prerequisite to breaking down neoliberalism

**Walsh, 12** – Estudios Culturales Latinoamericanos de la Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar (Catherine, “The Politics of Naming”, Cultural Studies, 26.1, Project Muse)//VP

Cultural Studies, in our project, is constructed and understood as more than a field of ‘study’. It is broadly understand as a formation, a field of possibility and expression. And it is constructed as a space of encounter between disciplines and intellectual, political and ethical projects that seek to combat what Alberto Moreiras called the impoverishment of thought driven by divisions (disciplinary, epistemological, geographic, etc.) and the socio-political-cultural fragmentation that increasingly makes social change and intervention appear to be divided forces (Moreiras 2001). As such, Cultural Studies is conceived as a place of plural-, inter-, transand in-disciplinary (or undisciplined) critical thinking that takes as major concern the intimate relationships between culture, knowledge, politics and economics mentioned earlier, and that sees the problems of the region as both local and global. It is a space from which to search for ways of thinking, knowing, comprehending, feeling and acting that permit us to intervene and influence: a field that makes possible convergence and articulation, particularly between efforts, practices, knowledge and projects that focus on more global justice, on differences (epistemic, ontological, existential, of gender, ethnicity, class, race, nation, among others) constructed as inequalities within the framework of neo-liberal capitalism. It is a place that seeks answers, encourages intervention and engenders projects and proposals. It is in this frame of understanding and practice in our Ph.D. programme in Latin-American Cultural Studies at the Universidad Andina Simo´n Bolı´var, that this broad description-definition continues to take on more concrete characteristics. Here I can identify three that stand out: the inter-cultural, the inter-epistemic and the de-colonial. The inter-cultural has been and still is a central axis in the struggles and processes of social change in the Andean region. Its critical meaning was first affirmed near the end of the 1980s in the Ecuadorian indigenous movement’s political project. Here inter-culturality was positioned as an ideological principal grounded in the urgent need for a radical transformation of social structures, institutions and relationships, not only for indigenous peoples but also for society as a whole. Since then, inter-culturality has marked a social, political, ethical project and process that is also epistemological;6 a project and a process that seek to re-found the bases of the nation and national culture, understood as homogenous and mono-cultural. Such call for re-founding does not to simply add diversity to what is already established, but rather to rethink, rebuild and inter-culturalize the nation and national culture, and with in the terrains of knowledge, politics and life-based visions. It is this understanding of the inter-cultural that is of interest. Concretely, we are interested in the spaces of agency, creation, innovation and encounter between and among different subjects, knowledges, practices and visions. Referring to our project of Cultural Studies as (inter)Cultural Studies, enables and encourages us to think from this region, from the struggles, practices and processes that question Eurocentric, colonial and imperial legacies, and work to transform and create radically different conditions for thinking, encountering, being and coexisting or co-living. In a similar fashion, the inter-epistemic focuses on the need to question, interrupt and transgress the Euro-USA-centric epistemological frameworks that dominate Latin-American universities and even some Cultural Studies programmes. To think with knowledges produced in Latin America and the Caribbean (as well as in other ‘Souths’, including those located in the North) and by intellectuals who come not only from academia, but also from other projects, communities and social movements are, for us, a necessary and essential step, both in de-colonization and in creating other conditions of knowledge and understanding. Our project, thus, concerns itself with the work of inverting the geopolitics of knowledge, with placing attention on the historically subjugated and negated plurality of knowledge, logics and rationalities, and with the political-intellectual effort to create relationships, articulations and convergences between them. The de-colonial element is intimately related to the two preceding points. Here our interest is, on one hand, to make evident the thoughts, practices and experiences that both in the past and in the present have endeavoured to challenge the colonial matrix of power and domination, and to exist in spite of it, in its exterior and interior. By colonial matrix, we refer to the hierarchical system of racial civilizational classification that has operated and operates at different levels of life, including social identities (the superiority of white, heterosexual males), ontological-existential contexts (the dehumanization of indigenous and black peoples), epistemic contexts (the positioning of Euro-centrism as the only perspective of knowledge, thereby disregarding other epistemic rationalities), and cosmological (the control and/or negation of the ancestral-spiritual-territorial-existential bases that govern the life-systems of ancestral peoples, most especially those of African Diaspora and of Abya Yala) (see Quijano 1999). At the centre or the heart of this matrix is capitalism as the only possible model of civilization; the imposed social classification, the idea of ‘humanity’, the perspective of knowledge and the prototype life-system that goes with it defines itself through this capitalistic civilizational lens. As Quijano argues, by defending the interests of social domination and the exploitation of work under the hegemony of capital, ‘the ‘‘racialization’’ and the ‘‘capitalization’’ of social relationships of these models of power, and the ‘‘eurocentralization’’ of its control, are in the very roots of our present problems of identity,’ in Latin America as countries, ‘nations’ and States (Quijano 2006). It is precisely because of this that we consider the de-colonial to be a fundamental perspective. Within our project, the de-colonial does not seek to establish a new paradigm or line of thought but a critically-conscious understanding of the past and present that opens up and suggests questions, perspectives and paths to explore. As such, and on the other hand, we are interested in stimulating methodologies and pedagogies that, in the words of Jacqui Alexander (2005), cross the fictitious boundaries of exclusion and marginalization to contribute to the configuration of new ways of being and knowing rooted not in alterity itself, but in the principles of relation, complement and commitment. It is also to encourage other ways of reading, investigating and researching, of seeing, knowing, feeling, hearing and being, that challenge the singular reasoning of western modernity, make tense our own disciplinary frameworks of ‘study’ and interpretation, and persuade a questioning from and with radically distinct rationalities, knowledge, practices and civilizational-life-systems. It is through these three pillars of the inter-cultural, the inter-epistemic and the de-colonial that we attempt to understand the processes, experiences and struggles that are occurring in Latin America and elsewhere. But it is also here that we endeavour to contribute to and learn from the complex relationships between culture-politics-economics, knowledge and power in the world today; to unlearn to relearn from and with perspectives otherwise. Practices, experiences and challenges In this last section, my interest is to share some of the particularities of our doctorate programme/project, now in its third cycle; its achievements and advancements; and the challenges that it faces in an academic context, increasingly characterized regionally and internationally, by disciplinarity, depolitization, de-subjectivation, apathy, competitive individualism and nonintervention. Without a doubt, one of the unique characteristics of the programme/ project is its students: all mid-career professionals mainly from the Andean region and from such diverse fields as the social sciences, humanities, the arts, philosophy, communication, education and law. The connection that the majority of the students have with social and cultural movements and/or processes, along with their dedication to teaching or similar work, helps to contribute to dynamic debate and discussion not always seen in academia and post-graduate programmes. Similarly, the faculty of the programme stand out for being internationally renowned intellectuals, and, the majority, for their commitment to struggles of social transformation, critical thinking and the project of the doctorate itself. The curriculum offering is based on courses and seminars that seek to foment thinking from Latin American and with its intellectuals in all of their diversity comprehend, confront and affect the problems and realities of the region, which are not only local but global. The pedagogical methodological perspective aforementioned works to stimulate processes of collective thought and allow the participants to think from related formations, experiences and research topics and to think with the differences disciplinary, geographical, epistemic and subjective thereby fracturing individualism by dialoguing, transgressing and inter-crossing boundaries. Trans-disciplinarity, as such, is a fundamental position and process in our project. The fact that the graduate students come from an array of different backgrounds provides a plurality in which the methodologicalpedagogical practice becomes the challenge of collectively thinking, crossing disciplinary backgrounds and creating new positions and perspectives, conceived and formed in a trans-disciplinary way. The majority of courses, seminars and professors, also assume that this is a necessary challenge in today’s world when no single discipline and no single intellectual is capable alone of analyzing, comprehending or transforming social reality. Nevertheless, trans-disciplinary gains continue to be a point of criticism and contention, especially given the present trend to re-discipline the LatinAmerican university. As Edgardo Lander has argued (2000a), this tendency reflects the neo-liberalization of higher education, as well as the increasing conservatism of intellectuals, including those that previously identified as or to continue to identify themselves as progressives and/or leftists. To establish oneself in a discipline or presume truth through a discipline, a common practice today, is to reinstall the geopolitics of knowing. This, in turn, strengthens Euro-USA-centrism as ‘the place’ of theory and knowledge. As such, the subject of dispute is not simply the trans-disciplinary aspect of Cultural Studies but also its ‘indisciplinary’ nature, that is, the effort central to our project to include points of view that come from Latin America and thinkers who are not always connected to academia (see Walsh et al. 2002). Our interest is not, as some claim, to facilitate the agendas or cultural agency of subaltern groups or social movements, promote activism or simply include other knowledge forms, but instead to build a different political-intellectual project a political-intellectual project otherwise. Such project gives centrality to the need to learn to think from, together and with Latin American reality and its actors, thereby stimulating convergences, articulations and inter-culturalizations that aim at creating an academia that is committed to life itself. Such a perspective does not eliminate or deny knowledge conceived in Europe or North America usually named as ‘universal’ or its proponents and thinkers. Instead, it incorporates such knowledge as part of a broader canon and worldview that seeks pluriversality, recognizing the importance of places and loci of enunciation. For our project, all of this serves to highlight the doubly complicated situation that is still in flux. On one hand, there is the negative association with trans-disciplinarity and the academic suppositions that accompany it, particularly in the area of research; this requires that our theses be doubly rigorous. And, on the other hand, there is the geopolitical limitation not only of disciplines but also of academic disciplining. To argue, as we do, that knowledge and thought are also produced outside of universities and, in dialogue with Hall, that political movements also produce and provoke theoretic moments and movements, is to question and challenge the academic logic and the authority of a universal and singular reasoning and science. We will, through such questioning and challenges, always be marginalized, placed on the fringe, under a microscope, criticized and disputed. Because of this, the challenges that we have encountered have been many. On one hand, there are those challenges that many face in the Latin-American academic context: the real difficulties of financing, infrastructure and research support. On the other hand, are the challenges that come with the traditional academic disciplinary structure, its de-politization and de-subjectification. Here the challenge is to transgress the established norms of neutrality, distance and objectivity. It is also to confront the standards that give little relevance to historically subjugated groups, practices and knowledges, and to the interlinking of race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality with the structures and models of power and knowledge. It is to make evident past and present struggles that give real meaning to the arguments of heterogeneity, decoloniality and inter-culturality. Here the criticism and dispute comes from many sides: from those who describe these efforts as too politicized (and, as such, supposedly less ‘academic’), uni-paradigmatic (supposedly limited to only one ‘line of thought’), fundamentalist (supposedly exclusionary of those subjects not marked by the colonial wound) and as obsessed with conflict (and therefore far from the tradition of ‘culture’, its letters and object of study). These challenges together with the tensions, criticisms and disputes that they mark often times make the path more difficult. Still, and at the same time, they allow us to clarify the distinctive and unique aspects of our project and its motivations to continue with its course of construction, insurgence and struggle. Our concern here is not so much with the institutionalizing of Cultural Studies. Better yet, and in a much broader fashion, we are concerned with epistemic inter-culturalization, with the de-colonialization and pluriversalization of the ‘university’, and with a thinking from the South(s). To place these concerns, as argued here, within a perspective and a politics of naming: ‘(inter)Cultural Studies in de-colonial code,’ is to open, not close, paths. Conclusion In concluding the reflections I have presented here, it is useful to return to a fundamental point touched by Stuart Hall: ‘intervention’. In particular and with Hall, I refer to the will to intervene in and transform the world, an intervention that does not simply relate to social and political contexts and fields, but also to epistemology and theory. That is to an intervention and transformation in and a de-colonization of the frameworks and logics of our thinking, knowing and comprehending. To commit oneself in mind, body and spirit as Frantz Fanon argued. To consider Cultural Studies today a project of political vocation and intervention is to position and at the same time build our work on the borders of and the boundaries between university and society. It is to seriously reflect on whom we read and with whom we want and/or need to dialogue and think, to understand the very limits or our knowledge. And precisely because of this, it is to act on our own situation, establishing contacts and exchanges of different kinds in a pedagogicalmethodological zeal to think from and think with, in what I have elsewhere called a critical inter-culturality and de-colonial pedagogy (Walsh 2009). In universities and societies that are increasingly characterized by nonintervention, auto-complacency, individualism and apathy, intervention represents, suggests and promotes a position and practice of involvement, action and complicity. To take on such a position and practice and to make it an integral part of our political-intellectual project is to find not only ethical meaning in work on culture and power, but also to give this work some heart. That is to say, to focus on the ever-greater need and urgency of life. To call these Cultural Studies or critical (inter)Cultural Studies is only one of our options, and part of the politics of naming.

## 1NC

**Yellen will likely be confirmed as the next Federal Reserve chair**

Europost 10/18/13 ("Janet Yellen rises to FED head challenge," http://www.europost.bg/article?id=8754)

For the first time in its cen­tu­ry-old his­to­ry, the US Fed­er­al Reserve (Fed) is wide­ly expect­ed to have a female Chair­per­son. Jan­et Yel­len (67), cur­rent­ly serv­ing as dep­u­ty of Ben Ber­nan­ke, has been nom­i­nat­ed by Pres­i­dent Barack Obama for the sec­ond most pow­er­ful gov­ern­ment posi­tion in the US. Because of the Fed's excep­tion­al inde­pend­ence and pow­er to pull the strings of not only the US, but the glob­al econ­o­my, its Chair­per­son holds an enor­mous amount of influ­ence.¶ Anoth­er sig­nif­i­cant devel­op­ment is the fact that for the first time in near­ly 30 years the Dem­o­crats will have their hands on this cru­cial finan­cial insti­tu­tion. The last Dem­o­crat at the helm of the US cen­tral bank was Paul Volc­ker, who Pres­i­dent Ronald Rea­gan replaced with Alan Green­span in 1987.¶ "Jan­et is excep­tion­al­ly well qual­i­fied for this role," Obama said at a White House cer­e­mo­ny on 9 Octo­ber, with Yell­en stand­ing by his side. "She doesn't have a crys­tal ball, but what she does have is a keen under­stand­ing of how mar­kets and the econ­o­my work, not just in the­o­ry but also in the real world. And she calls it like she sees it."¶ "She had sound­ed the alarm bell ear­ly about the hous­ing mar­ket bub­ble and excess­es in the finan­cial mar­kets before the reces­sion. She calls it like she sees it," Obama add­ed.¶ Yell­en, who spoke aft­er Obama, said she would pro­mote max­i­mum employ­ment, sta­ble pri­ces, and a sound finan­cial sys­tem.¶ "While we have made progress, we have fur­ther to go. The man­date of the Fed­er­al Reserve is to serve all the Amer­i­can peo­ple, and too many Amer­i­cans still can't find a job and wor­ry how they'll pay their bills and pro­vide for their fam­i­lies," Yell­en said.¶ "Jan­et is excep­tion­al­ly well qual­i­fied for the posi­tion, with stel­lar aca­dem­ic cre­den­tials and a strong record as a lead­er and a pol­i­cy­mak­er," Ben Ber­nan­ke said in a state­ment.¶ With her white hair and sweet smile, Yell­en inspires con­fi­dence. She was born and raised in Brook­lyn, where she attend­ed Fort Hamil­ton High School in Bay Ridge. She grad­u­at­ed from Brown Uni­ver­si­ty with a degree in eco­nom­ics in 1967, and received a Ph.D. in eco­nom­ics from Yale Uni­ver­si­ty in 1971.¶ Yell­en was an assist­ant pro­fes­sor at Har­vard from 1971-76 and an econ­o­mist with the Fed­er­al Reserve Board of Gov­ern­ors from 1977-78. There she met her future hus­band George Akerl­of, a Nobel prize-win­ning econ­o­mist. The two of them have worked togeth­er on numer­ous eco­nom­ic the­ses. She is now a Pro­fes­sor Emer­i­tus at the Haas School of Busi­ness, at the Uni­ver­si­ty of Cal­i­for­nia, Berke­ley.¶ Yell­en served as chair of Pres­i­dent Bill Clin­ton's Coun­cil of Eco­nom­ic Advis­ers 1997-1999, and was appoint­ed as a mem­ber of the Fed­er­al Reserve Sys­tem's Board of Gov­ern­ors from 1994 to 1997. She has taught at Har­vard Uni­ver­si­ty and at the Lon­don School of Eco­nom­ics. From June 14, 2004, until 2010, Yell­en was the Pres­i­dent and Chief Exec­u­tive Offi­cer of the Fed­er­al Reserve Bank of San Fran­cis­co. Fol­low­ing her appoint­ment to the Fed­er­al Reserve in 2004, she spoke pub­lic­ly, and in meet­ings of the Fed's mon­e­tary pol­i­cy com­mit­tee, on her con­cern about the poten­tial con­se­quen­ces of the boom in hous­ing pri­ces.¶ Yell­en is con­sid­ered by many on Wall Street to be a "dove" (more con­cerned with unem­ploy­ment than with infla­tion). Many con­serv­a­tives are hawks on infla­tion, argu­ing that keep­ing pri­ces low should be the Fed's chief con­cern. Yell­en will like­ly face oppo­si­tion from some Repub­li­cans in the Sen­ate, but she is expect­ed to be con­firmed as the next Fed chair.¶ A con­serv­a­tive group has launched a cam­paign to stop Jan­et L. Yell­en from becom­ing the next head of the Fed­er­al Reserve, Amer­i­can media report­ed. The con­cerns are that her con­fir­ma­tion would lead to an expan­sion of easy mon­ey pol­i­cies that would cause pri­ces to soar.¶ Still, she is expect­ed to gain enough sup­port to secure the 60 votes need­ed to over­come any pro­ce­dur­al hur­dles in the 100-seat Sen­ate. Dem­o­crats con­trol the cham­ber 54-46.

**Empirically proven – human trafficking legislation is partisan – GOP backlash**

Lidane 13 (Citing the Senate Judiciary Chairman 2/22/13 Senate Dems Condemn House GOP Version of Violence Against Women Act [http://littlegreenfootballs.com/page/294226\_Senate\_Dems\_Condemn\_House\_GOP\_ //](http://littlegreenfootballs.com/page/294226_Senate_Dems_Condemn_House_GOP_%20//) OP )

Senate Judiciary Chairman Patrick Leahy (D-VT), the author of VAWA, derided the legislation as “partisan” and said it omits critical measures designed to protect vulnerable populations like Native Americans, immigrants and the gay and lesbian community.¶ “Next week, the House of Representatives plans to revert back to its partisan version of the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act,” Leahy said in a statement. “The Republican House leadership has decided to replace the Senate-passed version with a substitute that will not provide critical protections for rape victims, domestic violence victims, human trafficking victims, students on campuses, or stalking victims. This is simply unacceptable and it further demonstrates that Republicans in the House have not heard the message sent by the American people and reflected in the Senate’s overwhelming vote earlier this month to pass the bipartisan Leahy-Crapo bill. A majority of Republican Senators — and every woman serving in the United States Senate — supported it.”¶ I would act surprised and/or outraged by this, but I’m not. The GOP’s war on women continues unabated.¶ What’s most amazing to me is that the House GOP strip out the protections for human trafficking victims. To give you an idea of just how deranged that is, consider that the very same protections passed in the Senate with a rare 100-0 vote.

**Capital key to securing the new Fed chair**

Collier 9/30/13 (Sustainable Wealth Management, "Perspectives: Four Challenges Facing the Markets This Fall," http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:mVzW9cxQi5YJ:www.collierswm.com/blog/perspectives-four-challenges-facing-markets-fall+&cd=15&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us)

Current Fed Chairman, Ben Bernanke, will step down from his position in January and his replacement will be named soon. Rumors about President Obama’s nomination are flying and we can expect a contentious confirmation process by the Senate, filled with horse-trading and negotiations. The new Fed chairman will have the responsibility of managing the tapering process and ending the Fed’s unprecedented quantitative easing programs while keeping the economy on track.[iii]

**Yellen key to the global economy**

Crutsinger and Wiseman 10/9/13 (Martin and Paul, AP Economics Writers, "As Fed chair, Yellen would face tough challenges," http://www.dallasnews.com/business/headlines/20131009-as-fed-chair-yellen-would-face-tough-challenges.ece?nclick\_check=1)

Yellen would also take over the Fed at a critical time for China, the world's No. 2 economy after the United States, and other developing nations.¶ The International Monetary Fund, citing slower growth in China, India and Brazil, downgraded its forecast this week for global economic growth to 2.9 percent this year and 3.6 percent in 2014. Both are 0.2 percentage point weaker than the IMF's previous forecast in July.¶ Investors have been pulling money out of developing markets, partly to take advantage of rising interest rates in the United States. The Fed might be called upon to help calm worldwide financial volatility.¶ "The role of the Fed chair is so critical," said Greg McBride, senior financial analyst at Bankrate.com. "We're not just talking about the U.S. economy. We're talking about the global economy."¶ Yellen will also have to establish herself as chair at a time when the Fed is experiencing unusual turnover. When Bernanke leaves Jan. 31, but there could be up to four vacancies that Obama would need to fill on the seven-member Fed board.¶ One board member, Elizabeth Duke, left in August. Another, Sarah Bloom Raskin, has been nominated by Obama to become deputy Treasury secretary. The term of a third, Jerome Powell, will be up Jan. 31, though he can remain on the board until a successor is confirmed by the Senate.¶ And Sandra Pianalto, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, has announced that she will leave early next year.¶ Most analysts say they're confident Yellen can handle the many challenges.¶ "By temperament, by mannerism and by extensive experience, I think she is better prepared for that job than almost anybody on the face of the earth," says Alan Blinder, a Princeton University economist and former Fed vice chairman who served with Yellen at the Fed in the 1990s.

**Global nuclear war**

Harris & Burrows 9 (Mathew, PhD European History @ Cambridge, counselor of the U.S. National Intelligence Council (NIC) and Jennifer, member of the NIC’s Long Range Analysis Unit “Revisiting the Future: Geopolitical Effects of the Financial Crisis” <http://www.ciaonet.org/journals/twq/v32i2/f_0016178_13952.pdf>)

Of course, the report encompasses more than economics and indeed believes the future is likely to be the result of a number of intersecting and interlocking forces. With so many possible permutations of outcomes, each with ample Revisiting the Future opportunity for unintended consequences, there is a growing sense of insecurity. Even so, history may be more instructive than ever. While we continue to believe that the Great Depression is not likely to be repeated, the lessons to be drawn from that period include the **harmful effects on fledgling democracies** and multiethnic societies (think Central Europe in 1920s and 1930s) and on the sustainability of multilateral institutions (think League of Nations in the same period). There is no reason to think that this would not be true in the twenty-first as much as in the twentieth century. For that reason, the ways in which **the potential for** greater **conflict could grow** would seem to be even more apt in a constantly volatile economic environment as they would be if change would be steadier. In surveying those risks, the report stressed the likelihood that terrorism and nonproliferation will remain priorities even as resource issues move up on the international agenda. **Terrorism**’s appeal will decline if economic growth continues in the Middle East and youth unemployment is reduced. For those terrorist groups that remain active in 2025, however, the diffusion of technologies and scientific knowledge will place some of the world’s most dangerous capabilities within their reach. Terrorist groups in 2025 will likely be a combination of descendants of long established groups\_inheriting organizational structures, command and control processes, and training procedures necessary to conduct sophisticated attacks and newly emergent collections of the angry and disenfranchised that become self-radicalized, particularly in the absence of economic outlets that would become narrower in an economic downturn. The most dangerous casualty of any economically-induced drawdown of U.S. military presence would almost certainly be the Middle East. Although Iran’s acquisition of nuclear weapons is not inevitable, worries about a nuclear-armed Iran could lead states in the region to develop new security arrangements with external powers, **acquire additional weapons**, and consider pursuing their own **nuclear ambitions**. It is not clear that the type of stable deterrent relationship that existed between the great powers for most of the Cold War would emerge naturally in the Middle East with a nuclear Iran. Episodes of low intensity conflict and terrorism taking place under a nuclear umbrella could lead to an **unintended escalation** and **broader conflict** if clear red lines between those states involved are not well established. The close proximity of potential **nuclear rivals** combined with underdeveloped surveillance capabilities and mobile dual-capable Iranian missile systems also will produce inherent difficulties in achieving reliable indications and warning of an impending nuclear attack. The lack of strategic depth in neighboring states like Israel, short warning and missile flight times, and uncertainty of Iranian intentions may place more focus on **preemption** rather than defense, potentially leading to **escalating crises**. 36 Types of conflict that the world continues to experience, such as over resources, could reemerge, particularly if protectionism grows and there is a resort to neo-mercantilist practices. Perceptions of renewed energy scarcity will drive countries to take actions to assure their future access to energy supplies. In the worst case, this could result in **interstate conflicts** if government leaders deem assured access to energy resources, for example, to be essential for maintaining domestic stability and the survival of their regime. Even actions short of war, however, will have important geopolitical implications. Maritime security concerns are providing a rationale for naval buildups and modernization efforts, such as China’s and India’s development of blue water naval capabilities. If the fiscal stimulus focus for these countries indeed turns inward, one of the most obvious funding targets may be military. Buildup of regional naval capabilities could lead to increased tensions, rivalries, and counterbalancing moves, but it also will create opportunities for multinational cooperation in protecting critical sea lanes. With water also becoming scarcer in Asia and the Middle East, cooperation to manage changing water resources is likely to be increasingly difficult both within and between states in a more dog-eat-dog world.

## Case

**Gender doesn’t cause war, they have the relationship backwards**

Goldstein 3— (Joshua S., Professor of International Relations at American University, 2003 War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa, pp.411-412)DF

I began this book hoping to contribute in some way to a deeper understanding of war – an understanding that would improve the chances of someday achieving real peace, by deleting war from our human repertoire. In following the thread of gender running through war, I found the deeper understanding I had hoped for – a multidisciplinary and multilevel engagement with the subject. Yet I became somewhat more pessimistic about how quickly or easily war may end. The war system emerges, from the evidence in this book, as relatively ubiquitous and robust. Efforts to change this system must overcome several dilemmas mentioned in this book. First, peace activists face a dilemma in thinking about causes of war and working for peace. Many peace scholars and activists support the approach, “if you want peace, work for justice.” Then, if one believes that sexism contributes to war, one can work for gender justice specifically (perhaps among others) in order to pursue peace. This approach brings strategic allies to the peace movement (women, labor, minorities), but rests on the assumption that injustices cause war. The evidence in this book suggests that causality runs at least as strongly the other way. War is not a product of capitalism, imperialism, gender, innate aggression, or any other single cause, although all of these influence wars’ outbreaks and outcomes. Rather, war has in part fueled and sustained these and other injustices. So, “if you want peace, work for peace.” Indeed, if you want justice (gender and others), work for peace. Causality does not run just upward through the levels of analysis, from types of individuals, societies, and governments up to war. It runs downward too. Enloe suggests that changes in attitudes towards war and the military may be the most important way to “reverse women’s oppression.” The dilemma is that peace work focused on justice brings to the peace movement energy, allies, and moral grounding, yet, in light of this book’s evidence, the emphasis on injustice as the main cause of war seems to be empirically inadequate.¶

**Discourse in the squo offers scapegoats to trafficking which ignores the real cause of human trafficking – globalization. Also, victimization rhetoric is an independent impact**

**Wallinger 10** (Caroline S. Wallinger – Professor at Arizona State University, “Media Representation and Human Trafficking: How Anti-Trafficking Discourse Affects Trafficked Persons”, 10-1-10, <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1003&context=humtrafconf2>) MaxL

The field of study developing around human trafficking abounds in complications and confusions. Activists, scholars and governments have struggled to define the problem and its dimensions, and there are still few reliable statistics available indicating its scope. Still—the variety of organizations and strategies on the subject reflect a complexity that belies the simplicity of its most basic definition. Human trafficking is modern day slavery. Subjects are held and forced to work against their will. They are threatened daily, sometimes hourly, with physical or emotional harm. They are treated as less than human. Competing representations in the media have contributed to a general confusion on its significance as a social phenomenon. Various social and political groups have, over the years, divided, delineated and classified trafficking into a series of categories including sex trafficking, labor trafficking and child exploitation (Bales 1999; Aronowitz 2009; Kempadoo 2005; Lee 2007). These categories have become an integral part of the collective understanding of human trafficking and they have played a key role in the crafting of national and international antitrafficking legislation (Jahic and Finckenauer 2005). This paper is extracted in part from a master‘s thesis: Discursive Divisions in Human Trafficking: Political Violence and Media Misrepresentation (Wallinger 2010). While the thesis undertook a broader analysis of political violence and its manifestations through power relations within and outside the human trafficking movement, this paper focuses more closely on the U.S. media‘s role in defining discourse on trafficking and shaping legislation and services provided to trafficked persons. The paper identifies misrepresentations and misestimations in the media that have undermined the efficacy of these laws and services as well as some models for improvement. It is hoped that this research might expose the consequences of a divided discourse on trafficking as well as the benefits of a more carefully nuanced approach to addressing the problem. Understanding Human Trafficking At its heart, human trafficking is relatively simple to define. Though it has taken many forms, historically (chattel slavery, debt bondage, forced marriage, contract slavery, etc.), trafficking in human beings has always involved the procurement and maintenance of free labor by use of force (Bales 1999). Modern analyses, though, have tended toward the complex, and human trafficking has come to mean many different things to many different groups and individuals. At this contemporary moment, it may be fair to say that there is no single movement against human trafficking, but rather a collection of efforts against sex trafficking of adults and children, labor trafficking, the use of child soldiers in international conflict and many other practices that are, at their most basic definition, trade in human beings. All of these different forms of trafficking are equally distressing. The splintered approach to prosecuting, publicizing and raising awareness about them, however, has led to a colossal misrepresentation and misunderstanding of the size, scope and nature of the core problem. Competing and contradictory legal definitions of human trafficking have rendered data and statistics unreliable. A 2005 study reveals: Most countries have only recently, if at all, adopted legislation criminalizing trafficking. Consequently, reliable criminal justice data are practically unavailable.... In a 2001 Europol report, only Germany, Greece, and Sweden submitted statistics on trafficking, out of 15 European Union member countries. The situation in less developed countries is even more dismal…. Some countries base their reports on border crossing data, and others on arrest data. Some countries do not differentiate between trafficking and smuggling, nor specifically delineate foreign prostitution in their data. All this makes reaching meaningful conclusions about the scope of the problem practically impossible. (Jahic and Finckenauer 2005, 27-28) Of more concern than the method of statistical collection in Eastern Europe is the lack of attention paid in popular media and on the policy level to trafficking in developing countries. Trafficking gained salience as a social issue for industrialized nations in the 1990s as a direct result of the increased public awareness of exploitation of women from former Soviet countries. Gendered and racialized perceptions of the crime and its dimensions were upset, and people began to see trafficked persons more as ―girls next door,‖ and not just people of other nationalities and ethnicities (Jahic and Finckenauer 2005, 26). Simply put, media in predominantly white and wealthy nations only began generating mass interest in human trafficking when they presented the crime as one that affects primarily white persons (26). Contrary to popular presentations of subjects of trafficking as a mostly white phenomenon, the vast majority of today‘s slaves live in the developing world, and the heaviest concentration are thought to be in debt bondage in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal (Bales 1999, 9). Southeast Asia, northern and western Africa and South America are also known as slavery hotbeds, and the problem is vastly understated in developing nations. Bales writes that there are ―at least some slaves in almost every country in the world, including the United States, Japan, and many European Countries‖ (9). However, even the scant statistical evidence that is available indicates large numbers of trafficking cases in the industrialized world—and more and more research points to industrialized nations as a source and destination for human trafficking (Logan, Walker, and Hunt 2009). This growing collection of information reinforces the need for a better assessment of the complicity of capitalist networks and other institutions within industrialized nations in the trade in human beings (Desyllas 2007; Chang and Kim 2007). These indications of the broad scope of trafficking demand an analysis on why the media has focused so heavily on isolated occurrences of trafficking and so little on the sociopolitical forces behind them. There is ample evidence that the rise in global capitalism and the spread of the corporate manufacturing supply chain into some of the poorest regions of the world has fueled the rise in transnational human trafficking (Bales 1999; Chang and Kim 2007; Cameron and Newman 2008; Kempadoo 2005). The following sections will discuss why there is so little analysis of this connection in the popular media. Media1 and Agenda Setting Theory For most people in the United States, information on national issues is relayed through media. Political elections, wars, sporting events and even natural disasters occur in spaces that the average citizen cannot directly or regularly access. They look to the media therefore— newspapers, television, magazines and internet blogs—to attend and interpret these events. The media serve this function in powerful ways, influencing which issues the public comes to learn about, when, why and in what ways (Maxwell E. McCombs and Shaw 1972; Ghanem 1997; Hartley 1982; Wanta 1997). A 1972 study on the agenda-setting function of mass media shows a strong correlation between media and voter emphasis on issues during political elections, suggesting that media not only provide information but also influence what information becomes important to consumers (Maxwell E. McCombs and Shaw 1972). This function is not specific to political elections alone. Because most people have such limited access to the events they follow on the news, ―the information flowing in interpersonal communication channels is primarily relayed from, and based upon, mass media news coverage‖ (Maxwell E. McCombs and Shaw 1972, 185). This coverage is limited – there is not enough time in even a 24-hour news cycle to cover every issue in the world. There is therefore an ―emphasis by the media, over time on a relatively small number of issues, lead[ing] the public into perceiving these issues as more important than other issues. The more an issue gets covered, the more it will be perceived as being important by members of the public‖ (Wanta 1997, 2). This manipulation of issue salience has a significant effect on the public‘s understanding of various issues, as we will see later in this chapter. In agenda-setting theory, the process of interpreting the limited selection of events that receive coverage in the media is known as the ―second level‖ of agenda setting, dealing with the ―specific attributes of a topic and how this agenda of attributes also influences public opinion‖ (M. McCombs and Evatt 1995; Ghanem 1997, 3). This theory divides issues into sets of objects and states that ―the way an issue or other object is covered in the media... affects the way the public thinks about that object, [and] the way an issue or other object is covered in the media... affects the salience of that object on the public agenda‖ (Ghanem 1997, 4). It is thus acknowledged that media influence which events have importance over other events (Wanta 1997). It is further acknowledged that media shape the public interpretation of such events through a series of decisions on how long and often to cover them and how. Indeed, John Hartley observes in Understanding News, the control that media exercise over information results in a situation where ―it is not the event which is reported that determines the form, content, meaning or `truth‘ of the news, but rather the news that determines what it is that the event means‖ (1982, 15). There are a number of factors which problematize the media‘s role in shaping and defining discourse on social issues. Media are generally characterized as independent, fair and balanced and to exist within a ―culture of objectivity‖ (Ettema and Whitney 1997, 37). In reality, though, there are a number of institutional forces which have a powerful effect on the choices that individual news organizations make every day. It is for this reason, perhaps, that some of the most volatile issues of the day receive the least coverage in mainstream media outlets. For most people, media provide the only source of information on social justice issues. Media dependency theory supports the notion that ―if individuals have a goal of gaining information on the important issues of the day, they will become highly dependent on the media because the media control access to a variety of information‖ (Wanta 1997, 57). By this principle, someone living in Oregon might not have a way to learn about genocide in Rwanda unless they read about it in a newspaper or see a special on television. Many issues never make it to this stage of representation and therefore do not gain the notoriety or attention that other issues receive. Dependence as constituted through media reliance causes ―some happenings in the world [to] become public events [while] others are condemned to obscurity as the personal experience of a handful of people‖ (Fishman 1997, 210). A 2004 study on social justice issues in media explores a number of issues related to low media coverage of controversial issues (Roth 2004). Challenges include a heavy focus on bureaucratic and institutionalized sources over others, a reluctance to ―go after‖ those in positions of power and a belief amongst many reporters that certain issues will not ―resonate‖ well enough with the public to publish (Roth 2004, 6). All of these issues play into the ―newsworthiness‖ of an event and, consequently, its existence within the public discursive sphere. A reasonable extension of this line of thinking might suggest that corporate and governmental sources on human trafficking provide the media with information and approaches to the issue which obscure the root causes of the problem (including corporate and governmental practices that drive a demand for slavery around the world) and instead turn the general public‘s interest to the effects of slavery and the various laws and strategies that they have in place to react to its existence. The media, for their part, provide these sources with a large amount of space and time to disseminate this message, and tend not to challenge the intricacies of the message very rigorously. Organization of the media also plays an important role in shaping discourse. The way that the traditional media align themselves within public and private sectors has an effect on how the news is reported. The newsworthiness of any given event or occurrence is generally determined ―according to a system of beats and bureaus that locates reporters almost exclusively in legitimated institutions of society‖ (Fishman 1997, 210), and this alignment has serious discursive implications. Mark Fishman‘s 1997 study of a California newspaper and its routine coverage of various events reveals, Crime was covered through the police and court bureaucracies. Local politics were covered through the meetings of the city council, county board of supervisors, and a host of other commissions, committees, and departments. Even nature is covered through a formally constituted organization (the U.S. Forestry Service). Whatever the sphere of human activities or natural occurrences (as long as it was covered through a beat) the newsworker knew it through officials and authorities, their files and their meetings. (Fishman 1997, 214) This bureaucratization of information can and does result in the definition on the part of journalists of various happenings as ―non-events.‖ For those events which do receive coverage, the organization of media around specific, legitimized and bureaucratized beats tends to limit the quality and quantity of information provided. Human Trafficking: The Dominant Paradigm Although human trafficking has become a more publicized issue in the past several years, no cohesive message on it has emerged. On the contrary, ―issues of migration, trafficking and sex work are peppered with constructs of sexuality, gender and vulnerability, threaded through with categories of victim and agent, consent and coercion, and stirred together in a cauldron by cooks, who are far too many in number‖ (Sanghera 2005, 3). At the research, policy and advocacy levels, there is a significant amount of concern over issue framing and representation and over the reliability of information on the topic as a whole. On this, Jyoti Sanghera writes: The dominant discourse of trafficking is based upon a set of assumptions…. [that] flow from unexamined hypotheses, shoddy research, anecdotal information or strong moralistic positions. The issue is not whether they are true or false, but simply one of pushing conclusions that are not supported by rigorous empirical research and a sound evidence base. This faulty methodology of disseminating a flow of information and data whose origins are questionable contributes to the construction of both the dominant paradigm or discourse of trafficking, as well as the mythologies of trafficking. (2005, 5) This dominant paradigm ―emphasizes sex trafficking over other forms of labor... [and] detrimentally impact[s] the lives of trafficked persons (Chang and Kim 2007, 1-2). The bulk of legislation passed on the national and international stages over the past two centuries has served to racialize and gender the problem in ways that are discursively violent toward women and persons of color (Kempadoo 2005). A strict focus on law enforcement and anti-prostitution has led to a frenzied prosecutorial approach to sex traffic and a general lack of enthusiasm regarding investigation of the broader phenomenon of trafficking into agriculture, domestic service, restaurants, hotels, manufacturing, and construction (Chang and Kim 2007, 2). Moreover, the classification of trafficking by the United Nations as a transnational organized crime has indelibly linked the discourse around trafficking to the discourse of irregular migration and ―a war on international crime[s]... that defy or circumvent legal boundaries and borders‖ (Kempadoo 2005, xiii). In the human rights field, there is substantial concern that ―the framework adopted by the UN supports the neoliberal economic interests of corporations, multilateral agencies, policy experts and national governments, rather than those of the world‘s working and poor people‖ (Kempadoo 2005, xiv). Data used and disseminated by the U.S. government, in particular the George W. Bush administration, links prostitution to trafficking ―as a cause and an effect‖ (Chang and Kim 2007, 3). The data is dramatically unsubstantiated, and Grace Chang and Kathleen Kim argue it ―has diverted attention away from an assessment of structural factors that facilitate trafficking such as poverty, discrimination, and civil and political unrest of certain developing regions (Chang and Kim 2007, 3). The Bush administration developed similar dubious parallels between terrorism and human trafficking following September 11, 2001. Notably, the bottom tier of the 2002 Trafficking in Persons Report was made up largely of Arab and Muslim countries including Indonesia, the United Arab Emirates, Afghanistan, Bahrain, Lebanon, Sudan, Qatar, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia (Kempadoo 2005, xxi). Kempadoo argues that this ―coincidence between what The Bush administration declares to be irresponsible countries on the issue of trafficking and those defined by the same administration as ―rogue states‖ or supporters of terrorism should be reason for acute suspicion of the manner in which ‗facts‘ about trafficking are constructed‖ (2005, xxi). Governmental agencies are not solely responsible for the development of the dominant paradigm—Chang and Kim argue that the ―conflation [of human trafficking and prostitution] appears ideologically driven, arising out of new and emerging alliances between some antiprostitution feminists and right-wing evangelical Christians, who have recently entered HIV/AIDS service provision, human rights, and advocacy worlds‖ (Chang and Kim 2007, 3) Human Trafficking in the Media These mythologies manifest through news stories that fail to communicate the severity and complexity of the problem. Mainstream and informal media outlets have only recently focused on trafficking with very much consistency—and even now the vast majority of stories are tied directly to stories of prostitution and human smuggling. A 2004 study of coverage of human trafficking in the U.S. media found that, on the whole, news outlets provided very little coverage of human trafficking issues and that when they did, coverage was scattered, piecemeal and lacked a focus on solutions. (Roth 2004, 4). In general, the study indicates, ―media tend to write about the human trafficking issue with frames that do not fully communicate the scope and severity of the problem or its relevance to the American people‖ (4). The problem of media representation and human trafficking centers at this stage around an overreliance on bureaucratic and moralistic sources of information. Kempadoo argues that the discourse on trafficking has changed, somewhat, according to ―shifts in understanding among feminists, researchers, activists, and community workers about prostitution, migrant work, and the global political economy‖ (Kempadoo 2005, xiv). Insofar as media largely ―reproduce‖ the U.S. government‘s focus on identifying foreign actors as primary perpetrators of trafficking, though, change has been slow (2005, xvii). Focusing as it does on trafficking as a transnational criminal, migratory and sexual crime, the dominant discourse on trafficking overlooks serious issues of complicity on the part of capitalist governments, corporations and networks. This oversight has had severe consequences for subjects of human trafficking, as can be seen below. Trafficked Persons in the Media: Marginalization Through Misrepresentation In October 2009, the Los Angeles Times reported, ―Prostitution Raids Rescue 52 Youths; Federal Officials Arrest Almost 700 People‖ (Markman 2009). In February 2010 the same newspaper ran a headline with a top deck reading, ―14 Illegal Immigrants Found in a Reseda House‖ (McDonnell 2010). An October 2008 headline in the New York Times declared, simply: ―North Dakota: Immigrants Arrested‖ and the Washington Post reported, in September 2009, ―3 Americans Face Child-Sex Charges‖ (Surdin 2009). Each of these stories reports a separate event, and yet they are connected in various ways. First, they all report on possible subjects of human trafficking. Second, none of them mention trafficking in the headline or report on it very thoroughly or accurately in the body. Finally, all of them rely on widely held stereotypes as a means of drawing the readers‘ attention. Overall, these articles are all representative of the things that are said and left unsaid in the majority of stories reported today on human trafficking as a social phenomenon. This section is dedicated to an examination of the superficiality of media coverage of human trafficking and the impact that this superficiality has on subjects of trafficking. Most news stories that report on human trafficking are published either on the heels of a ―major unplanned event... such as when a boat of people being smuggled sinks off the coast of Florida,‖ or ―as a result of human actors staging events, issuing reports or press releases or convincing editors the story is worth pursuing‖ (Roth 2004, 11). In other words, for a story to make the news, it has to be timely or newsworthy in the eyes of a publication‘s editorial staff. It stands to reason, then, that survivors whose stories are not ―newsworthy‖ according to these few decision-makers receive little to no attention from the media. Even in today‘s new media environment (featuring internet blogs, e-magazines and other online content) this is troubling news. Evidence suggests, ―when the media fails to cover adequately an issue such as human trafficking, it is less likely that the public can or will form opinions about the issue‖ (Roth 2004, 5). In the absence of an informed and mobilized public, resources for fighting human trafficking as a whole become limited, and subjects of trafficking have less hope for escaping the oppressive systems that place them at risk of exploitation. Limited representations of human trafficking affect trafficked persons in serious ways. Considering that women are ―disproportionately represented among the poor, the undocumented, the debt-bonded and the international migrant workforce‖ (Kempadoo 2005, xi), the range of policies and regulations pertaining to prostitution and trafficking has created a social and political battleground of women‘s bodies. Continued victimization and retraumatization of women who participate willingly and unwillingly in the sex industry has reduced women‘s autonomy and contributed to a stereotypical assumption that women—especially poor women from developing countries—lack the agency to seek reasonable solutions to structural problems. This assumption, paired with imposed solutions from outside parties, contributes to a selffulfilling prophecy in which women do face very limited opportunities for improving their conditions in satisfying ways. Women have been arrested for prostitution or deported and denied protection against trafficking unless they were willing to explicitly ―cooperate‖ with law enforcement in the prosecution of traffickers (Chang and Kim 2007, 11; Aradau 2008, 2). Sex workers have been denied services to prevent HIV and AIDS because limitations in U.S. legislation that deny funding to organizations that refuse to adopt a strict stance against the legalization of prostitution (Chang and Kim 2007, 2). Subjects of other forms of trafficking have been overlooked. Agencies that focus on ―criminalizing prostitution as a purported means to stop trafficking‖ overlook other forms of trafficking including ―trafficking into agriculture, domestic service, restaurants, hotels, manufacturing, and construction‖ (Chang and Kim 2007, 2). Even statistics have been overblown: In 2005, the Department of Justice reported that over two-thirds of ninety-one human trafficking cases were cases of sex trafficking. This information directly conflicts with empirical reports from service providers who have found that sex trafficking cases comprise only one-third of their caseload. For example, a recent study by the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking reports that clients trafficked to Los Angeles are subject to exploitation in many fields, including domestic work (40 percent), factory work (17 percent), sex work (17 percent), restaurant work (13 percent), and servile marriage (13 percent). These striking numbers refute the government's assertion that most trafficking is for prostitution. (Chang and Kim 2007, 5) Regarding migration, media have so confused issues of trafficking with human smuggling that many people do not know how to separate one issue from the other. Although human trafficking and human smuggling are very different crimes (the former occurs when one person or party pays another to help them cross an international border clandestinely, usually for a set fee, while the latter is defined as the use of force, fraud or coercion by one person or party against another for the purposes exploitation, regardless of location), news stories, and sometimes lawmakers, use the terms interchangeably (Aradau 2008, 23; Dinan 2008, 71). The result can be disadvantageous for foreign and domestic subjects of trafficking, and indeed, migrants in general, in that confusion of the problem leads an imbalance in services, funding and public attention for whole populations. Contrary to typical understandings of the problem, human trafficking does not necessarily involve the crossing of a border. Large numbers of men, women and children are trafficked every year within their own countries, and forced to work against their will. Unfortunately, exact numbers are hard to come by—in part because so much of anti-trafficking policy is focused on migration. Comparisons between trafficking and migration resemble linkages between trafficking and prostitution in several ways. As with prostitution, the consequences of such comparisons have proved harmful for poor people from developing countries. Indeed, some have argued, trafficking policy in the past and present has often manifested primarily as ―thinly disguised battles against illegal immigration‖ (Newman and Cameron 2008, 14), just as it has also mirrored anti-prostitution campaigns.2 Trafficking has been represented in the media as a form of organized crime operating in the shadows and run by mysterious international syndicates (Jahic and Finckenauer 2005; Aronowitz 2009; Lee 2007). This representation has lent itself well to the categorization of trafficking as a migration issue. In the United States, though, ―most of the trafficking occurs not for underground sex industries run by criminal elements, but for sweatshops, farming, service and domestic work that are attached to formal sectors of the economy‖ (Jahic and Finckenauer 2005; Aronowitz 2009; Lee 2007). Contrary to this reality, news networks and law enforcement agencies continue to distract the public from the underlying causes of this exploitation with stories of insidious middle-persons who are held up as the ‗real‘ menaces—recruiting agents and those who assist others to move without legal documents or money—who are commonly identified as greedy, immoral men from the global South and post-socialist states. Thus, the first US government report to document trafficking into the country identifies Mexican, African and Middle Eastern families; Thai and Latin American men; Russian, East European, and Italian organized crime groups and syndicates; Asian, Mexican, and Nigerian smuggling rings; the Canadian ―West Coast Players‖; Chinese triads; Hmong gangs, etc., as the primary agents who profit and benefit from trafficking. (Kempadoo 2005, xvii) As with women and children in the sex industry, ―Trafficked migrants are usually considered vulnerable, infantile, backward, outlaw, in need of protection, and/or a threat to national security...[and] rarely...whole, complex people‖ (Newman and Cameron 2008, 14). This characterization is due in no small part to the superficial and incomplete nature of news coverage on the subject. Gabriela Rodríguez Pizarro, special rapporteur on the human rights of migrants for the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, reports, For the most part the mass media do not collaborate in serious campaigns against human trafficking....The phenomenon of trafficking tied to the process of migration is not taken on adequately by the mass media: trafficking is countermanded/displaced by the fact of migrant status, thus the victim is foreign and is in the territory through irregular means. These sensationalist, contemptuous and discriminatory views reflect, for the most part, the lack of knowledge on the part of the mass media, which fail to project the problem of trafficking as an offence. (Pizarro 2008, 219-220) Although the dominant discourse tends to misrepresent the relationship between migration and trafficking, this should not minimize its reality. Trafficking situations have increased dramatically as border security has tightened between developing and industrialized countries, and trafficking networks have taken advantage of available opportunities to exploit people who migrate across borders in search of economic prosperity (Cameron and Newman 2008). Unfortunately, sensational stories of abuse have taken precedence in the news over informative coverage of the structural forces causing them. Strong analyses of trafficking and migration take into account structural variables including ―historical processes of poverty, economic crises, state dependence on developed countries and scarce opportunities for human development in the local and national spheres‖ (Pizarro 2008, 209) Conclusion Discursive divisions within the human trafficking field have contributed to misrepresentations of the problem that have had harmful effects for women, migrants and the global poor. Presentations of trafficking as a problem of migration, prostitution and organized crime portray only some aspects of the crime and leave out larger issues such as poverty, lack of opportunity and globalization which stem from structural injustices including racism, sexism and economic hegemony. Remedies and interventions that focus only on ―saving victims‖ and not on addressing structural violence as exercised through cultural and political institutions provide unsatisfying results for those who are most at risk of or affected by human trafficking. A better approach is necessary if the movement against trafficking in humans is to take hold in an effective manner. The scattered approach toward human trafficking thus far has proven ineffective for raising awareness about or putting a stop to actual trafficking in humans and has instead resulted in a significant misunderstanding of the problem as a whole. There has been a surge of interest in the field, though, and some have proposed a significant and necessary reconceptualization. Grace Chang and Kathleen Kim suggest a ―rights-based‖ approach to human trafficking—one centered within a ―broader framework of labor migration, human rights, women's rights, sexual and reproductive health rights, and globalization‖ (Chang and Kim 2007, 6). Free from the fallout of ideological warfare over prostitution and irregular migration, such an approach could, they claim, balance policies and practices which inhibit the rights of trafficked persons (6). In addition to policy, the discourse on trafficking must also change. Media must stop covering trafficking in the piecemeal and inadequate manner that they have so far, and antitrafficking agencies must fight for deeper and more thoughtful coverage of the issues than has been provided. Reporters and editors must learn the differences between trafficking and smuggling, prostitution and sex work, illegal immigrant and undocumented (and sometimes unwilling) worker. Stories must not appear as chance occurrences, shocking and unusual and instead as predictable consequences of unjust policies. Various specialized forums have developed in recent years that provide more nuanced approaches to the issue of human trafficking (Change.org and Humantrafficking.org are two examples), but they have yet to gain credibility as mainstream sources of information. The culture of victimization around trafficking must also end and anti-trafficking advocates must acknowledge the agency and self-determination of people in difficult circumstances to find appropriate solutions under just conditions. Those who work to create those conditions will help empower survivors to seek collaborative solutions. Human trafficking is a complicated, far reaching, structural problem within our global society. Until the movement against it can adopt the same characteristics and challenge the institutions which support its existence, it will thrive in the recesses of humanity—and indeed before our very eyes.

**Do not evaluate their value system without first assessing the consequences of its actual implementation. Viewing ethics in isolation is irresponsible & complicit with the evil they criticize.**

**Issac** **2002**.,( Jeffery C. Professor of political science at Indiana-Bloomington & Director of the Center for the Study of Democracy and Public Life. PhD Yale University. From “Ends, Means, and Politics.” Dissent Magazine. Volume 49. Issue # 2. Available online @ subscribing institutions using Proquest. Herm

As a result, the most important political questions are simply not asked. It is assumed that U.S. military intervention is an act of "aggression," but no consideration is given to the aggression to which intervention is a response. The status quo ante in Afghanistan is not, as peace activists would have it, peace, but rather terrorist violence abetted by a regime--the Taliban--that rose to power through brutality and repression. This requires us to ask a question that most "peace" activists would prefer not to ask: What should be done to respond to the violence of a Saddam Hussein, or a Milosevic, or a Taliban regime? What means are likely to stop violence and bring criminals to justice? Calls for diplomacy and international law are well intended and important; they implicate a decent and civilized ethic of global order. But they are also vague and empty, because they are not accompanied by any account of how diplomacy or international law can work effectively to address the problem at hand. The campus left offers no such account. To do so would require it to contemplate tragic choices in which moral goodness is of limited utility. Here what matters is not purity of intention but the intelligent exercise of power. Power is not a dirty word or an unfortunate feature of the world. It is the core of politics. Power is the ability to effect outcomes in the world. Politics, in large part, involves contests over the distribution and use of power. To accomplish anything in the political world, one must attend to the means that are necessary to bring it about. And to develop such means is to develop, and to exercise, power. To say this is not to say that power is beyond morality. It is to say that power is not reducible to morality. As writers such as Niccolo Machiavelli, Max Weber, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Hannah Arendt have taught, an unyielding concern with moral goodness undercuts political responsibility. The concern may be morally laudable, reflecting a kind of personal integrity, but it suffers from three fatal flaws: (1) It fails to see that the purity of one's intention does not ensure the achievement of what one intends. Abjuring violence or refusing to make common cause with morally compromised parties may seem like the right thing; but if such tactics entail impotence, then it is hard to view them as serving any moral good beyond the clean conscience of their supporters; (2) it fails to see that in a world of real violence and injustice, moral purity is not simply a form of powerlessness; it is often a form of complicity in injustice. This is why, from the standpoint of politics--as opposed to religion--pacifism is always a potentially immoral stand. In categorically repudiating violence, it refuses in principle to oppose certain violent injustices with any effect; and (3) it fails to see that politics is as much about unintended consequences as it is about intentions; it is the effects of action, rather than the motives of action, that is most significant. Just as the alignment with "good" may engender impotence, it is often the pursuit of "good" that generates evil. This is the lesson of communism in the twentieth century: it is not enough that one's goals be sincere or idealistic; it is equally important, always, to ask about the effects of pursuing these goals and to judge these effects in pragmatic and historically contextualized ways. Moral absolutism inhibits this judgment. It alienates those who are not true believers. It promotes arrogance. And it undermines political effectiveness.

**Attempting to “rescue” women from sex trafficking is ineffective and creates gendered discourse**

**Kinney 6** J.D. Candidate, Boalt Hall School of Law, Ph.D. Candidate, Jurisprudence & Social Policy, University of California, Berkeley (Edi C. M., 2006, Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law & Justice, "Appropriations for the Abolitionists: Undermining Effects of the U.S. Mandatory Anti-Prostitution Pledge In the Fight Against Human Trafficking And HIV/AIDS," <http://www.prostitutionresearch.info/pdfs_all/trafficking%20all/SSRN-id1478667.pdf>)//AM

Migrants' rights organizations and sex worker advocates were highly critical of laws and policies focused on ¶ rescuing women from the sex industry, arguing that the common wisdom that “men are smuggled; women are trafficked” into sexual exploitation is based on and reproduces a problematic \*187 model of gender difference in trafficking discourse. [FN158] While male migrants are often cast as economic agents colluding with smugglers and ¶ posing threats to national security, female migrants are perceived as passive victims in need of rescue and “rehabilitation.” [FN159] Not only do trafficking raids on sex establishments place voluntary undocumented workers and ¶ ethnic minorities in jeopardy of arrest, fine, and deportation, such interventions disregard the diverse forms of trafficking and exploitation of men and women in workplaces other than the sex sector. [FN160]

**The aff will devolve into policing the women involved in sex trafficking subjecting them to state control**

**Sharma, 5** (Nandita Sharma, Assistant Professor in the School of Social Sciences,

Atkinson at York University in Toronto, Autumn 2005, NWSA Journal,

Vol. 17, No. 3, “Anti-Trafficking Rhetoric and the Making of a Global Apartheid”, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4317159)//EM

This anti-sex work bias was evident in the work done by some feminist organizations advocating for women migrants from China arriving in 1999. A minority of women in this group (5 out of 24) either had been sex workers in China and/or planned to be in the United States believing that this would allow them to earn the highest possible income. In my interviews with them, they emphasized that working in the sex industry was a key part of their migration strategy. However, many feminists advocating for these migrants were wholly unable to accept that sex work could be a legitimate aspect of a woman's migratory project. Instead, as in many antitrafficking frames, it was imagined that the only reason women migrants would work in the sex industry was out of fear of the traffickers.12 **The "solution" that emerges out of such imaginations is to further criminalize prostitution**. In this there is again much historical continuity with past anti-White Slave Trade efforts. As Brock et al. note, the ways in which a 'traffic in women' discourse was first deployed by social reformers during the late nineteenth century in Canada, the United States and Britain was through the mobilization for an expansion of criminal code legislation, particularly the procuring and bawdy house provisions, allegedly for the protection of women and girls. (2000, 88) Legislative protections for victims of trafficking were won. Yet feminist **scholarship has shown that these protections were a victory for those interested in policing the sexual practices of women and girls rather than for the sex workers themselves** (Valverde 1992).

**The aff’s focus on sex work obscures the other causes of human trafficking in an attempt to disguise neoliberalism which is a major alt cause – broadening the framework on human trafficking is key**

**Kim and Chang 7** (Kathleen Kim and Grace Chang – Professors at Loyola Law School, Loyola Law School, “Reconceptualizing Approaches to Human Trafficking: New Directions and Perspectives from the Field(s)”, Legal Studies Paper No. 2007-47, Stanford Journal of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, <http://www.sacramentosect.org/uploads/5/0/9/5/5095098/reconceptualizing_approaches_to_ht.pdf>) MaxL

A. U.S. Anti-Trafficking Policies and Practices: A Narrow Conceptual Focus Organizations throughout the world report that U.S. anti-trafficking policies and practices operate with a narrow conceptual focus. As a consequence, advocates and other commentators have observed the erosion of trafficked persons' rights and diminishing service provisions for trafficked persons in a variety of sectors. n3 Specifically, U.S. anti-trafficking policies have increased the criminalization of prostitution while neglecting the broader reality of trafficking into farms, homes, restaurants, and other sites. The result is the conflation of human trafficking with prostitution. This conflation appears ideologically driven, arising out of new and emerging alliances between some anti-prostitution feminists and right-wing evangelical Christians, who have recently entered HIV/AIDS service provision, human rights, and advocacy worlds. As a result, anti-trafficking advocates and service providers, particularly those working with clients in the sex sector, report negative consequences on their ability to serve clients, on the health and status of clients and on the rights of women in the sex sector in the U.S. and internationally. n4 Several examples indicate an emerging conflation of human trafficking and prostitution by the U.S. government. First, recent policy measures under the Bush Administration purport a unique "link" between prostitution and trafficking. A recent State Department publication entitled "The Link Between Prostitution and Sex Trafficking" suggests this perspective. n5 This document states that trafficking is both a cause and effect of prostitution, yet makes this assertion based on reports that are unsubstantiated by valid research methods and data. A number of scholars have contested these assertions and challenged the research upon which the claims are based, and have called upon the [\*321] government to support more reliable research in the formulation of public policy. n6 Even a Government Accountability Office (GAO) study released in July 2006 reports that U.S. government estimates of global human trafficking are "questionable" and "in doubt because of methodological weaknesses, gaps in data, and numerical discrepancies." n7 The purported "link" between prostitution and trafficking damages on-going efforts to prevent trafficking and protect the rights of trafficked persons. This unproven "link," which lends support to the Bush Administration's focus on abolishing prostitution as the cornerstone to its anti-trafficking approach, has diverted attention away from an assessment of structural factors that facilitate trafficking such as poverty, discrimination, and civil and political unrest of certain developing regions. The Bush Administration has also employed this misguided policy to de-fund organizations that refuse to adopt a policy statement against prostitution. In February of 2002, President Bush authorized National Security Presidential Directive 22 (NSPD 22), identifying trafficking as an important national security issue. n8 According to the Bush Administration, the relationship between trafficking and organized crime poses a transnational threat and raises terrorism concerns. n9 Though NSPD 22 is a classified document, and therefore, unavailable to the public, a Department of Justice report on anti-trafficking efforts cites to NSPD 22 and asserts without empirical evidence that prostitution is "the driving force behind sex trafficking." n10 The report emphasizes official presidential policy to heighten criminalization and enforcement against prostitution as the primary method to reduce human trafficking and further states: "The United States opposes prostitution and any related activities... as contributing to the phenomenon of trafficking in persons. These activities are inherently harmful and dehumanizing. The United States government's position is that these activities should not be regulated as a legitimate form of work for any human being." n11 In 2003, the U.S. Congress amended the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 to prohibit international non-governmental organizations (NGO) receiving governmental funding to support their anti-trafficking work, from [\*322] using the funds to "promote, support or advocate for the legalization or practice of prostitution." n12 The funding restriction requires organizations to "state in either a grant application, a grant agreement, or both, that it does not promote, support or advocate the legalization or practice of prostitution." n13 A similar restriction applies to international organizations receiving governmental funding to combat HIV/AIDS, requiring organizations, as a condition of receiving funding, "to have a policy explicitly opposing prostitution and sex trafficking." n14 Initially, the restriction applied only to foreign NGOs. In 2004, however, the Department of Justice issued an opinion letter supporting the application of these restrictions to U.S. grantees. n15 Accordingly, in 2005, Congress again amended the TVPA, expanding the restriction to domestic NGOs. n16 The restriction, now known as the "gag rule" or "anti-prostitution pledge" by antitrafficking human rights activists, raised immediate First Amendment concerns from advocates and lawmakers. n17 First, the "pledge" compels U.S. NGOs to affirmatively adopt a government viewpoint. Simply having "no position" on the issue is not permissible under the rule. This conflicts with Supreme Court precedent disallowing the government from compelling speech in support of its viewpoint as a condition of participating in a government program. n18 Second, by requiring recipients of government funding to take the "pledge" as an organization-wide policy, the "pledge" restricts the way in which the organization chooses to utilize their non-governmental and private funding. As decided by the Supreme Court in Rust v. Sullivan, though the government may attach conditions to the disbursement of subsidies, funding schemes must "leave the grantee unfettered in its other activities." n19 [\*323] The ambiguity of the words "promote, support or advocate" and the lack of concrete guidance from administration officials about their meaning led concerned NGOs to change their policies and practices. Many organizations even curtailed services and support for sex workers. n20 Other NGOs refused to comply with the "gag rule" and chose to forego U.S. funding, in recognition of the damaging impacts that policies and public statements against prostitution have on their abilities to serve those in the sex sector. A letter addressed to President Bush in May 2005, signed by public health, human rights, faith-based and community-based organizations, stated that such policies will "exacerbate stigma and discrimination against already marginalized groups" and make it "difficult or impossible to provide services or assistance to those at risk ... further driving them underground and away from lifesaving services." n21 Thus, organizations in Brazil rejected $ 40 million of U.S. global AIDS funds, declaring that the restrictions would counter the very programs that have proven effective in reducing the spread of HIV in Brazil. n22 Such programs include rightsbased and harm reduction approaches to prostitution that are designed to de-stigmatize and empower women as they move towards better health and self-sufficiency. Two lawsuits have challenged the constitutionality of the anti-prostitution pledge: Alliance for Open Society International, Inc. and Open Society Institute v. United States Agency for International Development, n23 filed in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York, and DKT International, Inc. v. United States Agency for International Development, n24 filed in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. Both lawsuits alleged that the pledge violates the organizations' First Amendment right to free speech by requiring them to adopt the government's point of view in order to receive funding. n25 The lawsuits also charged that the pledge is unconstitutionally [\*324] vague, thereby permitting arbitrary enforcement. n26 Moreover, the suits pointed to the public health danger presented by the pledge because it undermines efforts to provide preventative health information and services to sex workers who are at high risk of contracting and spreading HIV/AIDS. n27 Both courts agreed that the pledge requirement was an unconstitutional violation of free speech rights under the First Amendment. Judge Victor Marrero of the Southern District of New York and Judge Emmet G. Sullivan of the District Court of Washington, D.C. granted the respective plain- tiffs' preliminary injunctions against the enforcement of the pledge in order to prevent irreparable harm. The pledge, Judge Sullivan wrote, implied a "demand that the organization become a mouthpiece for government policy" even if using its own funds. n28 Judge Marrero of the Southern District, moreover, opined that "the Supreme Court has repeatedly found that speech, or an agreement not to speak, cannot be compelled or coerced as a condition of participation in a government program." n29 In spite of recent court rulings, these policies have already caused significant damage. The court rulings do not apply to foreign NGOs receiving U.S. funding for anti-trafficking work. n30 Domestically, funding has shifted to more right-wing, religious organizations who support the U.S. government's policy; resources for U.S. NGOs that do not subscribe to these policies remain scarce. The shift in funding detrimentally impacted the work of organizations experienced in serving victims of trafficking but unable or unwilling to comply with the federal restrictions. Some progressive advocates witnessed the removal of funding from their organizations, while more conservative, church-based agencies, less-experienced in anti-trafficking work but willing to adopt the federal anti-prostitution stance received new funding. Domestic and international groups that oppose current U.S. policies often face vicious attack and fear blacklisting by the U.S. government and other sources of funding. The conflation of human trafficking with prostitution also resulted in the narrow application of the federal Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) to sex trafficking cases. In 2005, the Department of Justice reported that over two-thirds of ninety-one human trafficking cases were cases of sex trafficking. n31 [\*325] This information directly conflicts with empirical reports from service providers who have found that sex trafficking cases comprise only one-third of their caseload. For example, a recent study by the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking reports that clients trafficked to Los Angeles are subject to exploitation in many fields, including domestic work (40 percent), factory work (17 percent), sex work (17 percent), restaurant work (13 percent), and servile marriage (13 percent). n32 These striking numbers refute the government's assertion that most trafficking is for prostitution. Many advocates questioned the effectiveness of the government's anti-trafficking policy and practice in serving all human trafficking victims. These advocates note that in the period since the passage of the TVPA in 2000 to 2004, only 616 people benefited from the law through receipt of a T visa. n33 Notably, a 2006 Government Accountability Office study found: "There is also a considerable discrepancy between the numbers of observed and estimated victims of human trafficking." n34 Advocates speculate that trafficking victims in industries other than the sex sector could account for this gap. Law enforcement agents who equate trafficking with prostitution often do not view those in other industries as victims of trafficking. Furthermore, the prosecutorial focus of sex trafficking cases alienates migrant rights advocates, who fear that anti-trafficking work invites excessive prosecution in immigrant communities while ignoring the harm these communities face as exploited workers in domestic work, agricultural work, and in industrial and factory work. For example, leaders from Domestic Workers United, a collective of migrant-rights organizations supporting domestic workers in New York, expressed alienation from the anti-trafficking movement. n35 The focus on sex trafficking also alienates women's rights and human rights advocates, who are increasingly concerned with the stigmatizing and rights-depriving impact these anti-prostitution policies have on women around the world. For example, Sex Workers Across Borders (SWAB), a grassroots group of sex workers and allies, states a concern that anti-trafficking measures are used to police and punish female, male, and transgender migrants and sex workers, and to restrict their freedom. n36 [\*326] B. Reconceptualizing Human Trafficking: A Broader Framework **Reconceptualizing human trafficking within a broader framework** of labor migration, human rights, women's rights, sexual and reproductive health rights, and globalization **may counteract the negative impacts of U.S. polices and advance the rights of trafficked persons. The development of a field of understanding around the subject of human trafficking has progressed through various stages. The notion that only women were trafficked into prostitution was expanded** in the 1990s with the realization that both men and women were being trafficked into other labor sectors. Both the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol) n37 and the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) n38 address the larger phenomenon of trafficking in persons. Anti-trafficking and human rights advocates, however, agree that an effective conceptual framework to combat human trafficking, must consider trafficking as inextricably linked to globalization and trends in labor migration. n39 Anti-trafficking and human rights advocates now consider it absolutely essential for antitrafficking service providers to expand their work beyond the "3 Ps" of prevention, prosecution and protection. n40 While the "3 Ps" approach assisted many potential and actual lives of victims, it does not address underlying social structures that facilitate human trafficking. These advocates recognize that governments, whose agendas conflict with the goals of advocates, support the "3 P" approach and the prevailing discourse on human trafficking. Thus, civil society must actively seek the means to lead in developing new understandings and a new discourse on human trafficking. This new discourse must be grounded in understandings of the processes of globalization, and the coercive nature of most migration within this context. The new discourse supports a framework that views trafficking as coerced migration or exploitation of migrant workers for all forms of labor, including a broad spectrum of work often performed by migrants, such as manufacturing, agriculture, construction, service work, servile marriage and sex work. This definition of trafficking rests upon an understanding that many migrant workers [\*327] are coerced to migrate because of economic devastation caused by neoliberal policies in their home countries. While this displacement does not imply physical force or deception, it recognizes coercion created by the destruction of subsistence economies and social service states through neoliberal policies imposed on indebted sending countries by wealthy creditor nations. n41 The new discourse encompasses an understanding of migrant workers' experiences as inclusive of many forms of labor, either simultaneously or in sequence. In Canada, for example, women recruited and trafficked as domestic workers have often faced pressure to enter servile marriages within their employers' households and families. In the United States, it is not uncommon for workers engaged in manufacturing to hold second and third jobs in service work. Finally, people's experiences of being trafficked may span a broad spectrum from consent to coercion. While a person may initially participate with ostensible "knowledge and consent" to being transported for work, she may later wish to leave the work or particular employment site, yet be held captive by an employer. Within the new discourse, such a person would be recognized as a victim of trafficking. n42 The focus on "sex trafficking" obscures the U.S. government's responsibility for compelling people to leave their countries. For example, structural adjustment and other neoliberal policies imposed on the Philippines has forced the mass migration of women and men. International financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund impose structural adjustment policies as preconditions for indebted nations to obtain loans. n43 The ravages of these policies have destroyed subsistence economies and social services; as a result, over 3,100 people leave the Philippines each day. Government agencies in sending countries such as the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration facilitate this mass migration in such explicit, concrete ways that it is difficult to view this movement as anything short of government-sponsored human export. In turn, receiving countries such as the United States and Canada fashion immigration, labor, and welfare laws in such a way that migrant workers remain super-exploitable as temporary workers, ineligible for most rights and protections afforded to citizens in these "host" countries. n44 Through these policies, the U.S. government and many other nations promote human trafficking and labor exploitation, while simultaneously creating the conditions of poverty through neoliberal economic policies that [\*328] compel people to migrate. The selective criminalization of "sex trafficking" ensures that the root causes of all forms of human trafficking, and state responsibility for or complicity in these structural causes, remain unchallenged. n45 In sum, the underlying root causes for rendering human beings vulnerable to human trafficking are complex and regionally diverse and cannot be addressed by a "one size fits all" strategy. The development of a new discourse on trafficking, therefore, requires a critical analysis of the current U.S. policy and its consequences that integrates multiple perspectives from varied fields of human rights, women's rights, labor rights and health rights. An integrated and cross-disciplinary framework launches a reconceptualization of trafficking that considers root causes and the role of U.S. policies in hampering efforts to combat trafficking. II. A New Discourse on Trafficking U.S. anti-trafficking policies significantly impact three distinct areas: prostitution, labor migration, and sexual and reproductive health. A new discourse on trafficking seeks to understand the consequences of U.S. policies within each area on efforts to prevent trafficking and to protect the rights of trafficked persons. A. Prostitution and Sex Work As discussed in Part I, U.S. governmental policies and practices addressing human trafficking conflate trafficking with prostitution. This characterization severely hampers the work of antitrafficking advocates and damages the rights of trafficking survivors. The negative consequences of this conflation on anti-trafficking efforts is visible both domestically and internationally. 1. Impacts of Policies Various policy measures contribute to the conflation of trafficking and prostitution, in definition and in subsequent practice. In addition, administrative agencies substantively and procedurally utilize these policies to enforce the criminalization of prostitution, rather than to combat human traf- ficking. Examples include the definition of trafficking in persons pursuant to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA); the Trafficking in Persons annual report issued by the U.S. State Department; and the End Demand legislation. First, a historical tension exists with regard to the relationship of trafficking to sex work. The TVPA, the chief U.S. anti-trafficking statute, defines "human [\*329] trafficking" more narrowly than the established international definition. As discussed earlier, the TVPA focuses on sex trafficking, which conflicts with the broader definition created under international agreements such as the 2000 Palermo Protocol. The Palermo Protocol defines trafficking as follows: (a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability n46 or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs; n47 The definition in the Palermo Protocol is perhaps the first international definition or reformulation of "trafficking in persons" since the 1949 UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of Prostitution of Others. The 1949 Convention focused exclusively on prostitution and considered all prostitution, whether voluntary or forced, to be trafficking. The Palermo Protocol recognizes the existence and possibilities of both voluntary and forced prostitution and indeed leaves "prostitution" intentionally ambiguous to allow for different interpretations. Participants noted that the Palermo Protocol includes but does not define the phrase "exploitation of prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation" because delegates to the Palermo negotiations could not reach a consensus on the meaning of this phrase. While all delegates agreed that involuntary participation in prostitution constitutes trafficking, the majority of delegates rejected the idea that voluntary participation by adults in prostitution amounts to trafficking. Thus, the language of the Palermo Protocol emerged from a compromise reached by the delegates to ensure the greatest number of signatories. Delegates agreed to leave the phrase undefined but included the following explanation in interpretive note 64: The travaux preparatoires should indicate that the Protocol addresses the exploitation of the prostitution of others and other forms of sexual exploitation only in the context of trafficking in persons. The terms "exploitation of the prostitution of others" or "other forms of sexual exploitation" are not defined in the Protocol, which is therefore [\*330] without prejudice to how States Parties address prostitution in their respective domestic laws. n48 The strength of this language and the lack of an explicit definition of the "exploitation of prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation" allows for governments to develop their own approaches and definitions with respect to prostitution and sexual exploitation. The Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW) has suggested that "if a government insists on using language such as "sexual exploitation,' we should encourage them to use the following definition so that sexual exploitation, like any other form of labour exploitation, requires the use of force or coercion... ." For example: "Sexual exploitation" means the participation by a person in prostitution, sexual servitude, or the production of pornographic materials as a result of being subjected to a threat, deception, coercion, abduction, force, abuse of authority, debt bondage or fraud. Even in the absence of any of these factors, where the person participating in prostitution, sexual servitude or the production of pornographic materials is under the age of 18, sexual exploitation shall be deemed to exist. n49 The language of the TVPA does not allow for such broad interpretation and autonomy of other states in defining trafficking. This raises the concern that the TVPA overrides the possibilities allowed for and intended by the delegates in creating the terms of the Palermo Protocol. Furthermore, the TVPA language supplants these more expansive definitions of trafficking through concrete means such as international "prevention" measures mandated, monitored and enforced by the U.S. State Department's Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report. n50 The TIP report ranks countries' performance in preventing trafficking at Tier 1, 2, or 3, based on their compliance with U.S. approved anti-trafficking measures. The U.S. government sanctions countries with lower tier rankings, while higher tier countries may receive funding from the U.S. to aid their anti-trafficking efforts. The strongest determinants for rankings include a country's level of focus on prostitution, endorsement of the prostitution/trafficking conflation and emphasis on prosecution. One example of the U.S. government's bias exists in the case of Korea. Advocates reported that in legal terms, the Korean government understands human trafficking only to mean prostitution. This interpretation did not change with the introduction of the Palermo Protocol, and only grew worse after introduction of the TVPA, and Korea's initial ranking as a Tier 3 country in [\*331] 2001. The Korean government responded by establishing an inter-ministry task force to combat trafficking and subsequently introduced a prostitution prevention law. Despite protests by sex worker rights groups, Korea has instituted a sweeping anti-prostitution law, the first of its kind since 1961. The reform includes prison sentences and fines for traffickers and for women in the sex industry. The Korean government, encouraged by its subsequent ranking at Tier 1, claims it will eliminate prostitution by 2007. This illustrates the large-scale negative impact of the antiprostitution and prosecution-oriented framework ofthe TVPA and other U.S. trafficking policy globally. n51 2. Impacts of "End Demand" Legislation and Practices The conflation of prostitution and trafficking has also led to the faulty idea that ending "demand" for commercial sex will lead to a reduction in or eradication of trafficking. This concept has been incorporated into proposed legislation such as the "Bill to End Demand for Sex Trafficking Act" of 2005. n52 While this bill failed to pass through Congress by itself, sections of it were included in the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA) of 2005. n53 The "End Demand" section of the TVPRA 2005 diverts attention and federal funds to programs aimed at the prosecution, shaming, and "re-education" of clients of sex workers. Specifically, the TVPRA 2005 provides funds to states and local jurisdictions for programs to "investigate and prosecute persons who purchase commercial sex acts" n54 and to "educate persons charged with, or convicted of, purchasing or attempting to purchase commercial sex acts." n55 The latter is to be accomplished largely through "john schools," such as those established in 1995 in San Francisco, where clients of street prostitutes attend courses about the purported negative effects of prostitution on sex workers, their customers, and society. n56 Research has revealed that john schools have not been effective in [\*332] discouraging clients from continuing to purchase commercial sex and have only resulted in moving sex work from one area to another. n57 Advocates critique the underlying premises of "end demand" policies as well as their negative impacts on both trafficked persons and sex workers. For example, the Sex Workers Project of the Urban Justice Center and the Network of Sex Work Projects states: "Demand" for sex work is not a predominant driving factor for trafficking, which is driven by poverty, race, and gender inequities. The term "demand" also refers to the legitimate concerns raised by migrants and labor rights advocates who address the issues relating to the need in the global north for exploitable labor and services. However, this narrow focus of the term in the context of sex work represents a dangerous move towards policies that, under the guise of protecting sex workers, is another way of undermining sex workers' autonomy and causing more harm to them. n58 Thus, advocates criticize "end demand" as misguided and ineffective in targeting the true causes of trafficking, i.e., the demand of states and employers in the global north for low-wage migrant labor, as well as diverting attention and services from trafficked persons while undermining the rights of sex workers. Advocates note that the "end demand" sections of the TVPRA of 2005 provide little funding for services and support for trafficked persons, while authorizing most of the funding for law enforcement and "end demand" programs not yet proven to be effective. n59 Advocates also suggest that the "end demand" focus does not serve to curtail commercial sex or trafficking, nor help to identify those who may be vulnerable in either or both groups: "A decrease in the number of people in the unlawful commercial sex sector, including those who are trafficked, can only be achieved with an increase in services to vulnerable groups and victims, and in research on causes and prevention methods." n60 Moreover, critics of the end demand focus observe that it does not serve the rights and needs of trafficked persons, yet it severely hinders those of sex workers in a number of ways: moving sex workers off the streets to the underground, making them more vulnerable to violence and abuses and less likely to have access to health and outreach services, including critical [\*333] HIV/AIDS and STI education and prevention. n61 Sex workers in the United States identify not only clients as a source of violence but law enforcement agents as abusers, commonly violating their human rights through harassment and assault. n62 Thus, advocates such as the Urban Justice Center's Working Group on Sex Work and Human Rights argue that "giving law enforcement more power [through end demand policies] makes sex workers even more vulnerable." n63 3. Impacts of "Raid and Rescue" Practices Government practices, particularly the dominant model of "raid and rescue" tactics in and outside of the United States, negatively impact both survivors of trafficking and migrant workers voluntarily engaged in sex work. A recent "raid and rescue" case in the United States, dubbed Operation Gilded Cage, n64 clearly illustrates these concerns. The incident was reported as the largest "sex trafficking" case in the history of the United States. In July of 2005, law enforcement agents raided ten brothels in San Francisco they had identified as suspected trafficking sites and "rescued" over 120 women. Authorities then detained the women at a military base in California; federal officials questioned the women to determine their status as possible victims of trafficking before calling in trained service providers twenty-four hours later. By the time advocates arrived, federal officials had already decided that the majority of the women were not legal victims of trafficking, and placed them in immigration detention. Advocates struggled to convince officials to interpret the law more broadly in screenings of the remaining women, in direct conflict with the narrow federal framework. In this case and others, advocates report that when clients identify themselves as voluntary or consenting participants in their migration or employment at any point, authorities deem them ineligible for benefits under T-visas as legal victims of trafficking. If clients do not fit traditional conceptions of involuntary or nonconsenting victims, they may instead face deportation, like many of the women "rescued" in the Operation Gilded Cage case. n65 Advocates also comment that often they can only secure certifications from law enforcement agents enabling their clients to apply for T-visas if their [\*334] clients cooperate exactly with law enforcement during the investigation and prosecution process. n66 Authorities deprived one woman "rescued" in Operation Gilded Cage of trafficking victim status, citing that she was "uncooperative," after she decided that she did not wish to cooperate with law enforcement and instead, return to Korea. Authorities also denied her the ability to return to Korea and held her in jail as a material witness for the case. n67 4. Conclusion These examples raise a number of concerns and suggestions regarding the conflation of prostitution and trafficking by US governmental anti-trafficking policies and practices: a) The U.S. government's focus on trafficking for prostitution; its assumption that it must be involuntary in all cases; and the explicit, exclusive goal of prosecuting trafficking when equated with prostitution denies protection to exploited laborers who are consenting adults in sex work and many other industries. Those who migrate for work may participate voluntarily in any industry yet still face unlawful exploitation through labor rights abuses, poor working conditions and debt bondage. U.S. and international anti-trafficking policies and practices must recognize this exploitation consistently in the identification and treatment of all victims of trafficking. b) Victims of trafficking face many threats to their safety and encounter numerous challenges to their livelihoods, health, and rights not necessarily addressed or secured through cooperation with law enforcement agents in the prosecution of trafficking. Thus, law enforcement should offer victims of trafficking autonomy, greater rights, and increased protections if they choose to cooperate with prosecution efforts. Victims of trafficking also need greater access to benefits, regardless of their cooperation or the form of trafficking they have survived. B. Labor Migration This section discusses the role of labor migration within the U.S. anti-trafficking framework. U.S. policies and practices focusing on sex trafficking marginalize the rights of workers trafficked into non-sex-related industries. The emphasis on sex trafficking and criminalization of prostitution perpetuates the widespread exploitation of migrant workers by failing to reform restrictive immigration policies that deny migrant workers the labor protections afforded to citizen workers. [\*335] 1. Impact of policies As a starting premise, it is important to recall the original intent of the TVPA to not only protect victims of forced or coerced prostitution, but to also guarantee legal relief to migrant workers subjected to slave-like working conditions in factories, farms, private homes, restaurants, hotels and any other labor industry. Several noteworthy cases prompted the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, including the 1995 El Monte, California case involving seventy-two Thai garment workers forced and coerced to labor in sweatshops, some for up to seventeen years. n68 A 1997 case convicted eighteen traffickers for forcing hearing-impaired Mexicans to peddle trinkets in New York City, Los Angeles and Chicago. n69 In light of these types of forced labor cases, the TVPA recognizes in its Purposes and Findings that: "Trafficking in persons is not limited to the sex industry. This growing transnational crime also includes forced labor and involves significant violations of labor, public health, and human rights standards worldwide." n70 Furthermore, the TVPA's expansion of the law's definition of forced labor protects all migrant workers coerced to endure exploitive labor conditions through physical or non-physical means, including a trafficker's threats to deport a worker or to harm a worker's family members. Such non-physical means also include the use of psychological and "non-violent" coercion. n71 For example, the TVPA's conference report encompasses the protection of domestic workers compelled to work under threats that their family members may suffer "banishment, starvation, or bankruptcy." n72 The TVPA has succeeded in the prosecution of several high profile trafficking cases involving non-sex industries. For example, United States. v. Kil Soo Lee, n73 commonly known as the Daewoosa case, involved approximately 250 Vietnamese women and men forced to work in a garment factory in American Samoa, under threats of deportation, severe economic hardship, and constant employer surveillance. n74 In another case, U.S. v. Ramos, farmworkers from Mexico were forced to labor in Florida agricultural fields through threats of violence and debt bondage. n75 [\*336] Despite the occurrence of these labor trafficking prosecutions, however, the Department of Justice reports that from the years 2001-2005, it pursued a total of only twenty-three labor trafficking cases as compared with sixty-eight sex trafficking cases. The Department of Justice further reports that the sixty-eight sex trafficking prosecutions represent an 871 percent increase from fiscal years 1996-2000 when only seven sex trafficking cases were filed. n76 In contrast, the twenty-three labor trafficking cases filed between 2001-2005 show only a 109 percent increase from the eleven labor trafficking cases filed between 1996-2000. n77 These numbers are disproportionate to estimates from non-governmental organizations and academic researchers asserting that approximately one-half to two-thirds of all trafficking in the U.S. occurs in non-sex related industries. A 2004 report from Free the Slaves and the Human Rights Center at University of California Berkeley indicates that 46.4 percent of trafficking cases are for forced prostitution while 46.2 percent of trafficking cases are for domestic service, agricultural labor, sweatshops and food service. n78 Anecdotal evidence from anti-trafficking service providers estimate that only one-third of their cases are related to the sex industry, while the clear majority of their trafficking cases occur in non-sex industries. n79 Service providers contend that the U.S. government's focus on sex trafficking results in the rejection of labor trafficking cases for investigation and prosecution. The Forced Labor report indicates that NGOs observe federal law enforcement "downplaying of the severity of crimes involving forced labor." n80 The government's lack of attention to labor trafficking cases results in the denial of law enforcement protection to trafficked workers who may fear employer retaliation for escaping the abusive work environment and reporting the incidents to the authorities. The neglect of labor trafficking cases has the additional consequence of condoning employer abuses in non-sex industries, thereby hindering long-term prevention efforts to deter labor exploitation in any industry. 2. Impacts of Current Policies on Labor and Immigration Other examples of current U.S. laws, highlight the perpetuation of migrant worker vulnerability despite the TVPA's original intent to protect these workers from exploitation. For instance, the 2002 Supreme Court case, [\*337] Hoffman Plastic Compounds, Inc. v. NLRB, n81 determined that an undocumented worker, wrongfully terminated from his job for union organizing, was not entitled to compensation for back pay due to his status as an illegal immigrant. As a result of this decision, all undocumented workers asserting their right to associate under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), n82 were deprived of certain labor remedies for employer retaliation. Employers can fire undocumented workers who organize without providing reinstatement or compensation for lost work. The case has had a pervasive effect on the immigrant worker community, as employers defending labor violations attempt to use the ruling to curtail worker organizing in non-NLRA matters such as wage and hour and employment discrimination cases. n83 Domestic workers, who, according to reports from advocates and the Department of Justice, constitute a large percentage of trafficking cases, n84 continue to lack sufficient employment and labor protections. The NLRA does not include domestic workers under the definition of employee under the NLRA and therefore, provides no protection for domestic workers from employer retaliation for striking or collective bargaining. n85 Individual domestic workers working in private homes are ineligible to assert violations of sex, race or national origin discrimination under Title VII. n86 Live-in domestic workers are not entitled to overtime pay under the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). n87 Finally, domestic workers employed by foreign diplomats cannot hold their employers accountable for workplace violations as diplomats enjoy immunity from civil, criminal, or administrative liability within the United States. n88 While an exception to immunity exists for "any professional or commercial activity exercised by the diplomatic agent in the receiving State outside his official functions," n89 the 4th Circuit ruled in Tabion v. Mufti n90 that "commercial activity" includes only activities for personal profit, explicitly stating that domestic workers are not "commercial activity." Thus, pursuant to Tabion, domestic workers are denied claims against their diplomat employers in the civil justice system. [\*338] Farmworkers, comprising a sizeable percentage of known trafficking cases in the U.S. are similarly deprived of full labor protections. n91 Under federal law, farmworkers are not entitled to overtime pay. In some cases, special agriculture exemptions for employers who, in a single calendar quarter during a year, do not use more than 500 man days of farm labor, exclude farmworkers from receiving the federal minimum wage of $ 5.15 per hour. The NLRA does not protect farmworkers for organizing activities. Finally, guestworkers under the H-2A program are excluded from the Agricultural and Seasonal Workers Protection Act, n92 the principal federal labor law for farmworkers. Consequently, H-2A workers are not entitled to disclosure of job terms during recruitment, transportation safety requirements, or access to federal courts. 3. Impacts of Proposed Immigration Policies Moreover, the introduction of new policy measures designed to "reform" immigration policy in the United States, if passed, would exacerbate the exploitation of migrant workers. Introduced by James Sensenbrenner, HR 4437 n93 passed in the House of Representatives on December 16, 2005. This enforcement-only bill criminalizes all undocumented immigrants, expands the definition of "alien smuggling" to hold criminally liable those who assist undocumented immigrants, and expands employment authorization verification requirements to "recruit and refer" entities such as day labor centers and other workers centers. The Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006, S 2611, n94 passed in the Senate on May 25, 2006. It is designed to drastically revamp the U.S. immigration system and proposes some positive changes, such as a path to legal status for undocumented immigrants and a reduction in immigration backlogs. However, the bill also expands border and interior enforcement, further criminalizing immigrants, by increasing the number of Border Patrol officers, mandating expedited removal for non-citizens detained within 100 miles of the border and within two weeks of entry, and broadening the definition of "aggravated felony" for purposes of deportation. 4. Conclusion In order to advance the rights of trafficked persons and effectively prevent human trafficking, it is necessary to dismantle the existing and proposed immigration and labor policies that facilitate trafficking. Reconceptualizing [\*339] trafficking as an issue of labor migration takes a step toward this goal by understanding trafficking as a gross violation of migrants' rights to live and work where they choose, with freedom from abusive working conditions. A migrant labor rights paradigm, recognizes that labor rights violations remain at the core of trafficking. Globalization and neoliberal polices have led to a lack of economic opportunity that allow individuals to support themselves and their families in their sending countries. A demand for cheap and expendable labor increases the vulnerability of migrant workers susceptible to trafficking. The migrant labor rights approach to trafficking encourages safe migration for workers as well as worker empowerment through organizing in order for workers to claim their own labor rights. C. Sexual and Reproductive Health This section discusses the role of sexual and reproductive health ("SRH") within the U.S. antitrafficking framework. As a starting premise, it is significant to note that similar ideologies of the Christian evangelical right fuel U.S. governmental policies regulating both SRH and trafficking. The anti-prostitution pledge restricting grants to anti-trafficking organizations also limits funding to domestic and international SRH organizations focusing on HIV/AIDS prevention, women's health and family planning. Such policies hinder the work of these organizations, and more importantly, stigmatize and marginalize their clients who are predominantly poor women of color from the developing world. 1. Impact of Policy on SRH Work in the Field The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China developed a Platform for Action published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. n95 The Platform for Action stated an agenda for women's empowerment that called on nations to take action promoting and respecting women's human rights. Among other things, the Platform for Action defined women's human rights as extending to sexual and reproductive health. It asked nations to "remove legal and regulatory and social barriers, where appropriate, to sexual and reproductive health education within formal education regarding women's health issues..." n96 Despite these international recommendations, over the past decade, public health organizations note a rise in political and religious conservatism. This conservatism is reflected in U.S. policy initiatives that resist an individual's right to determine his or her own reproductive and sexual health options. [\*340] The impact of right wing ideologically driven policies on SRH work is most visible in governmental funding strategies that support faith-based organizations promoting abstinence, while excluding alternative prevention approaches to SRH. For example, in 2003, President Bush implemented an "emergency plan" for AIDS relief. The $ 15 billion appropriated, spends one-third of prevention funds on abstinence until marriage programs. Further, the program opposes condom use and discourages sex education. n97 The Department of Health and Human Services also increased funding for "abstinence only" programs. n98 The propaganda of these programs criticizes the use of contraception and condoms as having high failure rates and as ineffective due to the "reality" that individuals do not use them. Such propaganda leads to a decrease in condom supplies and a decrease in the usage of condoms, consequently risking the sexual and reproductive health of both men and women. Additional policy measures restrict SRH. Pharmacists may now deny contraception for religious reasons thereby circumventing access to contraception. In 2001, the U.S. government reintroduced the "Global Gag Rule" which prohibits the distribution of USAID funding to family planning agencies abroad that provide or promote abortions or even give abortion information in counseling sessions. Finally, policy constraints on SRH impact the LGBT community. For example, the Center for Disease Control and National Institute of Health drastically reduced funding for research on health issues specific to the LGBT population. These policies are similar to measures that prevent access to contraception, privilege traditional heterosexual married men and women, and marginalize alternative lifestyles and sexual orientations. 2. Sex Work and HIV/AIDS Prevention The Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Acts of 2003 and 2005, which incorporated the anti-prostitution pledge and gag rule, highlight the connection between policy restrictions on SRH and trafficking. The Trafficking Act and the U.S. government's "s Global AIDS Act of 2003 both forbid funding to any group that does not explicitly oppose prostitution and sex trafficking. This exclusion includes organizations that collaborate with sex workers to perform outreach work on HIV prevention and sexual health. The moralistic ideology driving the government's SRH policies alienates sex workers from the fight against HIV/AIDS and prevents sex workers from protecting their own sexual health. The antiprostitution pledge requiring health [\*341] care and social service providers to denounce prostitu- tion has the effect of depriving sex workers of safer sex education and contraception. It also prevents the mobilization of sex workers to control the spread of HIV/AIDS by demanding condom use by their clients. Advocates agree that any successful effort to combat HIV/AIDS should involve sex workers. Yet, governmental policies vilify sex workers as the source of HIV/AIDS, rather than viewing them as people impacted by the disease, entitled to treatment, and uniquely positioned to impact HIV/AIDS prevention and education. n99 The anti-prostitution pledge forces SRH organizations to "take sides." By accepting funding from the government, these organizations must condemn their clients who may choose to engage in sex work, thereby denying sex workers of their fundamental human right to healthcare. 3. Conclusion According to advocates, the ideologically driven policies that currently regulate SRH deny medical services and preventive health care to populations marginalized by poverty, race, gender, sexual orientation, and social stigma. n100 Instead, a rights-based approach to SRH promotes universal access to health care by individuals susceptible to trafficking such as migrant women, sex workers, and others who experience discrimination due to social, economic and political factors. Human rights advocates also support harm reduction methodologies, recognizing that some individuals may continue to engage in risky behavior. The harm reduction approach seeks to mitigate health risks by equipping individuals with preventative education and the tools to protect themselves while remaining non-judgmental of their independent lifestyle choices. In contrast, the ideologically driven "abstinence only" approach to SRH takes a moral stance on access to healthcare, impeding health services to individuals who lead alternative lifestyles. Such an approach limits the autonomy of individuals to make their own reproductive and sexual health choices. III. A Revitalized Anti-Trafficking Movement Based on ongoing discussions between anti-trafficking and human rights advocates from diverse sectors, there are at least three overarching objectives of a revitalized anti-trafficking movement: identification of guiding principles; [\*342] expansion of a broad anti-trafficking coalition; and a fundamental shift in the current anti-trafficking rhetoric. These objectives may serve to unify the distinct subject areas of prostitution, labor migration and reproductive and sexual health. n101 A. Guiding Principles Guiding principles provide the foundation for a consistent platform to build a cross-sectoral movement advancing trafficked persons' rights, migrant labor rights, and reproductive and sexual health rights. At a minimum, core principles should include extending comprehensive labor protections to all migrant and non-migrant workers in all labor sectors including commercial sex, domestic service, agriculture, construction, restaurants, hotels, factories, and any other type of work. Other core principles may include ending law enforcement rescue raids, and replacing this tactic with community-based responses to assisting trafficked persons and preventing trafficking; developing immigration laws that protect migrant workers and account for the reality of labor migration; recognizing the autonomy and self-determination of all individuals; protecting and promoting the freedom to organize for migrant, labor, reproductive and sexual health rights; and actively addressing race, ethnicity, class, gender, sex, sexual orientation, and other factors affecting trafficking. B. Expanded Coalitions A new coalition committed to the above principles may include groups that have not previously worked with anti-trafficking organizations or with each other. Such groups include public health advocacy organizations, grassroots organizations that encourage migrant worker organizing, formal and informal unions of domestic workers, sex workers and agricultural workers, and anti-border enforcement groups that advocate for safe migration across international borders for all individuals. Building alliances between these seemingly disparate groups requires identifying the intersecting issues that connect them with each other and with anti-trafficking advocacy. For example, antitrafficking groups share with domestic workers, sex workers and agricultural workers, the goal of fair labor conditions. These groups, in turn, connect to public health advocacy by supporting the right to safe and healthy work environments and the right to access healthcare that respects individual lifestyle choices. Alliances between these groups should also consider potential points of fragmentation. For example, the prevailing trafficking framework has created implicit categories of trafficking victims, giving preference and protection to victims of sexual slavery, while denying protection to trafficked persons [\*343] viewed as migrant laborers. Arbitrary determinations by officials that consider some workers trafficked based on the egregiousness of their working conditions and others not, create "levels" of exploitation that could divide the workers' rights community. For example, the illicit nature of prostitution may alienate sex workers from a broader migrant worker rights movement. The migrant labor rights approach emphasizes worker organizing to enforce fair working conditions and to advocate for increased labor protections. Because sex work is not legally recognized as a form of labor,, sex workers' rights groups, such as the Sonagachi project in Calcutta, must organize to not only enforce fair working conditions, but to also advocate for the decriminalization of prostitution. n102 C. A Change in Rhetoric A cross-sectoral coalition **broadening the conceptual framework of trafficking may facilitate the rejection of the current rhetoric of trafficking**. The expansive legal definitions of "trafficking" in the Palermo Protocol and the TVPA resulted from advocacy of human rights groups to comprehensively define "trafficking," to include men, women, and children compelled to work in any labor industry. However, the U.S. government's narrow focus on sex trafficking and cooptation of trafficking as a tool for the criminalization of prostitution distorts the meaning of "trafficking." Media images mirror the conflation of trafficking with prostitution with sensationalized stories of sex slaves. n103 Symbolically, "trafficking" has regressed to stereotyped images of poor, uneducated, and helpless young women and girls, forced into prostitution, reminiscent of historical conceptions of "white sexual slavery" at the turn of the twentieth century. These stereotypes are used to rationalize the U.S. government's criminal enforcement approach to trafficking through "raid and rescue" practices, which operate on the presumption that brothels imprison passive sex slaves who need to be rescued by law enforcement. Such perceptions of "trafficking" **divert attention away from issues of globalization** and labor migration that drive trafficking and distort the profile of "trafficking victim" to exclude many other migrant workers. "Trafficking," connoting only "sex," has polluted the efforts of many advocates in accessing protection for their clients trafficked into non-sex related industries. The disposal of the term "trafficking" altogether could revitalize anti-trafficking advocacy to advance the rights of trafficked workers [\*344] in all industries by refocusing anti-trafficking work on reforming the underlying migration and labor policies that perpetuate the exploitation of all migrant workers. Anti-trafficking advocates have begun this process through public education efforts and interactions with the media. By using alternate language to describe trafficking, such as forced or coerced migrant labor, the reconceptualization of trafficking as a migrant labor rights issue can evolve. Conclusion In order to protect the rights of trafficked persons and to work toward the elimination of trafficking, human rights advocates across multiple sectors should advance a movement based on shared goals. Current U.S. policies and procedures addressing trafficking divert attention away from underlying root causes and deprive certain trafficked persons of full access to immigration and labor protections. Moreover, related U.S. policies on labor migration, reproductive, and sexual health rights operate to restrict the rights of not only trafficked persons, but more generally migrant workers and women. New understandings of trafficking as it impacts and is affected by a broad spectrum of issues connect advocates in different but related fields. This reconceptualization can serve to build an inter-sectoral movement for the labor and reproductive and sexual health rights of all individuals, regardless of occupation, citizenship or immigration status. Developing new approaches to human trafficking to better serve the needs and rights of survivors of trafficking and migrant workers in all industries will entail collaborations among organizations and movements that have been largely divided against each other until recently. The very goal of centering the needs and rights of migrant workers runs counter to the current U.S. federal agenda of criminalizing prostitution. While compliance with this agenda has been enforced through the anti-prostitution pledge and many other U.S. government measures that have created suspicions and divisions among groups, perspectives from the field(s) indicate that many advocates have transcended the government's divisive tactics, and are beginning to forge effective alliances in the broader movement against human trafficking. Certainly more work is needed to counter these divisions and facilitate the critical and logical links between immigrant rights, labor rights, sex worker rights, sexual and reproductive health, and anti-trafficking advocacy, organizing and scholarship. Yet there are already several emerging models of U.S. and international organizations working against, within and around the constraints of the U.S. federal approach towards more effective responses. These groups provide social services, support organizing, create analyses and inform policies that can better meet the needs of survivors of trafficking, all exploited migrant workers and the victims of other harmful U.S.-sponsored "antitrafficking" activities.

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#### Yellen confirmation key to the global economy

Reuters 10/9/13 ("Instant View - Yellen to be nominated for Fed chair," http://uk.reuters.com/article/2013/10/09/uk-usa-economy-instant-idUKBRE99717920131009)//VP

BONNIE BAHA, HEAD OF GLOBAL DEVELOPED CREDIT AT DOUBLELINE CAPITAL LP, LOS ANGELES:¶ "I think it's fair to say that the anxiety level in the markets has elevated materially over the last several trading sessions. The announcement of the Yellen nomination is far from random and should have a calming effect on global capital markets. The escalating rhetoric between Obama and Congress has the potential to spiral out of control quickly given the looming debt ceiling deadline. With at least one major uncertainty removed the hope must be that this announcement buys some time for all parties involved with respect to the ongoing budget debate."¶ ROBERTO PERLI, CORNERSTONE MACRO, WASHINGTON:¶ "I think markets will receive the news well (aside from the fiscal debacle). It resolves an important uncertainty as to the direction of the Fed, and points overall to a market-friendly Fed, in the sense that premature removal of policy accommodation becomes now less likely. In terms of communication style I see Yellen as more likely to be upfront about her own views than Bernanke is, to be less of a consensus seeker at all costs, to defer less to the FOMC consensus, and to produce clearer communication as a result."¶ MICHAEL S. HANSON, SENIOR ECONOMIST, BOFA MERRILL LYNCH GLOBAL RESEARCH, NEW YORK:¶ "Not surprised. With all the fiscal issues currently before the Senate, confirmation may not be complete until later November or early December. Means continuity in Fed policy going forward. Market will discover over time that she isn't the perma-dove that some have suggested, but easy policy will remain in place for some time - as the Bernanke Fed has already indicated."¶ JOHN BRYNJOLFSSON, CIO OF ARMORED WOLF, ORANGE COUNTY, CALIFORNIA:¶ "With betting odds stacked 85 percent in her favour, hardly a surprise. Her reputation is one of emphasizing the dual mandate, and within the dual mandate, fostering full employment, so is more dovish than Bernanke.¶ "While hawks fear that this dovishness risks inflating bubbles, paradoxically Yellen's reputation for more than cordial collaboration may mean the Fed fully airs hawks' concerns before voting on policy, and suggests (Bernanke's) grand plan of making the Fed a more process-based institution than a personality-based institution, may be the result."¶ ANNETTE BEACHER, HEAD OF ASIA-PACIFIC RESEARCH, TD SECURITIES, SINGAPORE:¶ "The markets are loving it is what I can say. The U.S. dollar has weakened appropriately. Our base case is that if Yellen is now in the race - although this needs to be approved by the Senate - it delays the potential for tapering.¶ "If Yellen is confirmed, it's more likely that tapering won't be until March at the earliest. From a financial markets perspective everyone is comfortable with the Yellen nomination. She's certainly well-known, she's certainly well-known to be dovish so this is extremely good for risk assets, it should be good for equities, it should be good for emerging markets. It's a risk-positive piece of news for the otherwise ongoing U.S. government deadlock."¶ CRAIG JAMES, CHIEF ECONOMIST, COMMONWEALTH SECURITIES, SYDNEY:¶ "The view is that Janet Yellen would basically follow similar policies as Ben Bernanke, which means that she's going to taper or wind back stimulus only slowly over time. That suggests that the U.S. dollar is going to remain relatively low. We've seen reaction in financial markets today where both the euro and Aussie dollar have spiked somewhat higher.¶ "It's still a case that it's more speculative rather than anything else, but if the confirmation does go through as widely perceived then it's going to be a case of business as usual for the Federal Reserve. It's just a case of handing the baton from the chairman to the vice chairman, so that's comforting for the global economy, comforting for financial markets, that you've got continuity at one of the most important organisations in the world."¶ BRAD DELONG, PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY:¶ "I do not think any chair nominee ever has been better prepared to take the job than Janet Yellen is right now. And I think it is good that she is so prepared. If Obama does nominate her in the Senate does confirm her, she will face challenges of the same order of magnitude that Paul Volker and Marriner Eccles faced. It is news that does make me sleep easier."¶

#### Statistical studies go neg

Royal 10 Jedediah Royal, Director of Cooperative Threat Reduction at the U.S. Department of Defense, 2010, “Economic Integration, Economic Signaling and the Problem of Economic Crises,” in Economics of War and Peace: Economic, Legal and Political Perspectives, ed. Goldsmith and Brauer, p. 213-214)//VP

Less intuitive is how periods of economic decline may increase the likelihood of external conflict. Political science literature has contributed a moderate degree of attention to the impact of economic decline and the security and defence behaviour of interdependent states. Research in this vein has been considered at systemic, dyadic and national levels. Several notable contributions follow. First, on the systemic level, Pollins (2008) advances Modelski and Thompson's (1996) work on leadership cycle theory, finding that rhythms in the global economy are associated with the rise and fall of a pre-eminent power and the often bloody transition from one pre-eminent leader to the next. As such, exogenous shocks such as economic crises could usher in a redistribution of relative power (see also Gilpin. 1981) that leads to uncertainty about power balances, increasing the risk of miscalculation (Feaver, 1995). Alternatively, even a relatively certain redistribution of power could lead to a permissive environment for conflict as a rising power may seek to challenge a declining power (Werner. 1999). Separately, Pollins (1996) also shows that global economic cycles combined with parallel leadership cycles impact the likelihood of conflict among major, medium and small powers, although he suggests that the causes and connections between global economic conditions and security conditions remain unknown. Second, on a dyadic level, Copeland's (1996, 2000) theory of trade expectations suggests that 'future expectation of trade' is a significant variable in understanding economic conditions and security behaviour of states. He argues that interdependent states are likely to gain pacific benefits from trade so long as they have an optimistic view of future trade relations. However, if the expectations of future trade decline, particularly for difficult to replace items such as energy resources, the likelihood for conflict increases, as states will be inclined to use force to gain access to those resources. Crises could potentially be the trigger for decreased trade expectations either on its own or because it triggers protectionist moves by interdependent states.4 Third, others have considered the link between economic decline and external armed conflict at a national level. Blomberg and Hess (2002) find a strong correlation between internal conflict and external conflict, particularly during periods of economic downturn. They write: The linkages between internal and external conflict and prosperity are strong and mutually reinforcing. Economic conflict tends to spawn internal conflict, which in turn returns the favour. Moreover, the presence of a recession tends to amplify the extent to which international and external conflicts self-reinforce each other. (Blomberg & Hess, 2002. p. 89) Economic decline has also been linked with an increase in the likelihood of terrorism (Blomberg, Hess, & Weerapana, 2004), which has the capacity to spill across borders and lead to external tensions. Furthermore, crises generally reduce the popularity of a sitting government. "Diversionary theory" suggests that, when facing unpopularity arising from economic decline, sitting governments have increased incentives to fabricate external military conflicts to create a 'rally around the flag' effect. Wang (1996), DeRouen (1995). and Blomberg, Hess, and Thacker (2006) find supporting evidence showing that economic decline and use of force are at least indirectly correlated. Gelpi (1997), Miller (1999), and Kisangani and Pickering (2009) suggest that the tendency towards diversionary tactics are greater for democratic states than autocratic states, due to the fact that democratic leaders are generally more susceptible to being removed from office due to lack of domestic support. DeRouen (2000) has provided evidence showing that periods of weak economic performance in the United States, and thus weak Presidential popularity, are statistically linked to an increase in the use of force. In summary, recent economic scholarship positively correlates economic integration with an increase in the frequency of economic crises, whereas political science scholarship links economic decline with external conflict at systemic, dyadic and national levels.5 This implied connection between integration, crises and armed conflict has not featured prominently in the economic-security debate and deserves more attention.

**War turns patriarchy – its the root cause of patriarchal domination – they can’t access their root cause claims**

**AFP 04** (Agence France Presse, December 10, 2004, http://www.worldrevolution.org/news/article1702.htm)

Raped, treated as the sexual 'booty' of war or slain by indiscriminate bombings, women are too often the first victims of conflict, Amnesty International charged Wednesday in a report demanding legal redress. The London-based human rights group called for action by the International Criminal Court to halt oppressive violence against women. "Patterns of violence against women in conflict do not arise 'naturally' but are ordered, condoned or tolerated as a result of political calculations," its secretary general Irene Khan said in introducing the 120-page report on women in war. Not only are women "considered as the legitimate booty of victorious army," the report said, but "the use of rape as a weapon of war is perhaps the most notorious and brutal way in which conflicts impact on women." "Women's bodies, their sexuality and reproductive capacity are often used as a literal battleground," it said. Khan, the first women, the first Asian and the first Muslim to head Amnesty International, told AFP in an interview that "it's quite interesting to see that women rights have been used as justification for military intervention, in the cases of both Iraq (news - web sites) and Afghanistan (news - web sites)." But, she added, "on the ground the situation changes very little in favor of women ... In the case of Afghanistan we have seen no improvement. "Warlords are occupying parts of the territory and see women as commodities for trading, to settle land dispute. Abductions and forced marriages are about as bad, if not worse, than at any time in Afghan history. "Warlords are not being pulled out, they're not being prosecuted, they're not being investigated for the crimes that are openly committing." Even where women are not deliberately targetted, they are the main victims of so-called collatoral damage, whether caused by "precision" bombing or landmines, the report said. "In Iraq in 2003, US forces reportedly used more than 10,500 cluster munitions containing at least 1.8 million bomblets. An average failure rate of five percent would mean that about 90,000 unexploded munitions are now on Iraqi soil." The report urged the International Criminal Court to "pick up and prosecute one or two high-profile cases because that will send the message that violence against women cannot continue in such an impunity, which is the norm today." The court, headquartered in The Hague (news - web sites), began operating in July 2002 and is mandated to try genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. Kahn acknowledged the way ahead would be tough, but said she hoped the report would generate pressure for change. Women and children make up 80 percent of the world's 40 million refugees, but they have no voice, and injustices go unpunished," she added. "If you take the example of the Korean women, the comfort women in Japan, who were used as sex slaves during the second world war, even now they're still battling for the recognition of their case," Khan said. The report detailed widespread rape in conflicts around the world, including the Darfur region of Sudan, Colombia, Nepal, Chechnya (news - web sites), India and, earlier this year, in the tiny Pacific territory of the Solomon Islands. Tens of thousands of women and young girls were raped during the conflicts sweeping the Democratic Republic of Congo (news - web sites). "Ten years on from the genocide in Rwanda, where violence against women was a central element of the strategy to eliminate a particular ethnic group, little or nothing seems to have been learned about how to prevent such horrors," the report said.

#### Decline causes nuclear war – increased nationalism and loss of multilateralism

Merlini 11

Cesare Merlini, nonresident senior fellow at the Center on the United States and Europe and chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Italian Institute for International Affairs, May 2011, “A Post-Secular World?”, Survival, Vol. 53, No. 2

Two neatly opposed scenarios for the future of the world order illustrate the range of possibilities, albeit at the risk of oversimplification. The first scenario entails the premature crumbling of the post-Westphalian system. One or more of the acute tensions apparent today evolves into an open and traditional conflict between states, perhaps even involving the use of nuclear weapons. The crisis might be triggered by a collapse of the global economic and financial system, the vulnerability of which we have just experienced, and the prospect of a second Great Depression, with consequences for peace and democracy similar to those of the first. Whatever the trigger, the unlimited exercise of national sovereignty, exclusive self-interest and rejection of outside interference would self-interest and rejection of outside interference would likely be amplified, emptying, perhaps entirely, the half-full glass of multilateralism, including the UN and the European Union. Many of the more likely conflicts, such as between Israel and Iran or India and Pakistan, have potential religious dimensions. Short of war, tensions such as those related to immigration might become unbearable. Familiar issues of creed and identity could be exacerbated. One way or another, the secular rational approach would be sidestepped by a return to theocratic absolutes, competing or converging with secular absolutes such as unbridled nationalism**.**

#### Growth prevents conflict – most robust predictor

Reghr 13 – Senior Fellow in Arctic Security at The Simons Foundation

Ernie, 2-4-13, “Intrastate Conflict: Data, Trends and Drivers” http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Articles/Special-Feature/Detail/?lng=en&id=158597&tabid=1453496807&contextid774=158597&contextid775=158627

“The most robustly significant predictor of [armed] conflict risk and its duration is some indicator of economic prosperity. At a higher income people have more to lose from the destructiveness of conflict; and higher per-capita income implies a better functioning social contract, institutions and state capacity.”[3] This correlation between underdevelopment and armed conflict is confirmed in a 2008 paper by Thania Paffenholz[4] which notes that “since 1990, more than 50% of all conflict-prone countries have been low income states…. Two thirds of all armed conflicts take place in African countries with the highest poverty rates. Econometric research found a correlation between the poverty rate and likelihood of armed violence….[T]he lower the GDP per capita in a country, the higher the likelihood of armed conflict.” Of course, it is important to point out that this is not a claim that there is a direct causal connection between poverty and armed conflict. To repeat, the causes of conflict are complex and context specific, nevertheless, says Paffenholz, there is a clear correlation between a low and declining per capita income and a country’s vulnerability to conflict. It is also true, on the other hand, that there are low income countries that experience precipitous economic decline, like Zambia in the 1980s and 1990s, without suffering the kind of turmoil that has visited economically more successful countries like Kenya and Cote d’Ivoire. Referring to both Zambia and Nigeria, Pafenholz says these are cases in which “the social compact” has proven to be resilient. Both have formal and informal mechanisms that are able to address grievances in ways that allowed them to be aired and resolved or managed without recourse to violence. A brief review of literature on economics and armed conflict, published in the Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine, indicates the complexity and imprecision behind the question, “does poverty cause conflict?” While many of the “world’s poorest countries are riven by armed conflict,” and while poverty, conflict and under-development set up a cycle of dysfunction in which each element of the cycle is exacerbated by the other, it is also the case that “conflict obviously does not just afflict the poorest countries” – as Northern Ireland and the former Yugoslavia demonstrate. “Many poor countries are not at war; shared poverty may not be a destabilizing influence. Indeed, economic growth can destabilize, as the wars in countries afflicted by an abundance of particular natural resources appear to show.”[5] Another review of the literature makes the general point that “the escalation of conflict during economic downturns is more likely in countries recovering from conflict, or fragile states.” That makes Africa especially vulnerable on two counts: economic deprivation and recent armed conflict are present in a relatively high number of states, making the continent especially vulnerable to economic shocks. As a general rule, “weak economies often translate into weak and fragile states and the presence of violent conflict, which in turn prevents economic growth.” One study argues that “the risk of war in any given country is determined by the initial level of income, the rate of economic growth and the level of dependency on primary commodity exports.” Changes in rates of economic growth thus lead to changes in threats of conflict. As unemployment rises in fragile states this can “exacerbate conflict due to comparatively better income opportunities for young men in rebel groups as opposed to labour markets.”[6] The concentration of armed conflict in lower income countries is also reflected in the conflict tabulation by Project Ploughshares over the past quarter century. The 2009 Human Development Index ranks 182 countries in four categories of Human Development – Very High, High, Medium, Low. Of the 98 countries in the Medium and Low categories of human development in 2009, 55 per cent experienced war on their territories in the previous 24 years. In the same period, only 24 per cent of countries in the High human development category saw war within their borders, while just two (5 per cent) countries in the Very High human development ranking had war on their territory (the UK re Northern Ireland and Israel). The wars of the recent past were overwhelmingly fought on the territories of states at the low end of the human development scale. A country’s income level is thus a strong indicator of its risk of being involved in sustained armed conflict. Low income countries lack the capacity to create conditions conducive to serving the social, political, and economic welfare of their people. And when economic inequality is linked to differences between identity groups, the correlation to armed conflict is even stronger. In other words, group based inequalities are especially destabilizing.[7] These failures in human security are of course heavily shaped by external factors, notably international economic and security conditions and the interests of the major powers (in short, globalization),[8] and these factors frequently combine with internal political/religious/ethnic circumstances that create conditions especially conducive to conflict and armed conflict.

#### Historic causation proves

Gat 13

Azar, Department of Political Science, University of Tel Aviv, Is war declining – and why?, Journal of Peace Research March 2013 vol. 50 no. 2 149-157

So if wars have not become more costly and destructive during the past two centuries then why have they receded, particularly in the developed world? The answer is the advent of the industrial–commercial revolution after 1815, the most profound transformation of human society since the Neolithic adoption of agriculture. The correlation between the decline of war in the developed world and the process of modernization, both unfolding since 1815, is surely not accidental, and the causation is not difficult to locate. In the first place, given explosive growth in per capita wealth, about 30- to 50-fold thus far, the Malthusian trap has been broken. Wealth no longer constitutes a fundamentally finite quantity, and wealth acquisition progressively shifted away from a zero-sum game. Secondly, economies are no longer overwhelmingly autarkic, instead having become increasingly interconnected by specialization, scale, and exchange. Consequently, foreign devastation potentially depressed the entire system and was thus detrimental to a state’s own wellbeing. This reality, already noted by Mill (1848/1961: 582), starkly manifested itself after World War I, as Keynes (1920) had anticipated in his criticism of the reparations imposed on Germany. Thirdly, greater economic openness has decreased the likelihood of war by disassociating economic access from the confines of political borders and sovereignty. It is no longer necessary to politically possess a territory in order benefit from it. Of the above three factors, the second one – commercial interdependence – has attracted most of the attention in the literature. But the other two factors have been no less significant.¶ Thus, the greater the yield of competitive economic cooperation, the more counterproductive and less attractive conflict becomes. Rather than war becoming more costly, as is widely believed, it is in fact peace that has been growing more profitable. Referring to my argument in this regard, Levy & Thompson (2011: 72–75) excused themselves from deciding on the issue on the grounds of insufficient information regarding the cost of premodern war. But as already noted, the information on the subject is quite clear.

**No link turn – contemporary political climate**

Serrie 12 – (Jonathan, correspondant “Gridlock in Congress stalls anti-human trafficking bill” <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2012/10/02/gridlock-in-congress-over-human-trafficking/>) DF

As many as 27 million people worldwide are victims of human trafficking, including sex slavery, child prostitution and debt bondage, according to State Department estimates. Now, partisan gridlock in Congress jeopardizes efforts to help them.¶ The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) enjoyed strong bipartisan support when Congress passed it in 2000 and reauthorized it three times since. But the latest effort has been on hold for more than a year.¶ "If Congress fails to renew this law, it's going to have a global impact," said Jesse Eaves, a senior policy advisor at World Vision, a Christian humanitarian organization.¶ The law imposes tough federal penalties on traffickers and funds programs to detect, arrest and prosecute them. It also supports services for victims of human trafficking.¶ According to advocates, the law is designed to be updated every few years to adapt to the changing methods of traffickers. And they warn if Congress fails to reauthorize the TVPA before the end of the year, funding for law enforcement and victims' services could run out next year.¶ "This is not the time to play partisan games," Eaves said. "You do not play politics with slavery. This is not a right or left issue. It's a right or wrong issue."¶ According to Congressional Quarterly, much of the current dispute is over women's health issues. But supporters of the TVPA point out Republicans and Democrats were able to achieve consensus four times in the past.¶ "Those issues have never really been at the forefront before," Eaves said. "And the fact that they've been allowed to distract us from the task at hand really speaks, again, to a failure of leadership on the part of both parties."¶ Ironically, the fight against human trafficking is a cause social conservatives and liberal human rights advocates agree on in general terms. But when it comes to Democrats and Republicans in today's political climate, even agreement on areas of common concern can be elusive.¶ Gridlock over a law that once had the support of strong Democrat and Republican majorities in Congress is just one example of the increasing partisan brinkmanship in Washington. When leaders of one party lose power, "they think they're only one issue, or one election, away from becoming the majority again," said Merle Black, a political science professor at Emory University. "So, there's no incentive to compromise. We've got a political system right now where we have two minority parties."

#### The plan will spark partisan fights – empirics

National Partnership 12– nonprofit, nonpartisan organization founded originally as the Women’s legal Defense Fund, promotes fairness in the workplace reproductive health, and rights, access to quality affordable health care and policies; fights for major policy advance (National partnership for Women and Families, “Consensus on Anti-Trafficking Bill Dissolves Amid Partisan Clashes”, 4/30/1, Women’s Health Policy Report, <http://www.nationalpartnership.org/site/News2?abbr=daily2_&page=NewsArticle&id=33407>)//AY

April 30, 2012 — Reauthorization of a law (HR 2830) to combat human trafficking has been delayed by partisan disputes about HHS' decision not to renew a grant to the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, CQ Weekly reports. The law expired last fall, although funding for anti-trafficking programs is guaranteed until the end of fiscal 2012, according to CQ Weekly (Cadei, CQ Weekly, 4/30). The Trafficking Victims Protection Act, first approved in 2000, provides grants to organizations to fight human trafficking, supports law enforcement and funds a hotline that received more than 11,000 calls in fiscal year 2010. The measure was reauthorized three times with bipartisan support before expiring late last year (Women's Health Policy Report, 4/11). According to CQ Weekly, reauthorization bills were introduced in the House and Senate last fall and received bipartisan approval from the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Judiciary Committee. On Sept. 30, HHS notified the Conference of Catholic Bishops' Migration and Refugee Services division that it was not renewing the group's grant to provide assistance to trafficking survivors because of a "strong preference" for applicants that provide comprehensive health care services, including family planning and reproductive health care. This decision outraged the bishops and conservative lawmakers, who withdrew their support from the bill and argued that the Obama administration was pursuing an "anti-religion" agenda, according to CQ Weekly. On Dec. 7, Rep. Chris Smith (R-N.J.), the bill's original sponsor in the House, introduced a new version that would add a "conscience" clause for religious groups and transfer the trafficking grants program from HHS to the Justice Department. The legislation has not been marked up. Anti-trafficking advocates said they are frustrated that **political fights are interfering** with the process. "I think there's a **lack of attempt to reconcile** differences," Cory Smith, senior policy adviser for the Alliance To End Slavery and Trafficking, said (CQ Weekly, 4/30).

**Engaging Mexico is politically divisive**

Wilson 13 Christopher E., Associate at the Mexico Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International. Center for Scholars , January, “A U.S.-Mexico Economic Alliance: Policy Options for a Competitive Region,” http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/new\_ideas\_us\_mexico\_relations.pdf

At a time when Mexico is poised to experience robust economic growth, a manufacturing renaissance is underway in North America and bilateral trade is booming, the United States and Mexico have an important choice to make: sit back and reap the moderate and perhaps temporal benefits coming naturally from the evolving global context , or implement a robust agenda to improve the competitiveness of North America for the long term . Given that job creation and economic growth in both the United States and Mexico are at stake, t he choice should be simple, but a limited understanding about the magnitude, nature and depth of the U.S.-Mexico economic relationship among the public and many policymakers has made serious action to support regional exporters more politically divisive than it ought to be.

#### There will be huge fights over the details and nuances of the plan

Gould 12– print and radio journalist who has reported from over a dozen countries on numerous social, political and economic issues including immigration, education, the drug trade, crime, fiscal and economic policy and the oil industry; As a reporter, he has focused on many under-reported issues including the impact of Mexico’s drug violence on children, abortion rights in Colombia and a tuberculosis crisis in Argentina’s indigenous communities. Currently, he covers Southern California for Time magazine, Latino issues for Poder Hispanic magazine, continues to make reporting trips to Mexico, and does web producing work for KTLA Channel 5 Los Angeles. Previously, he was Bloomberg’s political and economy correspondent in Mexico City for three years, covering the drug war and social issues. Prior to that, he was based in Venezuela for three years, covering Hugo Chavez. Other media he has written for include The New York Times, and he has done radio for NPR and PRI's The World. (Jens Erik, “California’s Prop 35: Why Some Oppose an Anti-Sex-Trafficking Initiative”, 11/05/12, Times US, <http://nation.time.com/2012/11/05/californias-prop-35-why-some-oppose-an-anti-sex-trafficking-initiative/>)//AY

Still, despite stories from victims like Marie and the firm backing of law enforcement and major politicians, Prop 35 has its detractors. Some people who have spent decades working to protect victims say that while it is well intentioned, the measure may not make things better. First, the funds from the fines imposed on criminals would go to law enforcement and organizations that provide services for victims, not directly to the survivors themselves. That’s helpful, but opponents say victims should be directly restituted for their labor. “All the money that comes from a trafficking case should go where it belongs: directly into the hands of the person who survived that exploitation,” declared Annie Fukushima, a lecturer on women and gender studies at San Francisco State University, on a “No on Proposition 35” blog. In any case, says Lois Lee, who runs a Los Angeles nonprofit that rescues victims of child sex trafficking, it would merely be “blowing smoke” to increase fines on criminals because it’s usually too hard to locate their assets. Opponents also take issue with a proposed change that would make it impossible to use evidence that victims engaged in a commercial sexual act to prove their criminal liability. While that may sound beneficial, some experts point out that prosecuting victims as prostitutes can actually help law enforcement rescue them — and charge their traffickers. “When you rescue these kids from the pimps, they love these guys,” Lee says. “They’re not going to testify against their boyfriends. The only reason they’re testifying now is that they’re afraid to go to jail if they don’t.” Another clause of Prop 35 would prevent the use of the past sexual histories of victims. In an op-ed for U-T San Diego, Ami Carpenter, an assistant professor at the University of San Diego, argued that most victims do not admit that they are exploited until detectives question their accounts and bring up past history of commercial sex acts. The Los Angeles Times urged a no vote on the initiative as well, arguing that increasing penalties for traffickers won’t encourage more victims to come forward. “By that logic, victims would already have an incentive to seek federal help, because federal law imposes harsh penalties,” the Times said. “Yet that’s hardly the case.” The paper also said longer prison terms wouldn’t deter criminals from trafficking. Finally, detractors like Kathleen Kim, a professor at Loyola Law School who co-authored California’s current trafficking law, say the proposal belittles victims of nonsexual forced labor because it would give harsher prison terms for human trafficking of a sexual nature than for other forms of trafficking.

**Yellen will be confirmed – Paul cant derail – and PC is key**

**Politico 10/31** (Kevin Cirilli, Politico, “Rand Paul says Janet Yellen likely to be confirmed”, 10-31-13, <http://www.politico.com/story/2013/10/rand-paul-janet-yellen-99190.html>) MaxL

Sen. Rand Paul thinks the Senate will confirm Janet Yellen as Federal Reserve chair — despite his plan to throw a speed bump into the process. Paul told Senate leaders earlier this week that he will file a hold on her nomination to try to force a vote on legislation first championed by his father, former-Rep. Ron Paul (R-Texas), that would authorize the Government Accountability Office to audit how the central bank implements monetary policy. Asked in an interview with Bloomberg TV, that will air Friday, whether Yellen will be confirmed, Paul said “In all likelihood, yes.” Paul said he wants to draw attention to his “Audit the Fed” bill, which he accused Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-Nev.) of holding “hostage.” Democrats have shrugged off Paul’s plan to place a hold on Yellen, saying it won’t stop her confirmation but will produce a bit of political theater. Fed officials — including outgoing Chairman Ben Bernanke — oppose the legislation, arguing it would threaten the central bank’s independence because the audit could be used to apply political pressure. “In the old days, you could place a hold on and keep it forever,” Paul said in the interview with “Political Capital with Al Hunt.” “Even if I stand on the floor and filibuster in a personal fashion, I can only hold it there for two days.”

#### Capital key to securing Fed chair confirmation

Irwin 8/30/13 (Neil, Washington Post columnist and the economics editor of Wonkblog, "How the Fed chair race became a public circus, and why it matters," http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/08/30/how-the-fed-chair-race-became-a-public-circus-and-why-it-matters/)

And the final factor is this reality: The Federal Reserve has, since the crisis, become more important player in the economy and financial system than it was before. Even apart from the 2008 crisis-era bailouts and interventions, since then it has expanded its balance sheet almost five-fold and been the one government entity in Washington trying to do something about high unemployment. Its power to oversee financial institutions was greatly expanded by Dodd-Frank legislation. Bernanke started in the Fed chairmanship aiming to make it a more anonymous, technocratic role, in contrast to Alan "The Maestro" Greenspan; three years later, he was appearing on "60 Minutes" and was Time Person of the Year. Everyone cares more about who the next Fed chair is because they should care more about who the next Fed chair is.¶ Add it all up, and, as Fratto puts it, "the current transition is a perfect hot mess."¶ The question is, does it matter? It increasingly appears that President Obama will nominate Summers sometime in the next few weeks, and that he will be confirmed, though with no small amount of grumbling by many liberal and some conservative senators in the process. What will that mean?¶ First, there's the cost for the White House. If it were to select a "boring" candidate for the job, like Yellen, Don Kohn, or Roger Ferguson, there might be the usual bumps and bruises in the confirmation process, but there would never really be a doubt that the Senate would come up with the votes.¶ Summers is decidedly un-boring. The opposition to him within the Democratic caucus, especially among women, means that president and his aides will have to spend more time massaging and persuading those senators reluctant to be a "yes" vote on someone much of the Democratic base just doesn't like very much. At best, this will be a distraction at a time that a high stakes fiscal stand-off over funding the government is re-emerging; at worst, it will require horse-trading that could cost political capital they might prefer to save to push another tough vote.¶ For the Fed, the equation is a little different. Based on conversations with many Fed-folks at a conference in Jackson Hole last weekend, I can assert with confidence that people at the central bank are none-too-thrilled with the loud public debate over who their next chairman will be. And it surely will damage the ability of the next chairman, whether it's Summers or someone else, to maintain an image of the aloof, politically neutral, wise, man-behind-the-curtain Fed chair that has been part of the job's image for generations.¶ At the same time, go back to the reasons listed above about why this has become such a spectacle. Part of it is the White House's strategy and part of it is Summers's personality. But other parts, the new media environment and the more prominent role of the Fed, aren't going away.¶ In other words, we may be entering an era where the Fed chairman job is as much a lightning rod as any other major appointment. In that case, the strange Summers vs. Yellen debate of the summer of 2013 is less an aberration, and more a harbinger of what is to come.

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## Case

**Gender isn’t the root cause**

Hooper 1– (Charlotte, University of Bristol research associate in politics, Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics pp 45-46.) DF

Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan (1993), in their discussion of gendered dichotomies, appear to drop Lacanian psychoanalytic discourse as an explanation for gendered dichotomies in favor of a more straightforward- ly political account.14Gendered dichotomies, rather than uniformly con- structing gendered social relations through universal psychoanalytic mecha- nisms, are seen more ambiguously, as playing a dual role. Where gendered dichotomies are used as an organizing principle of social life (such as in the gendered division of labor) they help to construct gender differences and in- equalities and thus are constitutive of social reality, but in positing a grid of polar opposites, they also serve to obscure more complex relationships, commonalties, overlaps, and intermediate positions (Peterson and Runyan 1993, 24–25). Elaborating on this view, it can be argued that gendered dichotomies are in part ideological tools that mystify, masking more complex social realities and reinforcing stereotypes. On one level, they do help to produce real gen- der differences and inequalities, when they are used as organizing principles that have practical effects commensurate with the extent that they become embedded in institutional practices, and through these, human bodies. They constitute one dimension in the triangular nexus out of which gender identities and the gender order are produced. But at the same time, institutional practices are not always completely or unambiguously informed by such dichotomies, which may then operate to obscure more complex relationships. It is a mistake to see the language of gendered dichotomies as a uniﬁed and totalizing discourse that dictates every aspect of social practice to the extent that we are coherently produced as subjects in its dualistic image. As well as the disruptions and discontinuities engendered by the inter- sections and interjections of other discourses (race, class, sexuality, and so on) there is always room for evasion, reversal, resistance, and dissonance be- tween rhetoric, practice, and embodiment, as well as reproduction of the symbolic order, as identities are negotiated in relation to all three dimen- sions, in a variety of complex and changing circumstances. On the other hand, the symbolic gender order does inform practice, and our subjectivi- ties are produced in relation to it, so to dismiss it as performing only an ide- ological or propagandistic role is also too simplistic. ¶

**That justifies Western imperialism and repression of women**

**Kinney 6** J.D. Candidate, Boalt Hall School of Law, Ph.D. Candidate, Jurisprudence & Social Policy, University of California, Berkeley (Edi C. M., 2006, Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law & Justice, "Appropriations for the Abolitionists: Undermining Effects of the U.S. Mandatory Anti-Prostitution Pledge In the Fight Against Human Trafficking And HIV/AIDS," <http://www.prostitutionresearch.info/pdfs_all/trafficking%20all/SSRN-id1478667.pdf>)//AM

Contemporary activists and politicians have invoked the symbolic power of the “sex slave”--and the concomitant evils of pedophilia--to galvanize an international movement to end trafficking and the sex trade. [FN44] Similar ¶ to the Progressive reformers and prostitution abolitionists who fought against the White Slave trade a century ago, ¶ debates decrying “modern day slavery” are frequently sparked by moral outrage against the “special evil in the ¶ abuse and exploitation of the most innocent and vulnerable” in the sex trade. [FN45]¶ Once again, the prostitute has become an iconic figure in debates about human trafficking, as the “suffering ¶ third world prostitute serves well to symbolize the excesses of the global march of capital, and its negative effects on ¶ women.” [FN46] However, policies enacted in the sway of moral indignation at the \*167 “highly emotive intersection of sex work and trafficking [generate] a lot more heat than light” by conflating, and confusing, the concepts of ¶ trafficking and prostitution. [FN47] The sensationalistic language of rescue in the politics of sexual protection in ¶ anti-trafficking crusades, coupled with orientalist conceptions of the (naive, passive, and racialized) trafficked female migrant bears the strong scent of imperialism. [FN48] Invoking the symbol of the “suffering third world prostitute” simultaneously invites and justifies western intervention, while operating to legitimize repressive campaigns to ¶ “‘protect’ women by restricting their movement . . . justifying discrimination against migrants and sex workers, and ¶ limiting their freedom and autonomy.” [FN49]