Gauging Public Opinion on Human Trafficking in Moldova and Albania

Employing Survey Experimentation to Inform Effective Prevention and Awareness Programs

Research and Innovation Grants Working Papers Series

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MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

The Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance is pleased to share "*Gauging Public Opinion on Human Trafficking in Moldova and Albania: Employing Survey Experimentation to Inform Effective Prevention and Awareness Programs.*" This publication was produced by USAID in partnership with the Institute of International Education and Texas Christian University as part of the Research and Innovation Grants Working Papers Series.

The *Strategy on Democracy, Human Rights and Governance*[1] reaffirmed USAID's commitment to "generate, analyze, and disseminate rigorous, systematic, and publicly accessible evidence in all aspects of DRG policy, strategy and program development, implementation, and evaluation." This paper, along with the others contained in the series, makes a valuable contribution to advancing this commitment to learning and evidence-based programming.

This series is part of USAID's Learning Agenda for the DRG Sector, a dynamic collection of research questions that serve to guide the DRG Center's and USAID field missions' analytical efforts. USAID seeks to inform strategic planning and project design efforts with the very best theory, evidence, and practical guidance. And through these efforts, the Learning Agenda is contributing to USAID's objective to support the establishment and consolidation of inclusive and accountable democracies to advance freedom, dignity, and development.

The research presented in this paper provides useful insights into how Albanians and Moldovans perceive human trafficking. In both countries, more politically engaged citizens demonstrated greater knowledge about human trafficking but were less likely to consider it a top priority for the government to address. In addition, in both Albania and Moldova, citizens demonstrated more knowledge of sex trafficking than labor trafficking, and were significantly less likely to think that men or boys could be vulnerable to any form of trafficking—indicating that messaging should help broaden the public definition of trafficking and awareness of who is vulnerable. Finally, through an experiment possible in Albania, where a USAID-funded counter-trafficking program had produced short video postcards about trafficking, the research suggests that messaging which both presents information about trafficking and provides citizens with concrete next steps to protect themselves and their families may be a simple, effective way to promote behaviors that could limit trafficking vulnerability.

I hope you find this research enlightening and helpful. As the DRG Center's Learning Agenda progresses, we will continue our effort to bring forward the latest in relevant social science research to important constituencies for our work, particularly our DRG cadre and implementing partners, but also others. I invite you to stay involved as this enriching, timely, and important work proceeds.

Neil Levine, Director, Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance
U.S. Agency for International Development

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[1] https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/USAID%20DRG_%20final%20final%206-24%203%20(1).pdf

ACRONYM LIST

ADC	Austrian Development Cooperation
CAAHT	The Albanian Initiative: Coordinated Action Against Human Trafficking
CSO	Civil Society Organization
C-TIP	Counter-Trafficking in Persons
DAI	Development Alternatives, Inc.
DFG	Democracy Fellows and Grants Program
DOS	US Department of State
DRG	Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance
GfK	GfK Ukraine
IDRA	IDRA Research
IIE	Institute of International Education
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MDT	Multi-Disciplinary Team
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PSA	Public Service Announcement
PPS	Probability, Proportional to Size
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
TCU	Texas Christian University
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TVPA	Trafficking Victims Protection Act
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USC	University of Southern California

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since 2001, USAID has implemented programs designed to counter trafficking in persons (C-TIP) in more than 68 countries. The Palermo Protocol defines human trafficking as:

> "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 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."

The Protocol also clarifies that the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of an individual under the age of 18 for the purpose of exploitation is considered trafficking in persons, even if none of the means listed above (force, coercion, abduction, *etc.*) is involved. A modern form of slavery, human trafficking constitutes a gross violation of human rights.

Despite the complexity of the crime and efforts by many national and international organizations to eliminate it, there is limited research on the nature and extent of human trafficking, its underlying dynamics, and the effectiveness of C-TIP programs. Through the C-TIP Campus Challenge Research Grants funded by USAID's Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance under the Democracy Fellows and Grants Program, three research teams implemented public opinion surveys in USAID priority countries for C-TIP programming. The researchers sought to generate data to inform the design of programs to raise awareness about trafficking among vulnerable populations and to influence knowledge, attitudes, and practices related to trafficking. This paper focuses on research conducted in Albania and Moldova by a team led by Texas Christian University (TCU). C-TIP Campus Challenge Research Grants also were awarded to teams led by the University of Southern California (USC) to conduct research in Indonesia, and by Vanderbilt University to conduct research in Nepal.

The TCU research team developed and fielded a nationally representative survey experiment in Albania and Moldova to assess what average citizens in both countries currently know about human trafficking and how counter-trafficking messaging could most effectively be framed. The research conducted in both countries focused on two primary objectives: 1) to establish a baseline of public opinion about human trafficking in each country, and 2) to analyze these data to provide information that can support the development of more strategic C-TIP prevention and protection programs by understanding what could drive people in each country to take personal action against trafficking and to support governmental action. In addition, the survey also explored how issue framing and messaging affects public concern for and involvement in C-TIP efforts.

This research provides useful insights into how practitioners should consider data and resulting survey information when determining the focus and messaging in the design of C-TIP awareness-raising materials. TCU selected Albania and Moldova because both countries experienced a surge in trafficking after opening their borders and liberalizing their economies. Because of this surge, USAID prioritized Albania and Moldova for C-TIP programming, and from 2001 to 2011 these countries were among the ten in which the Agency invested half of its C-TIP funding. To continue to make strategic investments to

prevent trafficking and protect victims, however, USAID and other donors need increased data on existing knowledge and attitudes about trafficking, and strategies for effectively crafting and delivering C-TIP messaging. This paper presents a number of findings in each country; a selection of these, with corresponding program and policy recommendations, is highlighted below.

A. Albania

The majority (64%) of respondents in Albania reported being very or somewhat informed about human trafficking. However, many Albanians appear to have only cursory understanding, and narrow trafficking down to a single type of victims or one type of victimization: Albanians believe teenage girls, ethnic minorities, and rural residents are at highest risk of both sex and labor trafficking. To increase awareness of risks, anti-trafficking campaigns may benefit from highlighting situations of trafficking experienced by men and boys. The low risk perceived among men may be a function of gender perceptions in Albania; future research should explore this hypothesis.

A large majority of Albanians (92%) reported that their government should make C-TIP a top priority. When government officials publicize their C-TIP actions, it should be understood as not only a response to international help and pressure, but also to public desire. Although the Albanian public expresses concern about human trafficking, there is much more support for a government response than interest in personally taking action. Educating the public about how to become involved in C-TIP work may have positive implications for addressing trafficking and democratic citizenship because it builds social bonds, capital, and cohesion.

B. Moldova

A minority (44%) of Moldovans reported being very or somewhat informed about human trafficking. Similar to Albanians, Moldovans view individuals from vulnerable families, teenage girls, and rural residents to be most at risk of both sex and labor trafficking. They perceive men, boys, and ethnic minorities as least vulnerable. Moldovan awareness programming needs to focus on the vulnerabilities of ethnic minorities, specifically forced begging among Roma children and forced prostitution among Roma women. Moreover, as in Albania, there should be particular attention to educate Moldovans on the male vulnerability to human trafficking.

A majority (60%) of Moldovans report that human trafficking should be a top government priority. These attitudes may be the result of high levels of distrust of the government among the public, and the perceptions of corruption among public officials. Future research should explore the relationship between public distrust, government corruption, and public desire for government to prioritize human trafficking.

INTRODUCTION

Trafficking in persons is a significant global threat. It generates roughly $32 billion per year in illicit profits (ILO 2005) and victimizes roughly 21 million people around the world (ILO 2012). Transnational human trafficking has flourished in the 21st century for a variety of reasons, including the economic, social, and political implications of globalization (Dinan 2008). The transnational nature of human trafficking necessitates a global response. Unfortunately, many countries do not have the capacity or political will to address trafficking effectively within or across their borders. USAID has provided funding to increase the capacity of countries to develop comprehensive anti-trafficking responses. Critical to supporting that mission is increasing knowledge about what shapes public understanding of human trafficking and support for anti-trafficking programs.

The present research seeks to understand public opinion on human trafficking in two countries in which USAID has made significant investment in anti-trafficking programming over the past decade: Albania and Moldova. This research has two primary objectives: 1) to set the baseline on where public opinion on human trafficking currently stands in these two countries,[2] and 2) to use this information to develop more strategic prevention and protection programs that target specific populations with the most effective messaging and services. In doing so, this research endeavors to answer the following key questions:

- Overall, how knowledgeable of and concerned about human trafficking is the public, and how do demographic characteristics predict levels of knowledge and concern?
- How does the public believe their respective governments should respond to this issue, and how do demographic characteristics predict these beliefs?
- How do varying levels of knowledge and concern predict first-person (personal) behavior regarding civic engagement with the issue of human trafficking?
- How do varying levels of knowledge and concern predict support for third-party (government) action relevant to human trafficking?
- What types of issue frames and public awareness messaging resonate most with the public?

A. Theoretical Background

This research seeks to understand public knowledge of and concern about human trafficking in Albania and Moldova to better determine what drives people to first-person action and to support third-party action relevant to human trafficking. We operationalize the cognitive dimension of attitude toward human trafficking as the amount of knowledge an individual possesses of the issue. We operationalize the affective dimension of attitude toward human trafficking as the amount of concern about the issue that an individual feels. Based on previous social psychology research, we expect that increased knowledge of and concern about human trafficking should yield a strong attitude about human trafficking, and that attitude should motivate and support related personal civic behavior and support of related third-party (government) action. We anticipate that this process may take different forms in

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[2] Although there have been other studies on public opinion regarding human trafficking in Moldova (*e.g.,* IOM 2006; IOM 2008; Mahmoud and Trebesch 2009; Robinson 2011), these studies have a much smaller sample size, are not a representative sample, or are more limited in scope.

newly formed post-communist democracies, such as those in Albania and Moldova, in which both civic engagement and general political efficacy are weak.

In addition to examining how public knowledge and concern predict public engagement in or support of anti-trafficking activities, we explore how issue framing and messaging affect public concern for human trafficking and public involvement in anti-trafficking efforts. The way that an issue is framed by the media, politicians, or advocates has a significant effect on public interest in, understanding of, and support for that issue. Because human trafficking can be framed in many different ways, we hypothesize that different issue frames will affect attitude formation, and so behavior.

B. Methodology

We developed and fielded a nationally representative survey experiment in Albania and Moldova to assess what average citizens in both countries currently know about human trafficking and how messaging that seeks to reduce both the supply of and demand for human trafficking could most effectively be framed. Before developing the survey, members of the research team familiarized themselves with each country through literature reviews, field site visits, and local stakeholder interviews, so that the final instrument was culturally relevant and culturally relative, replicated questions that had been asked in similar surveys in other countries, and provided robust data.

The survey asks questions in eight major areas:
1. Respondents' belief about the prevalence of sex and labor trafficking within and outside their country;
2. Respondents' perceptions about the vulnerability of different demographic groups (*e.g.*, adult women, teenage girls, *etc*.) to sex and labor trafficking;
3. Respondents' source of information about human trafficking;
4. Respondents' level of concern for human trafficking;
5. Respondents' assessment of whether and how much the government should prioritize C-TIP efforts and preference for various government policies;
6. Respondents' assessment of how active in C-TIP efforts various governmental and non-governmental institutions should be;
7. Respondents' assessment of appropriate penalties for sex and labor trafficking offenders; and
8. Respondents' beliefs about the major causes of human trafficking.

The survey also included two experiments. The first experiment manipulates the age of the female victims (women versus girls) and the level of fraud used to recruit the victims (restaurant versus strip club). The second experiment manipulates the means by which victims were trafficked, whether by force, fraud, or coercion. We hypothesize that framing the issue of human trafficking in certain ways—as one that affects minor versus adult females, or where different types of force, fraud, or coercion are used—will affect the way the public views the problem. In Albania specifically, we fielded a third experiment to test the effects of six different public service announcements (PSAs) that were created on a USAID-funded project, The Albanian Initiative: Coordinated Action Against Human Trafficking (CAAHT).

The team contracted with the research firm IDRA in Albania and GfK in Moldova. In each country, we sampled 1,000 nationally representative citizens. Tablets were used to collect survey data in Albania, and paper-and-pencil surveys were collected in Moldova. Data were transmitted to the research team and analyzed using Stata 12.

C. Summary of Findings

How informed does the public perceive themselves to be about human trafficking?
- The majority (64%) of respondents in Albania report being very or somewhat informed about human trafficking.
- A minority (44%) of Moldovans report being very or somewhat informed about human trafficking.

How accurate is the public's understanding about human trafficking?
- Respondents in both Moldova and Albania gave cursory, incomplete, and/or inaccurate responses to the open-ended question of how human trafficking is defined, indicating that a significant percentage of citizens in both countries have a general lack of understanding about human trafficking.
- Respondents in both countries demonstrated a better understanding of human trafficking in the context of prostitution.

Where has the public heard about human trafficking?
- Albanians have heard of human trafficking mostly through TV and newspapers.
- Moldovans have heard of human trafficking mostly through TV and radio.

Who does the public perceive to be at greatest risk of being trafficked?
- Albanians believe teenage girls, ethnic minorities, and rural residents to be most at risk for both sex and labor trafficking.
- Moldovans view individuals from vulnerable families, teenage girls, and rural residents to be most at risk for both sex and labor trafficking.

Who does the public perceive to be at least risk of being trafficked?
- Albanians believe adult men, little boys, and handicapped to be least at risk for both types of trafficking.
- Moldovans perceive men, boys, and ethnic minorities to be least at risk.

How much does the public believe the government should prioritize human trafficking?
- An overwhelming majority of Albanians believe their government should prioritize human trafficking (92% report that it should be a top priority).
- 60% of Moldovans report that human trafficking should be a top government priority.

Who among the public is most informed about human trafficking?
- In Albania, the strongest predictors of knowledge about human trafficking are having greater general political knowledge and having heard about human trafficking from more sources.
- In Moldova, the strongest predictors of knowledge about human trafficking are being female, being more educated, having greater general political knowledge, and having heard about human trafficking from more sources. Minorities and those with traditional attitudes toward women know significantly less than non-minorities and those with more progressive attitudes toward gender roles.

Who among the public is most concerned about human trafficking?
- The most persistent predictors of concern for human trafficking in Albania are being female, being unemployed, having high levels of general political knowledge, and being more informed about human trafficking. Those in Albania who report visiting strip clubs are significantly less concerned about human trafficking.
- The most persistent predictors of concern for human trafficking in Moldova are being female, being older, being a minority, being married, having higher levels of political efficacy (defined as expressing a belief that an individual can influence or participate in government and politics), being more informed about human trafficking, and having heard about human trafficking from a greater number of sources. Those least concerned about human trafficking in Moldova include those with traditional notions of gender roles, those who watch pornography, and those who visit strip clubs.

Who believes human trafficking should be a government priority?
- In Albania, older, educated individuals are significantly more likely than younger, less educated individuals to believe human trafficking should be a top government priority. Those reporting greater concern also believe it should be a high government priority. Those with high levels of political efficacy are significantly less likely than those with lower political efficacy to believe the government should prioritize human trafficking.
- In Moldova, those with greater concern for human trafficking believe it should be a higher government priority. Those that are educated, minorities, and those with high levels of political participation are significantly less likely to believe it should be a government priority.

What does the public believe the punishment should be for human trafficking?
- Prison is the preferred punishment option for both sex and labor trafficking in Albania.
- Prison was the preferable punishment for sex trafficking but not labor trafficking in Moldova.

What type of human trafficking victims (girl or woman) makes the public most concerned and most likely to engage?
- In Albania, the age of a victim (girl or woman) of human trafficking had little effect on affective and likely behavioral responses to human trafficking. All respondents were much more likely to report high levels of concern than to report a desire to take personal action. Female respondents are more likely to express affective and behavioral responses to the various victim frames.
- In Moldova, there was a greater affective and behavioral response when the victim of human trafficking was framed as a girl rather than a woman. All respondents were much more likely to report high levels of concern than to report a desire to take personal action. Female respondents are more likely to express affective and behavioral responses to the various victim frames.

How do the means used by traffickers in severe forms of human trafficking (force, fraud, or coercion) affect the public's response?
- Neither the Albanian nor the Moldovan public differentiate between the means used in severe forms of human trafficking—force, fraud, and coercion—when assigning blame or responsibility for human trafficking.

What types of PSAs are most effective in eliciting affective and behavioral responses?
- The video postcard developed for the Vlora region in Albania was the most effective of those developed in 2005 under the CAAHT program. This was one of the only ads to discuss specific causes of human trafficking, thereby linking and connecting the issue with other salient and relevant issues such as poverty.

D. Policy Implications and Recommendations

Modes of outreach: The modes by which the public reports hearing about human trafficking seem to reflect the modes by which they generally receive their news and information; therefore, anti-trafficking awareness programs may focus on increasing the availability of information on popular platforms in each country. On the other hand, the greater number of sources from which individuals hear about human trafficking, the more knowledge they have about it, indicating that, while it is perhaps most efficient to target those outlets from which most people receive their information (TV and newspapers in Albania, TV and radio in Moldova), more information from more outlets is also effective in increasing knowledge about human trafficking.

Populations to target: Awareness campaigns should specifically target those populations who report knowing less about human trafficking, including men, less educated individuals, and minorities. In addition, since individuals who watch pornography and visit strip clubs report being equally informed but also significantly less concerned about human trafficking, it seems that increasing knowledge and awareness about human trafficking is not enough to change this group's behavior. Research should explore other methods of reaching this segment of the public, including specific demand-reduction models that target the individuals (buyers) and the institutions (sexually oriented businesses). Finally, those with high levels of political efficacy are significantly less likely to support government prioritization of human trafficking. Focusing on this otherwise engaged segment of the population will help build a stronger civil society movement around C-TIP.

Content of messaging: Anti-trafficking campaigns may benefit from highlighting situations in which men and boys are trafficked to increase awareness of risks among this population, since in both Moldova and Albania respondents showed significantly less awareness of male vulnerability to trafficking. In addition, given the strong connection between attitudes about gender equality in general and attitudes about human trafficking, it may be helpful to connect these issues for the public both explicitly and implicitly. This also suggests that programs that promote gender equality have the potential to also affect knowledge about human trafficking.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) could connect these and other dots for the public to develop an increased understanding of the interconnectedness of human trafficking with other government initiatives and priorities. For example, public awareness campaigns on human trafficking would benefit from connecting issues such as poverty, women's rights, economic development, *etc.* CSOs should also consider programs that make explicit connections for the public between commercial sex generally and sex trafficking. In Moldova specifically, programming should focus on the vulnerabilities of ethnic minorities, specifically forced begging among Roma children and forced prostitution among Roma women. These campaigns may serve not only to educate, but also to increase sensitivity toward and tolerance of this historically marginalized minority group.

BACKGROUND

Trafficking in persons is a thriving global business: it generates roughly $32 billion per year in profits (ILO 2005) and victimizes roughly 21 million people around the world (ILO 2012). There are a variety of reasons why transnational human trafficking has flourished in the 21st century, many of which are related to the economic, social, and political implications of globalization (Dinan 2008). The transnational nature of the problem dictates a transnational approach to C-TIP among international organizations and national governments across the globe.

Despite the importance of national government action to combat transnational human trafficking, many countries do not have the capacity or political will to address trafficking within or across their borders. The US Department of State (DOS) publishes an annual *Trafficking in Persons Report* that provides an overview of the trafficking problem within each country and assesses each country's progress according to the "three P" framework—prevention, protection, and prosecution—as set forth in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000. The TIP Report ranks each country's compliance with the "minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking" (Section 108 of the TVPA) on a four-point scale: Tier 1, Tier 2, Tier 2 Watch List, and Tier 3.[3]

Between 2001 and 2011, USAID focused more than half of its C-TIP funding in only ten countries: Albania, Bangladesh, Brazil, Cambodia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mexico, Moldova, the Philippines, Russia, and Ukraine (USAID 2012).[4] To continue to make strategic investments in C-TIP programming in the areas of prevention and protection, USAID has funded the present research, which explores public opinion on human trafficking in two of these countries: Albania and Moldova.

A. Theoretical Framework

Through this research, we endeavored to understand public knowledge of and concern for human trafficking in order to better determine: 1) whether knowledge and concern predict first-person (personal) civic behavior relevant to human trafficking, and 2) whether knowledge and concern predict support for third-party (government) behavior/action relevant to human trafficking.

Vast bodies of social psychological literature suggest that behavior is motivated by attitudes, and that attitudes are comprised of cognitive and affective dimensions (*e.g.*, Eagly and Chaiken 1993).[5] Cognition

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[3] Tier 1 countries are those that address the problem of human trafficking within their borders most aggressively, and are considered in full compliance with the TVPA's minimum standards for steps necessary to eliminate trafficking. Tier 2 countries are those that do not fully comply with the minimum standards but whose governments are taking significant steps to do so; Tier 2 Watch List countries are those that also do not fully comply, whose populations are significantly vulnerable to severe forms of trafficking, but whose governments have taken initial steps to address the problem. Tier 3 countries are those that both do not fully comply with TVPA's minimum standards and whose governments are not taking steps to do so.

[4] It is important to note that USAID's engagement in C-TIP has been relatively limited, primarily due to the statutory roles and responsibilities set forth in the TVPA wherein the DOS is placed at the helm of US global anti-trafficking efforts. See Bouché (2014) for more on the delegation of authority in the TVPA and the potential implications of this delegated authority.

[5] It is important to note that attitudes can drive behavior if the behavior aligns with the attitude. However, if a behavior conflicts with an attitude, generating cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957), then "motivated reasoning" may facilitate a change in attitude (Lodge and Taber 2013). For example, if an individual is knowledgeable and

is defined as the amount of knowledge an individual possesses about something, and affect is the level of positive or negative emotions an individual feels about something. In this study, we operationalize the cognitive dimension of attitude toward human trafficking as the amount of knowledge an individual possesses about it. We operationalize the affective dimension of attitude toward human trafficking as the amount of concern an individual feels about it. Thus, in general, social psychological theory regarding the relationship between attitudes and behavior would predict that high amounts of knowledge and concern will yield a strong attitude about human trafficking, and that attitude will motivate personal civic behavior related to human trafficking, as well as support for government action in combatting human trafficking.
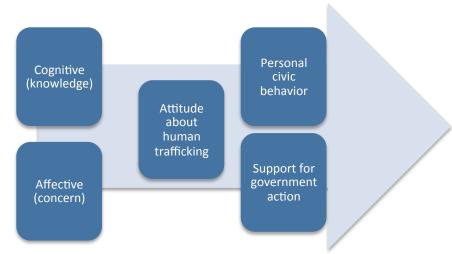
Figure 1: Behavior Change Model

We argue, however, that in post-communist contexts, a strong attitude about human trafficking will not compel personal civic behavior regarding the issue of human trafficking, but that it will predict support for government action on human trafficking. The reason is that civic engagement in post-communist countries is very weak, especially compared to other Western democracies (*e.g.*, Howard 2003; Mondak and Gearing 1998; Smith 2009). Reasons that have been posited for weak civic engagement in post-communist counties include low political efficacy, or feeling that their political voice and behaviors do not make much of a difference (*e.g.*, Mihaylova 2004). On the other hand, totalitarian control over public affairs under communist regimes led to an expectation among the public that the government will act on social problems (Badescu, Sum, and Uslaner 2004). In other words, there is the idea within post-communist publics that personal civic behavior is less effective than government action.

Therefore, although the cognitive and affective dimensions of attitude formation generally predict behavioral outcomes, we hypothesize that this is not the case under the condition of being a post-communist state when the specific behavior of interest is civic in nature. We argue that cognitive and

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concerned about human trafficking, it may drive him/her to volunteer for an organization. On the other hand, if an individual purchases commercial sex acts, then this behavior would be in conflict with an attitude of concern about human trafficking (holding knowledge constant). Thus, rather than change behavior (*i.e.,* stop purchasing commercial sex), the person will resolve this dissonance through motivated reasoning and develop an attitude that is less concerned about human trafficking.

affective attitudes toward human trafficking will significantly predict support for government action against human trafficking (*e.g.*, passing legislation or training law enforcement), but that these attitudes will not significantly predict an individual's likelihood to get involved in C-TIP actions (*e.g.*, by volunteering or voting on the issue).

Finally, we explore how issue framing and messaging affects public concern for human trafficking and public involvement in anti-trafficking efforts. From a most basic perspective, framing is the way in which a political issue or social experience is constructed by the media, politicians, and policy advocates; frames help the public to conceptualize and categorize an issue (Iyengar 1991; Nelson and Kinder 1996). The way that an issue is framed has a significant impact on public interest in, understanding of, and support for that issue (*e.g.,* Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley 1997). As a complex and nuanced subject, human trafficking can be framed in a multitude of ways, and we hypothesize that different issue frames will affect attitude formation, which in turn influences behavior.

B. Country Context

We examine our research questions in the context of two countries: Albania and Moldova. We chose these countries for three primary reasons. First, they are both countries that, after opening their borders and liberalizing their economies, have putatively experienced a surge in human trafficking. Therefore, they both need strong, effective C-TIP programs to address this increase in trafficking. Second, between 2001 and 2014, both Albania and Moldova have been ranked by the TIP Report as Tier 3 and Tier 2 Watchlist in various years. In order to maintain a Tier 2 status, or move to Tier 1, it is imperative that these countries not only develop but also implement programs and policies that demonstrate effective prevention, protection, and prosecution. Finally, they are among the ten countries in which USAID invested over half of its C-TIP funding between 2001 and 2011, and are therefore of particular interest to USAID.

i. Albania

Albania saw a great deal of political change and upheaval in the 1940s. With the invasion and occupation of first the Italians in 1939, and then the Germans in 1943, an Albanian communist resistance group formed in 1941 and ultimately led to a communist revolution in 1944. Albania was a communist country until 1992 when the Democratic Party of Albania defeated the Communist Party in a parliamentary election. However, in the immediate aftermath of democratization, Albania experienced an increase in poverty and social instability (Campbell 2013, Lindstrom 2004).

According to scholars, "Poverty, state collapse, and newfound potential for mobility contributed to what intergovernmental and UN agencies estimate as the trafficking of 100,000 Albania women and girls" (Campbell 2013, p87). Many believe that poverty is what drives both the traffickers seeking to earn money off the sale of humans, as well as the victims who are desperate for a different life and are therefore vulnerable to fraud.[6] Others argue that social factors, including patriarchal norms and sex-based discrimination in Albania, have also contributed to the trafficking of women (Kara 2010, Van Hook *et al.* 2006). Other factors include discrimination against minority groups, such as the Roma, who are often exploited in prostitution rings.[7]

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[6] Information obtained from interview with Save the Children in Albania.
[7] Information obtained from interview with Serious Crimes Court.

From immediately after the collapse of communism to approximately 2009, Albania became and still is mostly a source country for human trafficking. Most commonly, Albanians are trafficked to Italy and Greece, but other destinations include the United Kingdom, Sweden, Germany, and Switzerland, often through organized criminal networks.[8] External trafficking from Albania to Kosovo also takes place, especially for minority children who are forced, often by their families, to beg.[9]

Although internal trafficking in Albania has been an increasing trend since 2004, it was not until 2010 that internal trafficking began to outpace external trafficking. In 2010, approximately 70% of all trafficking cases at the Vatra PsychoSocial Center, a shelter for trafficking victims, were Albanians being trafficked inside Albania, while only 30% involved Albanians being trafficked to another country (Vatra PsychoSocial Center 2010). The internal trafficking that takes place involves mostly girls from rural areas that are trafficked to urban areas for the purpose of sexual exploitation.[10] During the summer months, children are trafficked to the coast where they are forced to beg.[11] Additionally, Albania is a destination country for Russian, Ukrainian, and Philippino victims trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation, domestic servitude, babysitting, and massage parlors.[12]

The Albanian government's efforts to combat human trafficking have significantly increased in the last 10 years. In 2000, Albania passed its first criminal law on human trafficking. Penal Code, Article 110/a criminalizes trafficking in persons, 114/b criminalizes trafficking of women, and 128/b criminalizes trafficking of minors (of which child pornography is a sub-category). In June 2013, Albania amended 110 to add language about trafficking internal to Albania, which makes it easier to bring internal trafficking cases to the Serious Crimes Court.

Albania has set up an Anti-Trafficking Task Force, comprised of directors and vice ministers of the relevant government agencies and headed by the National Coordinator for Human Trafficking who holds a vice minister title in the Ministry of Interior.[13] The Responsible Authority—comprised of specialists in the respective government agencies, as well as other experts and service providers—reports to the Task Force. In 2011, Albania developed a new anti-trafficking strategy and action plan, which includes awareness-raising campaigns, capacity-building for police and NGOs, and a standard operating procedure to identify victims and potential victims of human trafficking. There is also one national shelter with 80 beds for intake of female and child victims of trafficking where they receive health and psychological services for three to six months. In 2012, the respective members of the Anti-Trafficking Task Force and Responsible Authority entered into a cooperation agreement regarding referring victims and potential victims of trafficking in persons.

A variety of Albanian NGOs are active in anti-trafficking efforts. Three NGOs—Different & Equal, Other Vision, and Vatra PsychoSocial Center—run longer-term protection programs for trafficking victims in

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[8] Information obtained from interviews with Albanian State Social Service and Anti-Trafficking Coordinator within the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[9] Information obtained from interview with Albanian State Social Service.

[10] *Ibid*.

[11] *Ibid*.

[12] Information obtained from interviews with Albanian State Social Service and Anti-Trafficking Coordinator within the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[13] The members of the task force include police, border patrol, Ministry of Interior Affairs, State Social Service, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Health, Ministry of Education, and Coalition of Shelters.

their shelters. These and other organizations (*e.g.*, Save the Children and Caritas) also run prevention programs including outreach to vulnerable populations such as street children and women in rural areas. NGOs have employed leaflets, billboards, posters, radio programs, documentaries, and school programs to educate the public and vulnerable populations on human trafficking (Bekteshi, Gjermeni, and Van Hook 2012). World Vision Albania worked in collaboration with NetHope and the Vodafone Albania Foundation to develop an app through which people can report suspected cases of human trafficking or find services. Different & Equal started a social enterprise, New York Tirana Bagels, which employs trafficking survivors and funds reintegration services. It also publishes graphic novels on human trafficking as a means of raising awareness. The Institute of Gender Applied Policies conducted a door-to-door information campaign in rural Albania targeted at vulnerable women and girls.

The US government and other international actors also have been active in anti-trafficking efforts in Albania. For example, USAID invested over $14 million to combat trafficking in persons in Albania between 2003 and 2011. Under one of these programs, CAAHT, implemented by Creative Associates, six "video postcards" were produced, highlighting anti-trafficking NGOs and the anti-trafficking work being done in six regions of Albania. USAID and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) have partnered with the Albanian government to fund a variety of different public awareness materials and campaigns, as well as the publication of the standard operating procedures produced by the Ministry of Interior. USAID also partnered with MTV Exit in Albania to raise awareness about human trafficking. More recently, USAID—in collaboration with UNICEF and the Austrian, Swiss, and Swedish development agencies ADC, SDC, and SIDA, respectively—supported efforts to support Terre Des Hommes and its partner coalition "Together Against Child Trafficking" in Albania to build the foundations for an institutionalized system of protection for children at risk and victims of trafficking and other forms of exploitation. USAID also supported an Android app to combat trafficking in Albania.

The *TIP Report* placed Albania on Tier 3 in 2001, Tier 2 from 2002 to 2007, Tier 2 Watch List in 2008, Tier 2 from 2009 to 2012, Tier 2 Watch List again in 2013, and back to Tier 2 in 2014. As Albania continues its anti-trafficking prevention, protection, and prosecution work, it becomes increasingly important to understand Albanian public opinion on the issue in order to develop targeted programs with maximum effectiveness. Notably missing from our current understanding of human trafficking in Albania is what the public knows and how they know it. This research fills this gap in knowledge as a means to inform future programs.

ii. Moldova

Moldova was part of the Soviet Union from 1940 until 1991, when it gained independence. Its transition to a free market economy resulted in an economic crisis, widespread poverty, and political and social instability. With its borders open, by 1999 mass migration became a problem as Moldovans sought opportunity abroad (Ganta 2013). A study from 2006 reported that up to 87% of young Moldovan residents (aged 18 – 29) hoped to leave the country in search for legal earnings elsewhere (Martin 2006). As in Albania, the combination of these economic, political, and social factors created serious vulnerabilities to human trafficking among Moldovans desperate for work abroad, leading to an estimated 100,000 Moldovan victims of trafficking in the past two decades (Martin 2006).

Moldova is predominately a source country for human trafficking, with reported cases of Moldovans being trafficked to countries across the world, including neighboring countries, the Balkans, the Middle East (especially the United Arab Emirates), and Asia (Hughes and Denisova 2002; Martin 2006). North

Cyprus is a particularly problematic destination.[14] Lured by false promises of conventional employment as au pairs, babysitters, or waitresses, many Moldovan women are sold into prostitution rings and held captive by means of force and psychological coercion (Sturtees 2008).[15] Until 2012, most cases of human trafficking were for the purpose of sexual exploitation, but in recent years the number of labor trafficking cases has increased, especially among men trafficked to Russia and Ukraine for agriculture and construction.[16] Trafficking internal to Moldova mostly comprises cases of forced begging.

Moldova criminalized human trafficking in 2005, and the law differentiates between trafficking in persons, trafficking in children, and exploitation of a person. In 2008, Moldova set up the institutional framework to address human trafficking issues in the country, which includes the National Committee and territorial commissions. The National Committee is comprised of government officials, law enforcement, and NGOs that operate in the anti-trafficking space. The territorial commissions are under the authority of local government officials, and they collectively oversee the work of 35 multidisciplinary teams (MDTs) that are comprised of a social assistance worker, police, medical personnel, a teacher, and a local community leader. The territorial commissions report to the National Committee twice per year, and in 2013 new regulations governing the work of the MDTs were passed to delineate the standard operating procedure when a trafficking victim is identified. In addition, the Ministry of Labor, Social Protection, and Family runs a shelter for trafficking victims in Chisinau.

A variety of NGOs and international organizations are also engaging in C-TIP work in Moldova. For example, La Strada has assisted victims by running a hotline since 2001, and also offers legal and counseling services. La Strada also deploys different awareness-raising and advocacy campaigns, including peer-to-peer education in schools and summer camps, and publishing research reports. Terra des Hommes works directly with vulnerable children, and is currently partnering with IOM to build a shelter for children in Chisinau. IOM developed a National Referral System in 2006 (now run by the Ministry of Labor, Social Protection, and Family), established a shelter for repatriated victims in 2008 (now run by Ministry of Labor, Social Protection, and Family), and sponsors the return of victims who have been trafficked abroad. The OSCE also works in Moldova to train judges and prosecutors on human trafficking. Since 2011, they have also been training police officers specifically on how to recognize trafficking on the Internet, given the prevalence of recruitment that takes place through social networking sites, as well as other online exploitation such as child pornography.

Between 2004 and 2011, USAID invested over $7 million to combat trafficking in persons. During this period, for example, USAID funded Development Alternatives, Inc (DAI) to write a report on human trafficking in Moldova (Arnold and Doni 2002). More recently, USAID's Country Development and Cooperation Strategy (2013 – 2017) for Moldova incorporates anti-trafficking activities into the broader development narrative (USAID 2012b). The US DOS and the EU have both put significant pressure on the Moldovan government to address human trafficking more aggressively, and both have funded a variety of anti-trafficking activities, including advocacy and awareness-raising campaigns (Ganta 2013). The

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[14] Information obtained from interviews with US embassy officials in Moldova and staff of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

[15] Not all victims are told fraudulent stories about the work they will perform. For example, IOM notes that 4.5% of trafficking victims it has helped knew they would engage in sex work upon their arrival abroad, but were then forced, coerced, and withheld their wages (IOM 2005).

[16] Information obtained from interview with US embassy officials in Moldova and staff of the OSCE.

DOS's *TIP Report* placed Moldova in Tier 2 from 2001 to 2006, Tier 2 Watchlist in 2007, Tier 3 in 2008, Tier 2 Watchlist in 2009 and 2010, and back to Tier 2 from 2011 to 2014.

Public opinion on human trafficking in Moldova has been assessed in one small-scale study, which indicates that, at least in Chisinau, the public is generally aware of trafficking and some can even distinguish between prostitution and sex trafficking (Robinson 2011). An earlier but much broader survey of public attitudes toward and knowledge of human trafficking conducted in Belarus, Bulgaria, Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine (GfK 2006) reported varying levels of understanding of the phenomenon. Generally speaking, despite the public awareness campaigns that have taken place through leaflets, flashmobs, TV programs, and newspaper reports, it is unclear what the public knows, how accurate their understanding is, and how effective these campaigns have been; identifiable subgroups also possess different understandings. This report builds on previous public opinion work conducted in Moldova on human trafficking by fielding a more comprehensive survey experiment on a large, representative sample of Moldovans.

C. Methodology

The objective of this study is to understand the overall perceptions of human trafficking among Albanian and Moldovan citizens; variances in these perceptions given demographic subtleties; and how to frame the issue in order to increase cognitive, affective, and behavioral engagement most effectively. Thus, the research team developed and fielded a nationally representative survey experiment in Albania and Moldova, which not only allowed us to assess what average citizens in both countries currently know about human trafficking, and how much they have learned over the last several years, but also how messaging that seeks to reduce both the supply of and demand for human trafficking could most effectively be framed.

i. Scoping the Landscape

The research team took several steps before designing the survey to help inform the instrument. First, the team conducted a thorough review of the literature on human trafficking in Albania and Moldova, with particular attention to previous work in these countries on public opinion. This review not only provided us with important background on human trafficking in each country, but also pointed us to questions from previous surveys that we were able to replicate to assess changes over time.[17]

Next, the research team conducted fieldwork in Albania and Moldova. In each country, we conducted unstructured, open-ended interviews with a variety of governmental and non-governmental actors, including CSOs, international organizations, and US government agencies. These interviews assisted the research team in understanding the various nuances of human trafficking in each country, national and international responses, and governmental and non-governmental perceptions, all of which helped inform the development of a culturally relevant and culturally relative survey instrument.

ii. Designing the Survey Experiment

Three of the four researchers on this project previously had conducted a public opinion survey experiment in the US, which they revised to maximize cultural relevance for Albania and Moldova.[18] In

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[17] While we included these replication questions on the Albanian instrument, we can use them only to assess change over time in Moldova because they were not previously asked in the Albanian country context.

[18] Co-Principal Investigators on the US public opinion survey are Vanessa Bouché, Amy Farrell, and Dana Wittmer.

addition, we replicated questions from previous surveys deployed in Moldova and leveraged information obtained from stakeholder interviews in each country. Overall, the structure of the survey follows that of the typical US public opinion survey, with country-specific nuances.

There were several methodological issues to which we paid particular attention. First is priming effects: to minimize the likelihood that respondents would tailor their answers to non-trafficking questions based on "gaming" that the survey is about human trafficking, we placed all non-demographic questions at the beginning of the survey. Specifically, we asked about all of the following things prior to ever mentioning the term "human trafficking": local, national, and international news consumption; political participation; political efficacy; political trust; deviant behavior; concern and appropriate penalties for prostitution; political knowledge; and perceived prevalence of forced labor, sex, and begging. Separating these questions from the topic of human trafficking is important because we can confidently examine whether people that are more concerned about prostitution or perceive a higher prevalence of forced labor also report higher knowledge of and concern for human trafficking.

A second methodological issue involved how to handle sensitive questions that respondents likely would be either uncomfortable answering (therefore leading to a potential non-response) or to which respondents would have a high likelihood of providing erroneous responses as a result of social desirability bias. To make respondents more comfortable with these sensitive questions, those portions of the survey were self-administered. We had three different self-administered sections: 1) reporting deviant behavior, including whether the respondent has purchased sex, watched pornography, or sold sex; 2) reporting personal experience with human trafficking (*i.e.*, whether they, their family members, or friends had been trafficked and the details of the situation); and 3) reporting how morally acceptable the respondent believes certain behaviors are. The interviewer would provide the respondents with these questions on a sheet of paper, who would then self-report their answers to the sensitive questions and place the responses in a sealed envelope. Their unique identification number appeared on the envelope and was later matched to their survey responses during the data input process. This method maintained the anonymity and confidentiality of the self-administered responses.[19]

Third, another purpose of the survey was to gauge knowledge about human trafficking. We did this in two ways. First, we asked respondents to self-report how informed they are about human trafficking.[20] Responses were coded on a scale from 1 (very informed) to 5 (not at all informed). For these analyses, we reverse coded the scale so that higher numerical responses indicate more awareness. Second, with the understanding that respondents may overestimate their own knowledge about human trafficking, we also asked them to provide an open-ended definition of human trafficking. We then developed a

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[19] This methodology worked well in Albania and Moldova because the literacy rates are high in both countries. In countries with lower literacy rates, self-administered survey questions are more challenging; however, other options may include use of a tablet or other device into which ear phones can be plugged that could read the questions to respondents and guide them in the answer selection or use interactive voice response technology.

[20] In the US survey, we presented statements, some true and some false, about human trafficking (without using the term human trafficking), and asked respondents to report whether the statement is true or false to generate the proportion of statements they answer correctly. While this may be the more objective way to measure knowledge, we used the self-report measure in the Albania and Moldova context for length considerations.

protocol to code these open-ended responses. We coded for definitional mentions of who the primary victims are, as well as for perceptions of the act, means, and purpose constituting human trafficking.

Another methodological issue was how to ensure uniformity of interpretation of human trafficking questions in order to maximize internal validity and data quality. Thus, after addressing the priming issues and asking respondents to self-report how informed they are about human trafficking and to provide open-ended definitions of human trafficking, we presented the respondents with the actual definition of human trafficking in layman's terms per the legal definitions in the two respective countries. Providing the definition to all respondents was the best method to ensure that all subsequent questions about human trafficking would be interpreted through the same definitional lens. Below are the definitions of human trafficking provided to respondents:

Albania: *In simple terms, the definition of human trafficking in the Criminal Code of the Republic of Albania is: "Using force, threat of force, coercion, kidnapping, or fraud in order to recruit, transport, transfer, harbour, or receive a person for the purpose of sexual exploitation or prostitution, forced services or work, or other forms of slavery and exploitation, or giving or receiving payments or benefits to a person who controls another person in exchange for sex or labor. Trafficking a child under the age of 18 for the purposes of exploitation does not require force, fraud, or other forms of coercion."*

Moldova: *In simple terms, the definition of human trafficking in Moldova is: "Using force, threat of force, fraud, coercion, abusing authority or taking advantage of a person's vulnerability to recruit, transport, or use a person for the purposes of labor or sex. Trafficking a child under the age of 18 for the purposes of exploitation does not require force, fraud, or other forms of coercion."*

A fifth challenge was how to ensure that questions about personal experiences with human trafficking were answered honestly and with an accurate understanding of what the human trafficking experience entails per the legal definition in each country. We addressed this in two ways. First, we asked questions about personal experiences with human trafficking (including whether friends and family have experienced human trafficking) immediately after they received the definition of human trafficking. In other words, just after being primed with the accurate legal definition, we asked them to tell us if this sounds like something they or someone they know have experienced. However, given the sensitive nature of the subject, these questions were self-administered (in the manner discussed above) to avoid embarrassment, retraumatization, and social desirability bias, and to maximize the likelihood of respondents providing the most honest answers possible.

Only after all of these methodological challenges were taken into consideration were we able to move forward with the specific survey questions regarding all of the following: how common respondents believe sex and labor trafficking to be inside and outside their respective country, how vulnerable they perceive different groups of Albanians and Moldovans to be to sex and labor trafficking (*e.g.*, adult women, teenage girls, *etc.*), where they have heard of human trafficking, level of concern for human trafficking, how much and what the government should prioritize in the anti-trafficking policy space, how active various governmental and non-governmental institutions should be in combatting human trafficking, appropriate penalties for sex and labor trafficking offenders, and what they believe to be the major causes of human trafficking.

In order to examine causal questions about the effect of issue-framing on affective and behavioral responses, we designed two framing experiments. There are two reasons this is an ideal method. First, random assignment to conditions and the manipulation of one independent variable at a time allows us to isolate the causal mechanism behind changes in attitudes and beliefs. Second, experimentation does not restrict us to what has occurred; we can explore the effects of what has been and what could be, which is ideal when trying to find new ways to increase public awareness of and interest in the issue of human trafficking. Thus, the first experiment manipulates who was trafficked (women versus girls) and what the victims believed they would be doing (working in a restaurant versus working in a strip club) when they were trafficked for sex. The second framing experiment manipulates the means of being trafficked by force, fraud, or coercion.

Finally, the Albania study tested the effects of six different PSAs created under the USAID-funded CAAHT program, implemented by Creative Associates. Using a non-equivalent group design, we showed each PSA to respondents in the region for which the PSA was created (*i.e.*, they were not randomly assigned). While non-random assignment does not allow us to make causal claims about why one PSA is more effective than another, we can assess the comparative effectiveness by controlling for a variety of demographic characteristics and using one PSA as the baseline against which to compare the others.

iii.   Sampling Frame

In each country, we sampled 1,000 nationally representative citizens. The sampling frame in each country was territorial and based on a four-stage procedure:

1. Stratification at the regional level based on continuous selection.
2. Stratification at the settlement (city/village) level using a quota calculation on every settlement size in every region.
3. Clustering technique using PPS (probability, proportional to size) software that selects the specific settlements.
4. Clustering technique based on post office and specific polling point at the post area. Selection of respondent was based on the last-birthday method, or the adult member of the household who last celebrated their birthday.

There are several benefits of this type of sampling strategy. First, the same strategy is used in both urban and rural areas, which minimizes sampling error and maximizes precision of research data. A second benefit is that there is random selection at the final stage of the sampling process rather than quota selection based on demographic characteristics. This means that the data are not skewed toward respondents that are more accessible, and applying these systematic rules means sampling does not depend on interviewer affection.

While we use probability samples from Albania and Moldova with an adequate coverage of both rural and urban population in both countries, a comparison between local censuses and our data on other demographic characteristics indicates some discrepancies. Females are somewhat disproportionately represented in both samples (by 1% in Moldova and by almost 6% in Albania). The mean and median age of the Moldovan and Albanian respondents is 7 – 10 years older relative to the figures presented by local censuses (Intstat 2011; Statistica Moldovei 2015). However, the actual extent of these discrepancies is difficult to gauge because the quality of the census data has been questioned by the

Council of Europe (2012). GfK provided us with weights (based on local census) for the Moldovan survey, but IDRA did not provide weights for the Albanian data. Given the lack of weighted data for both samples, and the questions regarding the veracity of the actual gender ratio and the average age of Moldovans and Albanians, we opted not to use demographic weights in our study. We do not believe this significantly affects the reliability of our data or our ability to make inferences about the general population.

iv. Administering the Survey

IDRA translated the survey instrument and informed consent form into Albanian, and GfK translated them into Russian and Romanian. The translation took place in two phases. First, the instrument was translated from English into each language, then the Albanian, Romanian, and Russian versions were translated back into English to identify any confusing concepts and clarify language. Revisions were made to the instrument in English.

Both survey firms piloted the instrument with small samples of 10 to 15 individuals. The pre-testing highlighted some confusing questions and concepts that we were able to revise prior to the full deployment of the instrument. With the final questionnaire developed, both research firms employed face-to-face interviewing with their respective nationally representative samples. The interviewers were not only trained and experienced with interview techniques (so as to minimize interviewer effects), but also trained in the survey instrument itself. In the event a subject needed clarification about the meaning of a question, for example, all interviewers were trained with what the questions were intended to gauge so there was consistency in interpreting questions across interviewers.

In Albania, IDRA used tablets to field the survey. There were several benefits to this method. First, it minimizes error that may occur as a result of manual coding of paper responses. Second, IDRA was able to embed the PSAs into the survey program for quick and easy viewing by subjects. Finally, respondents were able to self-report in a more streamlined manner that minimized paper and the likelihood of losing responses in transit. In Moldova, however, the survey was administered on paper. We did not experiment with video PSAs in Moldova, so the paper administration was not a design limitation.

FINDINGS

A. Section 1: Attitudes about Human Trafficking

As previously stated, attitudes have cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions. In other words, there is a variety of factors—including knowledge about, emotions toward, and experiences with human trafficking—that shape individual perceptions of or attitudes toward human trafficking. Studying how these attitudes are produced is a necessary step toward understanding how individuals act. As such, this section provides the overall survey results in both Albania and Moldova that shed light on attitudes and behaviors related to human trafficking. These include personal experiences with human trafficking, how informed respondents are about human trafficking, where they obtained their information about human trafficking, respondents' perceived risk of vulnerability to being trafficked, their perceptions about appropriate government responses to the problem, and their level of concern about human trafficking.
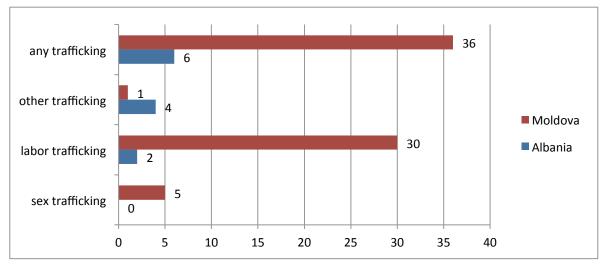
i. Personal Experiences with Trafficking

The study provided respondents with definitions of human trafficking consistent with the legal definitions of trafficking in Moldova and Albania. Immediately after reading the definition, respondents were asked a battery of questions about whether they or someone they know has experienced human trafficking. These questions were self-administered in a private setting by respondents to increase the accuracy of self-reports (Tourangeau and Smith 1996).

In Albania, the non-response rate to the questions about personal experience with human trafficking was 2.7%. Only six of the 1,000 Albanian survey participants reported that they experienced the conditions consistent with the definitions of human trafficking in their country. None of the Albanian respondents reported being a victim of sex trafficking, two people reported having been trafficked for labor, and four respondents report being a victim of "other" types of trafficking.

The response rate in Moldova to the personal experience questions was 100%. A total of 36 of the 1,000 Moldovan survey participants experienced the conditions consistent with their country's definitions of human trafficking. The vast majority of human trafficking cases reported by Moldovans constitute labor trafficking. Only five respondents said they were victims of sex trafficking, and one person reported being a victim of an "other" type of trafficking.

The next set of questions, also self-administered, asked about the number of people known to respondents who may have experienced various types of human trafficking. Overall, the number of respondents who personally know a victim of human trafficking is higher relative to the previous questions about personal experience.

Figure 2: Number of Respondents Who Personally Experienced Human Trafficking

A total of 41 Albanians (or 4.1% of the sample) indicated that they knew someone who had been trafficked. Of these, 23 respondents indicated they knew somebody who experienced sex trafficking. This figure is inconsistent with the reports of personal victimization in which no Albanian respondents admitted to having been trafficked for the purpose of sex.

In Moldova, 63 respondents (6.2%) reported knowing someone who had experienced human trafficking. Consistent with reports about personal victimization, the majority of Moldovans (49 out of these 63) reported labor trafficking victimization to be prevalent among the people they knew.

The relatively low percentage of those admitting any type of exposure to trafficking, personal or vicarious, prevents us from drawing firm conclusions on the subject. Moreover, though we have taken necessary precautions to reassure respondents of the anonymity and confidentiality of their responses, our data may still be subject to information withdrawal and under-reporting. Future research could use more than one method of eliciting information about experiences with trafficking from respondents.
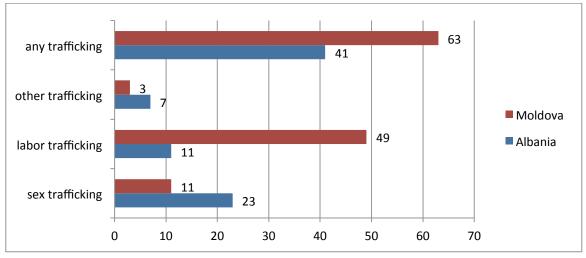
Figure 3: Number of Respondents Who Knew Someone Who Experienced Human Trafficking

ii.   Knowledge of Trafficking and Exposure to Information

In order to determine how knowledgeable respondents think they are about human trafficking, we asked them to self-assess how informed they felt about human trafficking in their own country, with response options ranging from "very informed" to "not informed at all." The majority of Albanians (64%) report that they are very or somewhat informed about human trafficking. 12 percent of Albanians thought they were not informed about human trafficking at all. Only 1% of Albanians report never hearing of human trafficking prior to taking the survey.
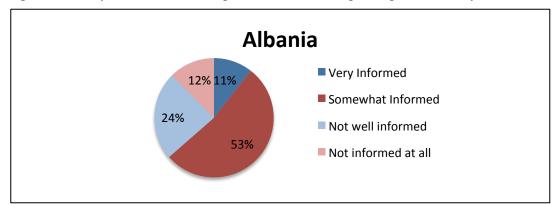
Figure 4: Self-Report Data on Knowledge of Human Trafficking among Albanian Respondents

On the other hand, only 44% of Moldovan respondents indicated they were either very informed or somewhat informed about human trafficking, and approximately one-quarter reported that they were not at all informed. Five percent of Moldovans state that they never heard of human trafficking prior to the survey. The difference in means across the two countries for each of these questions is statistically significant, indicating that, at least in respondents' self-assessment, awareness about trafficking is significantly higher in Albania than in Moldova.
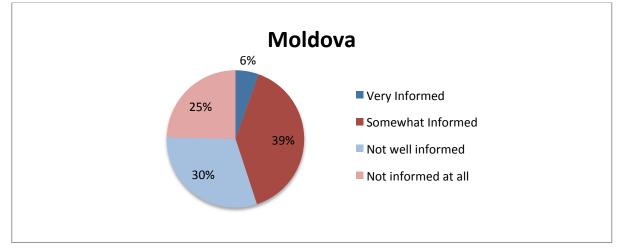
Figure 5: Self-Report Data on Knowledge of Human Trafficking among Moldovan Respondents

Another way to assess respondents' knowledge and understanding of human trafficking is to ask them to define it. In the survey, both Moldovan and Albanian respondents were asked to describe, in their own words, what they understood trafficking to be. All responses were then coded into categories describing respondents' understanding of the nature of human trafficking, including its victims, purpose, acts, and means used by perpetrators to commit this crime. Our findings, presented in Table 1, indicate that over 8% of Albanians and 21% of Moldovans were unable or unwilling to define human trafficking. Thirty-seven percent of Albanians and 53% of Moldovans identified people in general as victims of human trafficking. Albanians were somewhat more inclined to see women and children specifically as likely victims (18% and 13%, respectively), whereas Moldovans were more likely to see girls in this role.

Approximately 13% of Moldovans and slightly more than 7% of Albanians included individuals as perpetrators in the definition ("somebody who profits on someone else's back"; "exploitation of men by men"). Doing so humanizes human trafficking and underscores the fact that real people victimize others in this type of crime.

Many definitions included different types of acts associated with the crime of human trafficking. Common definitions of human trafficking by both Albanians and Moldovans included the acts of moving/transporting and selling people. Over 10% of Albanians and 15% of Moldovans believe that human trafficking requires some movement or transporting of a person. Twenty-seven percent of Albanians and 31% of Moldovans mentioned that human trafficking is selling a person. Over 15% of Albanians thought of kidnapping as something human trafficking may entail, and 18% of Albanians included profit in their definition of human trafficking. Kidnapping and profit were not as commonly mentioned among Moldovans.

Overall, more Moldovans than Albanians mentioned the severe means by which perpetrators may traffic, including force, fraud, or coercion. Almost 15% of Moldovans mentioned force and/or fraud in their definition of human trafficking, which is more than double the percentage of Albanians that mentioned these severe means of trafficking in persons.

Because sex trafficking has attracted a great deal of attention in both Moldova and Albania, Moldovans and Albanians were almost equally likely to associate human trafficking with prostitution, with 17% of Albanians and almost 20% of Moldovans naming prostitution as the purpose for which people are trafficked. More Moldovans than Albanians included labor in their definitions of trafficking (12.5% versus 4.5%). Over 10% of Moldovans mentioned the word "slavery" in their definition of human trafficking, whereas only two Albanians in the sample of 1,000 mentioned the word "slavery." Some Albanians named begging as an activity used to exploit trafficking victims (4.3% in Albania versus 1.2% in Moldova). Eleven percent of Albanians and 7% of Moldovans associated human trafficking with organ trafficking.

Overall, these results show that, in both countries, human trafficking is commonly thought of as primarily sex trafficking, and women or young girls are seen as the most likely victims. At the same time, the discrepancies in definitions indicate significant differences in how Albanians and Moldovans understand human trafficking. Some of these differences, such as the purpose for which people are trafficked, could be attributed to personal experiences with trafficking or the rumors about family members' and friends' experiences. More importantly, our findings indicate a lack of understanding about the proper definition of human trafficking among a significant percentage of the Moldovan and Albanian public. Definitions were often cursory, non-comprehensive, and vague ("exploitation of humans due to bad economic situation"; "selling for prostitution or for begging"; "illegal trafficking of people, regardless of age, for a certain amount of money"). This poor understanding likely contributes to individual susceptibility to trafficking as well as some persons' willingness to "take a risk and land a job abroad."

Table 1 Analysis of Trafficking Definitions Provided by Albanian and Moldovan Respondents

	Albania		Moldova	
	N	%	N	%
Unsure Responses				
No response/Don't know	86	8.6	212	21.2
Victims				
People/humans	375	37.5	530	53.0
Foreign nationals/immigrants	89	8.9	112	11.2
Illegal immigrants	2	<1	11	1.1
Women	186	18.6	24	2.4
Children/minors	138	13.8	40	4.0
Girls	50	5.0	75	7.5
Men	38	3.8	16	1.6
Adults	6	<1.0	1	<1.0
Boys	3	<1.0	2	<1.0
Albanian/Moldovan Citizens	23	2.3	12	1.2
Perpetrators	70	7.0	138	13.8
Acts				
Moving/transporting	105	10.5	158	15.8

	Albania		Moldova	
	N	%	N	%
Selling	270	27.0	314	31.4
Kidnapping	153	15.3	44	4.4
Illegal border crossing	3	<1.0	14	1.4
Buying	5	<1.0	12	1.2
Smuggling	2	<1.0	30	3.0
Profiting	182	18.2	50	5.0
Trading	6	<1.0	1	<1.0
Owning	2	<1.0	6	<1.0
Means				
Without consent	44	4.4	50	5.0
Force	75	7.5	149	14.9
Fraud	26	2.6	145	14.5
Coercion	6	<1.0	89	8.9
Purpose				
Undefined purpose	560	56.0	96	9.6
Prostitution	172	17.2	191	19.1
Begging	43	4.3	12	1.2
Sex	12	1.2	30	3.0
Sex and labor	9	<1.0	26	2.6
Drugs	10	<1.0	1	<1.0
Labor	49	4.9	101	10.1
Pornography	0	0	0	0
Slavery	2	<1.0	103	10.3
Organs	118	11.8	71	7.1
Cause				
Poor conditions	7	<1.0	14	1.4

To help understand some of the likely causes of the differences between how knowledgeable the public is about human trafficking, we asked where respondents had heard about human trafficking. TV news appears to be a major source of information about trafficking in Albania, with almost 98% of respondents hearing about it through that source. Other common sources among Albanians include newspapers (42%), friends and family (37%), documentaries (36%), and movies (36%). In Moldova, TV news is also the most popular way to hear about human trafficking, with 83% of the sample hearing about it from this source. The other common sources of information in Moldova include radio (32%), Internet (25%), movies (21%), documentaries (19%), and newspapers (18%).
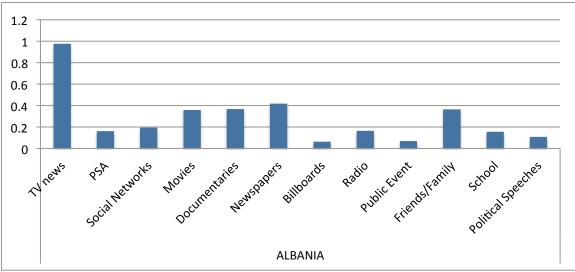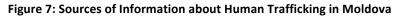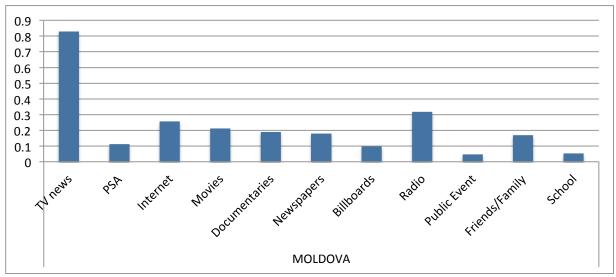
Figure 6: Sources of Information about Human Trafficking in Albania

Figure 7: Sources of Information about Human Trafficking in Moldova

Overall, findings suggest that TV is probably the most important source of information about human trafficking in Albania and Moldova, and, of all TV programming, news, followed by documentaries and movies, potentially has the greatest impact on societal knowledge and understanding of human trafficking.[21] It is notable that radio in Moldova and newspapers in Albania are among the key sources of information about human trafficking.

An additional consideration is that these findings represent not only the availability of information about human trafficking through each media source, but also the key types of media Moldovans and Albanians

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[21] Only about 5% of the population in both countries received information about human trafficking from PSAs. All other types of media, including public events and billboards, are minimally important in both countries.

habitually rely on for information. Therefore, future anti-trafficking campaigns may benefit not only from paying more attention to the less common routes for information (*e.g.*, PSA or billboards) but also from increasing the availability of information about human trafficking in the media sources most popular in each country (TV news in both countries, radio in Moldova, newspapers in Albania).

iii.   Perceived Risk of Being Trafficked

We also evaluate who the public believes is most at risk of being trafficked for the purposes of labor and/or sex. In the first battery of questions, the respondents were asked to estimate how vulnerable they believe certain demographics are to being trafficked for the purpose of forced labor, with "1" as the lowest risk of vulnerability and "9" as the highest risk.

Albanians perceive ethnic minorities, teenage girls, and those from rural areas (in that order) to be at the highest risk for labor trafficking. These perceptions only partially comport with the information obtained in the interviews with Albanian anti-trafficking stakeholders. Specifically, the individuals interviewed at Albanian State Social Services indicated that all three of these populations are at high risk for human trafficking, but not necessarily labor trafficking. Ethnic minority children, including Egyptians and Romas, are often forced to beg, which is considered a form of labor trafficking. However, they stated that women and girls are most at risk for being trafficked for sex and not labor (domestic servitude notwithstanding).

On the other hand, Albanians perceive that adult men, handicapped individuals, and little boys have the lowest risk for labor trafficking. This does not track with the information obtained in the interviews. There is one NGO in Albania that specifically serves male victims of labor trafficking, and World Vision in Albania reported that there is male labor trafficking in agriculture, mining, and construction work. In addition, Save the Children noted that there is at least one village where young boys are forced to harvest cannabis. Thus, men and boys are vulnerable to labor trafficking, which is contrary to the level of risk and vulnerability the public assigns them.

Among Moldovans, the highest risk for labor trafficking was reported to be for those from vulnerable families (defined as families with low income, single-parent families, or families where one or both parents are alcoholics), teenage girls, and rural residents (in that order).[22] According to interview reports, those from poor families and rural Moldovans are, indeed, among the most vulnerable to labor trafficking; however, experts assert that teenage girls are more vulnerable to sex trafficking than labor trafficking. The lowest perceived risk of being labor trafficked is for little boys, ethnic minorities, and little girls.[23] This is despite the mention of forced begging among little boys and girls in numerous interviews with anti-trafficking stakeholders in Moldova, which may indicate that the Moldovan public largely does not view forced begging as a form of human trafficking.

Boys and men were not among those perceived to be most at risk for labor trafficking in either country, even though the expert interviews indicate that they do, in fact, constitute a vulnerable population. In an interview with US foreign service officers at the US embassy in Moldova, they stated that the vast majority of labor trafficking victims are men trafficked for work in the agricultural and construction industries in Russia and Ukraine. Despite the risk of labor trafficking that men and boys face, the public

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[22] The Albanian survey did not include a category for "vulnerable families."
[23] The categories for "little" boys/girls and "adolescent" boys/girls were not strictly defined in the questionnaire.

in neither country sees these risks. There are two explanations for this. First, patriarchal societies commonly see men as strong and capable of self-defense (*e.g.,* Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), making it hard for many to perceive men as being vulnerable to victimization or recognize trafficking when it affects men. Indeed, the US foreign service officers indicated that males trafficked abroad for work in Russia and Ukraine often do not see themselves as victims. A second possible explanation is that sex trafficking has received more attention from the media, so the public is primed to think about it more and projects the image of the sex trafficking victim onto labor trafficking. Both hypotheses should be investigated in future research, but forthcoming anti-trafficking campaigns in Moldova and Albania may want to place greater emphasis on informing the population about labor trafficking and emphasizing the vulnerability of men and boys as potential victims.
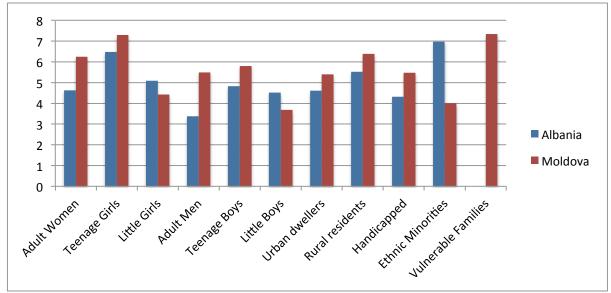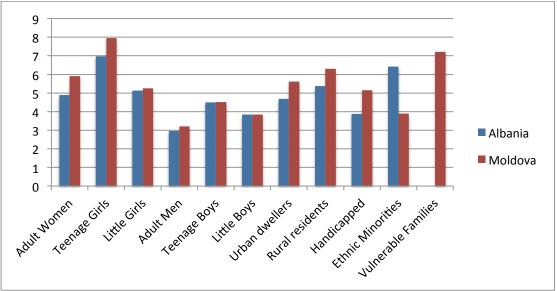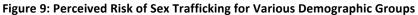
Figure 8: Perceived Risk of Labor Trafficking for Various Demographic Groups

The second battery of questions asked about the risk of various demographic groups being forced into prostitution. Albanians believe teenage girls and ethnic minorities to be at the greatest risk of sex trafficking, followed by little girls and rural residents. Lowest perceived risk is among adult men, little boys, and handicapped individuals. These perceptions of vulnerability to sex trafficking generally comport with the expert views expressed in the interviews, especially that teenage girls are at highest risk and adult men are among the lowest risk for sex trafficking.

Moldovans rank those from vulnerable families, teenage girls, and rural residents as most vulnerable to sex trafficking, and adult men, little boys, and ethnic minorities as least vulnerable. Similar to the Albanian experts, Moldovan experts expressed the view that poor, young girls from rural areas are most vulnerable to being trafficked for sex. Importantly, these findings show that the Albanian and Moldovan publics have a skewed understanding of which populations are vulnerable to human trafficking. While the anti-trafficking stakeholders in each country indicated that those most vulnerable to sex trafficking are distinct from those vulnerable to labor trafficking, the public views the same subgroups (women and girls) as being most vulnerable to both types of trafficking.

With only a few exceptions, Moldovans consistently rated all groups as being at a relatively higher risk of being trafficked for labor and sex than did Albanians. This may be a naiveté effect, when people unfamiliar with a phenomenon assume the risks are very high. Indeed, our prior finding is that Moldovans self-report less awareness about human trafficking than Albanians. More research is necessary to investigate how Moldovans and Albanians assess their own risk of being trafficked and whether greater awareness of human trafficking actually has deterrent (preventive) effects on potential victims.[24]

Figure 9: Perceived Risk of Sex Trafficking for Various Demographic Groups

The estimates of risk were virtually the same across the countries for the following three groups: adult men, teenage boys, and little boys. Ethnic minorities were seen as being at particularly high risk by the Albanian respondents, but not in Moldova. The differences in the estimated risks for minorities across the two countries could be due to lack of awareness as well as the relative novelty of forced begging—the one type of trafficking where Roma children are often exploited—in Moldova. In both countries, teenage girls were thought to be at a higher risk of being forced into prostitution than adult women, which likely indicates that both Moldovans and Albanians consider adult women to be more capable of correctly identifying trafficking situations as well as protecting themselves when necessary. More research is needed to understand the nature and implications of these risk perceptions.

iv.   Concern for Human Trafficking and Support for Government Actions

The survey also asked respondents to report their level of concern about trafficking generally, worldwide and, separately, in their own country. Concern for human trafficking is a key variable in our study because it is the affective dimension of attitude formation regarding human trafficking.[25] Higher concern for human trafficking is an indication that this issue matters to them and that they feel some stake in or connection to this issue. The response options ranged from "a lot of concern" to "no concern

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[24] In an informal interview, one of the trafficking stakeholders in Moldova suggested that, today, trafficking victims are often aware of the phenomenon but they take the risk nonetheless hoping this will not happen to them.
[25] Recall that attitude formation is derived from affective and cognitive dimensions (see pp2-3).

at all." Here we contrast findings describing the concern for trafficking worldwide to the concern about human trafficking in respondents' countries. To simplify the results, we collapsed the response categories "little concern" and "no concern" into "not much concern."
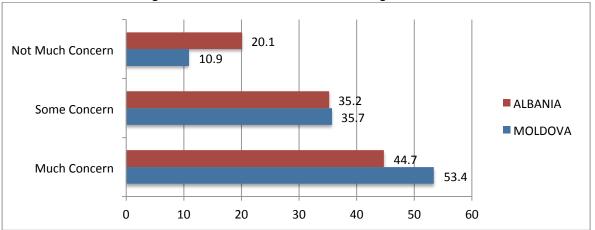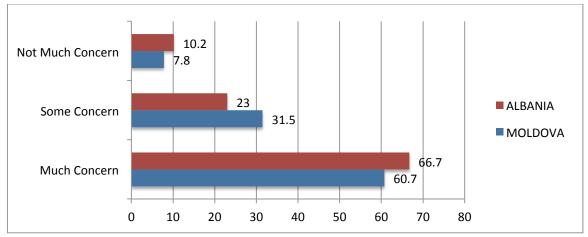
Figure 10: Concern about Human Trafficking Worldwide

Figure 11: Concern about Human Trafficking in Own Country

Among Albanians, 45% report a lot of concern about human trafficking worldwide, and 66% are very concerned with human trafficking inside Albania. Fifty-four percent of Moldovans report being very concerned about human trafficking worldwide, and 60% are very concerned about human trafficking in Moldova. In other words, respondents in both countries are more concerned about trafficking in their country than trafficking worldwide, but more Moldovans than Albanians are concerned with trafficking worldwide, and more Albanians than Moldovans are concerned with trafficking in their country.

In addition to concern, we assess the extent to which and how Moldovans and Albanians would like their governments to address the problem of human trafficking. Our survey asked how the government of each country should prioritize human trafficking. Overwhelmingly, 92% of Albanians saw human trafficking as a top priority for their government. However, only 60% of Moldovans ranked human trafficking as a high priority for their government, about 24% thought human trafficking should be a

moderate priority, and approximately 13% considered human trafficking to be a low priority matter. Overall, Moldovans are significantly less likely to believe that human trafficking deserves to be a top concern for their government, despite the relatively high levels of concern for human trafficking in Moldova. These attitudes may be the result of high levels of distrust in the Moldovan government among the public, and the perceptions of corruption among public officials, including public officials colluding with traffickers.[26] Future research should explore the relationship between such factors as perceived effectiveness of government, public distrust in government, government corruption, and desire for government to prioritize human trafficking.
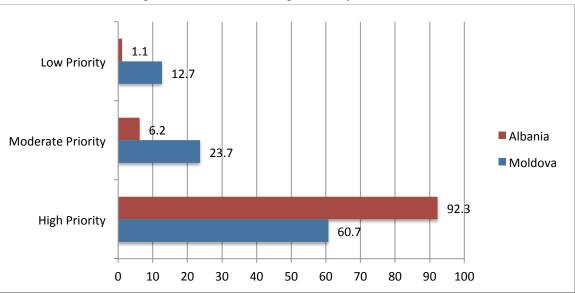
Figure 12: Human Trafficking as Priority for Government

Finally, the survey asked how active certain organizations should be in fighting human trafficking in their countries, with response options ranging from "very active" (5) to "not active at all" (1). The findings reported below reflect cumulative percentages for the top three categories (3, 4, and 5).

Albanians were consistently more likely than Moldovans to believe that government, police, and other institutions and organizations should play an active role in fighting human trafficking. The highest burden, according to both Moldovans and Albanians, lies on the governmental institutions, and the lowest on religious organizations. Overall, these findings suggest that both Albanians and Moldovans see government and criminal justice systems as primarily responsible for addressing human trafficking.

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[26] Information obtained from interviews with anti-trafficking stakeholders in Moldova.
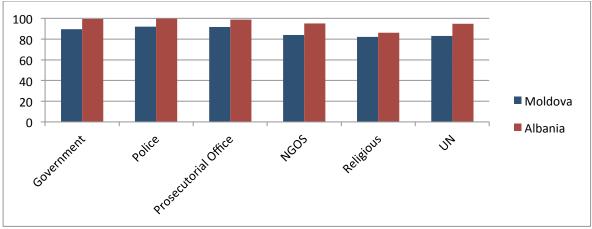
Figure 13: Perceived Role of Various Institutions in Combatting Human Trafficking

B. Section 2: Predicting Cognitive and Affective Attitudes Toward Human Trafficking

Having described the general patterns of respondent cognitive and affective attitudes toward human trafficking in Moldova and Albania, we next examine the factors that are correlated with these attitudes in order to better determine: 1) whether knowledge and concern predict first-person (personal) civic behavior relevant to human trafficking, and 2) whether knowledge and concern predict support for third-party (government) behavior/action relevant to human trafficking.

As previously noted, social psychological literature suggests that behavior is motivated by attitudes, and attitudes are comprised of cognitive and affective dimensions (*e.g.*, Eagly and Chaiken 1993). In this study, we operationalize the cognitive dimension of an individual's attitude toward human trafficking as the amount of knowledge he or she possesses about it. We operationalize the affective dimension of an individual's attitude toward human trafficking as the amount of concern he or she feels about it. Thus, in general, social psychological theory regarding the relationship between attitudes and behavior would predict that high amounts of knowledge and concern will yield a strong attitude about human trafficking, and that attitude will motivate personal civic behavior related to human trafficking, as well as support for government action in combatting human trafficking.

However, the link between cognition, affect, and behavior may not be as straight-forward in post-communist contexts where the behavior under examination is civic in nature. Civic engagement in post-communist countries is very weak (*e.g.*, Howard 2003, Mondak and Gearing 1998, Smith 2009). Reasons for this that have been posited include low political efficacy, or feeling that their political voice and behaviors do not make much of a difference (*e.g.*, Mihaylova 2004). On the other hand, totalitarian control over public affairs under communist regimes led to an expectation among the public that the government should be responsible for acting on social problems (Badescu, Sum, and Uslaner 2004). In other words, post-communist publics tend to perceive personal civic behavior as less effectual than government action.

Therefore, although the cognitive and affective dimensions of attitude formation generally predict behavioral outcomes, we hypothesize that this is not the case under the condition of being a post-communist state when the specific behavior of interest is civic in nature. We argue that cognitive and

affective attitudes toward human trafficking will significantly predict support for government action against human trafficking (*e.g.*, passing legislation or training law enforcement), but that these attitudes will not significantly predict one's own likelihood to get involved civically to combat the issue of human trafficking (*e.g.*, by volunteering or voting on the issue). In what follows, we run multivariate regression models to test these hypotheses.

i. Knowledge about Human Trafficking

As described in the previous section, overall Albanians self-report more knowledge about human trafficking (mean 3.23) compared to Moldovans (mean 2.73).[27] There are many potential explanations for differences in self-reported knowledge about human trafficking. Here we seek to understand what factors may drive knowledge about trafficking for both Moldovan and Albanian respondents. To do so, we estimate a series of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression models stepping in measures of demographic characteristics in Model 1, civic engagement measures in Model 2, behavioral measures in Model 3, and finally measures of human trafficking information exposure in Model 4 to determine their impact on respondent knowledge of human trafficking (Table 2.1). For each model, we estimated the effect of key measures on respondent awareness about human trafficking utilizing OLS.

a. Albania

As illustrated in Table 2, Model 1, before controlling for the effect of any other characteristics of respondents, respondents with higher levels of education were significantly more knowledgeable about human trafficking in Albania (b = 0.13).

Table 2, Model 2 illustrates the strong effect of civic engagement on respondent awareness about human trafficking. In Albania, political knowledge—measured as an averaged scale of how often the respondents follow what is going on in government and public affairs at the local, national, and international levels—strongly predicts respondent awareness about human trafficking in Albania (b = 0.35).[28] Adding political knowledge into the model reduces the strength of effect of a respondent's education level, suggesting that a respondent possesses political knowledge, rather than general level of education, improves awareness of human trafficking.

Table 2.1, Model 3 includes additional measures of respondent behavior. Overall respondent engagement in the commercial sex economy (either through viewing pornography or visiting strip clubs) was unrelated to their awareness of human trafficking. This finding is important because it confirms that those who engage in the commercial sex economy have approximately the same level of knowledge of the problem as those in the general community. In turn, their engagement in the commercial sex economy is likely not a function of their lack of knowledge about the potential harms of trafficking.

Finally, in Table 2, Model 4 adds measures of respondent exposure to information about human trafficking. In Albania, respondents who self-report hearing about human trafficking from more sources express more awareness about human trafficking in the study country. In Albania, each additional source of information increased respondent knowledge of human trafficking by 2%. This finding is not surprising: it confirms that awareness and exposure are related. We are unable to determine whether

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[27] For purposes of these analyses, responses were coded so that higher responses indicate being very informed and lower responses indicate less well informed.

[28] The averaged political knowledge scale has a reliability measure of (a = 0.89).

awareness led the respondents to seek out more information from more diverse sources or the opposite. Importantly, even with the addition of measures of exposure to information about human trafficking, general political knowledge continues to strongly predict human trafficking awareness in Albania. This indicates that the most politically informed citizens have the greatest levels of awareness about the specific public policy problem of human trafficking.

b. Moldova

As illustrated in Table 2, Model 1, before controlling for the effect of any other characteristics, respondents with higher levels of education were significantly more aware of human trafficking in Moldova (b = 0.25), and female respondents in Moldova are significantly more aware of human trafficking compared to male respondents. Respondents who were members of racial or ethnic minorities were significantly less likely to be aware of human trafficking in Moldova (b = -0.29), as were unemployed respondents.

As with Albania, political knowledge is strongly associated with awareness of human trafficking in Moldova (b = 0.17, Model 2). However, in Moldova, political engagement was negatively associated with awareness of human trafficking. Political engagement is a composite measure of whether a respondent indicated that they volunteered for a political campaign, voted in an election, contacted a public official, attended a protest and engaged in community service. Subsequent analyses reveal that awareness of human trafficking was lowest among those respondents who indicated they attended a protest, suggesting that respondents who actively oppose the government or government policies may be less aware of human trafficking. Specific efforts to engage these groups may improve understanding of and, potentially, concern about human trafficking.

Similar to responses from Albania, respondent self-reported engagement in commercial sex economies was not related to awareness of human trafficking in Moldova (Model 3). In Moldova, respondents who indicated having a family member or friend who was a trafficking victim were more likely to report awareness about the problem of human trafficking in their country. But these findings are non-significant and should be approached cautiously as the number of respondents who indicated being trafficked themselves or having a friend or family member who was a trafficking victim is extremely small in each study country.

In Moldova, respondents who self-report hearing about human trafficking from more sources express more awareness about human trafficking (Table 2, Model 4). Each additional source of information increased Moldovan respondents' knowledge about human trafficking 6%. Even with the addition of measures of exposure to information about human trafficking, general political knowledge continues to strongly predict human trafficking awareness in Moldova. In the final model, the most politically informed citizens have the greatest levels of awareness about the specific public policy problem of human trafficking, ethnic or racial minority group members express the lowest levels of awareness of human trafficking, and women express the highest levels of awareness about human trafficking.

Table 2: Knowledge of Human Trafficking

Variable	Model 1: Demographics		Model 2: Civic Engagement		Model 3: Behavior		Model 4: Information Sources	
	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)
Female	-0.23 (0.08)	0.17(0.07)*	0.14 (0.08)	0.16 (0.07)*	-0.04 (0.09)	0.19 (0.07)*	-0.02 (0.09)	0.17 (0.07)*
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)**	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)*	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)*	0.00 (0.00)
Education	0.13 (0.04)**	0.25 (0.0)**	0.06 (0.03)	0.18 (0.04)**	0.04 (0.04)	0.16 (0.04)**	0.02 (0.04)	0.09 (0.04)*
Minority	-0.56 (0.31)	-0.29 (0.08)**	-0.43 (0.31)	-0.34 (0.08)**	-0.39 (0.39)	-0.32 (0.08)**	-0.46 (0.39)	-0.31 (0.08)**
Married	0.02 (0.14)	0.17 (0.08)*	0.07 (0.14)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.15)	0.09 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.15)	0.06 (0.08)
Children	0.17 (0.19)	0.06 (0.10)	0.09 (0.18)	0.04 (0.09)	0.24 (0.19)	0.01 (0.11)	0.24 (0.19)	0.10 (0.11)
Unemployed	0.09 (0.09)	-0.21 (0.09)*	0.05 (0.08)	-0.16 (0.09)	0.03 (0.09)	-0.17 (0.09)	0.08 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.09)
Political Knowledge			0.35 (0.04)**	0.17 (0.02)**	0.33 (0.04)**	0.17 (0.04)**	0.33 (0.04)**	0.14 (0.03)**
Trust			-0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.00 (0.05)
Participation			0.19 (0.16)	-0.58 (0.18)**	-0.21 (0.18)	-0.52 (0.18)**	-0.15 (0.18)	-0.33 (0.18)
Political efficacy			0.04 (0.05)	0.07 (0.04)	0.03 (0.05)	0.07 (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)	0.07 (0.04)
Women's rights			-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.02)*	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.01)*
Pornography					-0.08 (0.13)	0.10 (0.09)	-0.13 (0.13)	0.05 (0.09)
Stripclubs					-0.02 (0.19)	0.21 (0.16)	0.01 (0.19)	0.20 (0.15)
Trafficked					-0.46 (0.44)	0.04 (0.22)	-0.54 (0.44)	0.03 (0.22)
Friend/family trafficked					0.13 (0.19)	0.30 (0.15)	0.08 (0.19)	0.22 (0.15)
Number places							0.06 (0.02)*	0.16 (0.02)**
Constant	2.89 (0.22)**	1.86 (0.20)**	2.56 (0.43)**	2.59 (0.48)**	2.79 (0.48)**	2.39 (0.49)**	2.18 (0.49)**	1.76 (0.48)**
N	1,000	988	950	880	848	880	848	880
R-Square	0.02	0.08	0.09	0.13	0.09	0.14	0.10	0.19

$p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

ii.   Concern for Human Trafficking

Concern is a key variable to predict because it is one measure of the extent to which individuals are affectively engaged, and affect is among the central variables constituting attitudes, which, coupled with knowledge, drive behavior. Emotional responses, such as concern about an issue, are extremely powerful in motivating action; ergo, we predict who has the most and least concern for human trafficking and in what contexts in order to understand who and how to target different groups to increase concern.

As described in the previous section, overall Moldovans express more concern about trafficking worldwide (mean = 3.40) than Albanians (mean = 3.18).[29] The higher degree of concern about trafficking worldwide from Moldovans may be explained by the large numbers of Moldovans who leave the country in search of work. Albanians, on the other hand, expressed more concern about trafficking within their own country than Moldovans.

Here we seek to understand what factors may drive concern about trafficking for both Moldovan and Albanian respondents. To do so, we estimate a series of OLS regression models stepping in measures of demographic characteristics in Model 1, civic engagement measures in Model 2, behavioral measures in Model 3, and finally measures of human trafficking information exposure in Model 4 to determine their impact on respondent concern about human trafficking worldwide (Table 3) and in the study country (Table 4).

a.   Albania

As illustrated in Table 3, Model 1, before controlling for the effect of any other characteristics of respondents, female respondents and unemployed respondents are significantly more likely to express concern about human trafficking worldwide compared to male respondents and employed respondents, respectively. Respondent age is also related to concern, with more concern about human trafficking being expressed for each year increase in respondent age.

Table 3, Model 2 illustrates the effect of civic engagement on respondent concern about human trafficking worldwide. Political knowledge (measured the same way as the models above), strongly predicts more concern about human trafficking worldwide (b = 0.13). Political participation (measured the same way as above), trust in government, and political efficacy (measured as the degree to which respondents agreed they had a voice in the political process)[30] did not predict concern about human trafficking worldwide.

Table 3, Model 3 includes additional measures of respondent behavior. In Albania, respondents who indicated that they visited strip clubs in their lifetime were significantly less likely to report concern about human trafficking worldwide (b = -0.28).[31] This is an important finding because analyses described above clarify that respondents who visit strip clubs have roughly the same level of knowledge about

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[29] Respondent were asked two separate questions about how much concern they feel about human trafficking worldwide and how much concern they feel about human trafficking in their country. Concern was measured on a five-point scale with 1 indicating "not at all concerned" and 5 indicating "very concerned."

[30] The averaged political participation scale has a reliability measure of (a=0.59).

[31] Prior results showed that Albanians are very likely to associate human trafficking with prostitution or sex trafficking, so it is very likely that when asked about their concern for "human trafficking" generally, they were primed to think specifically about sex trafficking.

human trafficking as those who do not. Thus, it is not the case that respondents who visit strip clubs care less about human trafficking because they lack knowledge, but rather that their behavior may be affecting their concern about human trafficking as a social problem.[32] Self-reported watching of pornography was not significantly related to concern about human trafficking worldwide, but was significantly related to concern about human trafficking once controls for respondents being informed about human trafficking were added in Model 4.

Finally, in Table 3, Model 4 measures of respondent exposure to information about human trafficking were added to the models. In Albania, respondents who self-report that they are informed about human trafficking express more concern about human trafficking worldwide. For every 1 point increase in respondent knowledge about human trafficking (measured on a scale from 1 – 5), Albanian concern about human trafficking worldwide increased 3%. Hearing about trafficking from more sources, however, was not a significant predictor of respondent concern. Also, after measures of behavior and exposure to human trafficking information are included in the models, respondent gender drops off as a significant predictor of concern about human trafficking worldwide, but unemployment remains a significant predictor of concern even after controlling for all other variables.

Table 4 estimates OLS regression models predicting concern about human trafficking in the study country. Overall the patterns are similar to those identified with the measure of concern worldwide. Across all models, female respondents from Albania express significantly more concern about human trafficking in their own country than do males. Respondents in Albania who report having more political knowledge indicate more concern about human trafficking in their home country, although political knowledge is not statistically significant in the final model that controls for respondents being informed about trafficking. Those who self-report being more informed about human trafficking also express more concern about human trafficking in their own country (Table 2.3, Model 4), but hearing about human trafficking from a number of diverse sources was not related to respondent concern about human trafficking in Albania.

b. Moldova

Female respondents and older respondents in Moldova are significantly more likely to express concern about human trafficking worldwide compared to male and younger respondents (b = 0.18, Table 3, Model 1). Table 3, Model 2 illustrates the effect of civic engagement on respondent concern about human trafficking worldwide. Political knowledge strongly predicts more concern about human trafficking worldwide. In line with expectations about women's rights/feminist group support of anti-trafficking efforts, in Moldova when respondents express less belief in women's rights, measured on a scale identifying degree to which they believe men and women have an equal role (1) or a woman's place is in the home (7), they are less concerned about human trafficking worldwide (b = -0.05).

In Moldova, self-reported watching of pornography is associated with less concern about human trafficking worldwide (Table 3). Similar processes may be in place as those described above for visiting strip clubs for Albanian responses. Moldovans who watched pornography had similar levels of knowledge about trafficking as those who did not, but express much less concern about the problem. Further research is needed to understand how personal behavior, such as watching pornography or visiting strip clubs, alters one's perceptions of human trafficking. It is important to better understand

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[32] A similar pattern emerged in the results of the US public opinion survey.

whether viewing pornography or visiting strip clubs changes the way people intake information about the dangers or harms of human trafficking or whether viewing pornography and visiting strip clubs are proxies for attitudes or mindsets that would be less affected by campaigns to educate people about the harms of human trafficking.

Finally, in Table 3, Model 4 measures of respondent exposure to information about human trafficking are added to the models. Moldovans who self-report that they are informed about the issue of human trafficking express more concern about human trafficking worldwide. For every 1 point increase in respondent knowledge about human trafficking (measured on a scale from 1 – 5), Moldovan concern about human trafficking worldwide increased 4%. Additionally, when Moldovans hear about human trafficking from more sources (*e.g.* movies, TV, *etc.*), they express significantly more concern about human trafficking (b = 0.04). It is impossible to know the order of this relationship. It may be that respondents who are concerned about an issue seek out information from more sources. It is equally possible that information increases concern. Further research is necessary to determine the time ordering of these associations, but we can conclude that knowledge and concern are closely linked in Moldova. Females remain more likely to be concerned about human trafficking than males in Moldova, even controlling for the influence of other respondent characteristics. Being unemployed is also associated with respondent concern about human trafficking worldwide in the final models for Moldova.

Table 4 estimates OLS regression models predicting concern about human trafficking in Moldova. Overall the patterns are similar to those identified with the measure of concern worldwide. Across all models, female respondents from Moldova express significantly more concern about human trafficking in their own country. Respondents who self-report being from a minority group also report increased concern about human trafficking in Moldova (Model 4, b = 0.11). In addition to respondent gender predicting concern about human trafficking, support of women's rights is associated with increased concern about human trafficking in Moldova. Additionally, respondents in Moldova who self-report watching pornography and/or visiting strip clubs in their lifetime are less likely to express concern about human trafficking within Moldova.

Moldovan respondents who report having more general political knowledge indicate more concern about human trafficking in their home country. Moldovans who self-report being more informed about human trafficking and hearing about human trafficking from more sources also express more concern about human trafficking in their own country (Table 4, Model 4). For every 1 point increase in respondent knowledge about human trafficking (measured on a scale from 1 – 5), Moldovan concern about human trafficking in Moldova increased 3%. Moldovan respondents who reported having a friend or family member who experienced a situation of human trafficking expressed more concern about human trafficking within Moldova, though this effect drops to non-significant levels when measures of respondent knowledge of human trafficking are added in the final model.

Table 3: Concern about Human Trafficking Worldwide

Variable	Model 1: Demographics		Model 2: Civic Engagement		Model 3: Behavior		Model 4: Information	
	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)
Female	0.17 (0.06)**	0.18 (0.05)**	0.15 (0.06)*	0.17 (0.05)**	0.11 (0.07)	0.14 (0.05)**	0.11 (0.07)*	0.11 (0.05)*
Age	0.01 (0.00)*	0.00 (0.00)*	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Education	0.01 (0.03)	0.08 (0.03)**	-0.01 (0.03)	0.06 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.07 (0.03)*	-0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Minority	0.03 (0.23)**	0.11 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.23)	0.10 (0.06)	-0.52 (0.29)	0.10 (0.06)	-0.47(0.29)	0.15 (0.06)**
Married	0.03 (0.11)	0.15 (0.06)**	0.03 (0.11)	0.14 (0.06)*	0.01 (0.12)	0.13 (0.06)*	0.02 (0.11)	0.10 (0.06)
Children	0.00 (0.14)	0.02 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.14)	0.02 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.14)	0.01 (0.08)	-0.08 (0.15)	0.03 (0.08)
Unemployed	0.21(0.06)**	0.05 (0.06)	0.20 (0.07)**	0.08 (0.06)	0.15 (0.07)*	0.09 (0.06)	0.14 (0.07)**	0.13 (0.06)*
Political knowledge			0.13 (0.03)**	0.07 (0.02)**	0.14 (0.03)**	0.07 (0.02)**	0.11 (0.03)***	0.04 (0.02)
Trust			0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)
Participation			0.12 (0.13)	-0.05 (0.12)	0.07 (0.13)	-0.05 (0.12)	0.09 (0.13)	0.07 (0.12)
Political efficacy			-0.02 (0.04)	0.06 (0.03)*	-0.02 (0.04)	0.07(0.03)*	-0.02 (0.04)	0.06 (0.03)
Women's rights			-0.03 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.01)**	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.01)**	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.01)**
Pornography					-0.07 (0.10)	-0.10 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.10)	-0.13 (0.06)*
Stripclubs					-0.28 (0.14)*	-0.17 (0.11)	-0.28 (0.14)**	-0.20 (0.10)
Trafficked					-0.08 (0.33)	0.08 (0.14)	-0.02 (0.33)	0.09 (0.15)
Friend trafficked					0.24 (0.15)	0.20 (0.10)	0.23 (0.15)	0.13 (0.10)
Informed							0.10 (0.03)***	0.13 (0.02)**
Number places							-0.01 (0.01)	0.04 (0.02)*
Constant	2.58 (0.16)**	2.55 (0.14)**	2.23 (0.33)**	2.39 (0.32)**	2.43 (0.36)**	2.45 (0.32)**	2.18 (0.36)***	1.96 (0.33)**
N	994	1001	945	891	844	891	844	879
R-Square	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.09	0.06	0.10	0.08	0.15

*p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01

Table 4: Concern about Human Trafficking in Own County

Variable	Model 1: Demographics		Model 2: Civic Engagement		Model 3: Behavior		Model 4: Information	
	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)
Female	0.16 (0.05)**	0.16 (0.05)**	0.17 (0.05)*	0.16 (0.05)**	0.13 (0.06)*	0.14 (0.05)**	0.13 (0.05)*	0.11 (0.05)*
Age	0.00 (0.00)*	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Education	- 0.01 (0.02)	0.09 (0.03)**	- 0.02 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	- 0.02 (0.02)	0.06 (0.03)	- 0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)
Minority	-0.02 (0.19)	0.08 (0.05)	-0.09 (0.19)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.30 (0.24)	0.08 (0.05)	-0.24 (0.24)	0.11 (0.05)*
Married	0.11(0.09)	0.11 (0.05)*	0.12 (0.09)	0.09 (0.06)	0.11 (0.09)	0.09 (0.06)	0.10 (0.09)	0.05 (0.05)
Children	-0.03 (0.11)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.11)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.12)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.12)	0.07 (0.07)
Unemployment	0.18 (0.05)**	0.03 (0.06)	0.16 (0.05)**	0.03 (0.06)	0.11 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.10 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)
Political knowledge			0.07 (0.03)**	0.09 (0.02)**	0.07 (0.03)**	0.08 (0.02)**	0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.02)*
Trust			0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Participation			-0.01 (0.10)	-0.12 (0.12)	-0.06 (0.11)	-0.11 (0.12)	-0.06 (0.11)	0.01 (0.12)
Political efficacy			-0.09 (0.03)**	0.06 (0.03)*	-0.07 (0.03)*	0.06 (0.03)*	-0.07 (0.03)*	0.06 (0.03)
Women's rights			-0.00 (0.01)	-0.04 (0.01)**	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.04 (0.01)**	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.01)*
Pornography					-0.09 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.14 (0.06)*
Stripclubs					-0.13 (0.12)	0.01 (0.10)	-0.13 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.10)
Trafficked					-0.46 (0.27)	0.16 (0.14)	-0.40 (0.27)	0.18 (0.14)
Friend trafficked					0.12 (0.12)	0.21 (0.10)*	0.12 (0.12)	0.14 (0.10)
Informed							0.09 (0.02)**	0.10 (0.02)**
Number places							-0.02 (0.01)	0.06 (0.01)**
Constant	3.03 (0.14)**	2.76 (0.13)**	3.04 (0.26)**	2.80 (0.30)**	3.22 (0.29)**	2.82 (0.31)*	3.07 (0.30)**	2.34 (0.31)**
N	999	1001	950	891	848	891	848	879
R-Square	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.09	0.08	0.14

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.0$

iii.   Predicting Government Priority

Respondents in both countries were asked to assess the degree to which they believed their government should prioritize anti-trafficking policies and programs compared to other problems facing the country. Respondents indicated their prioritization on a five-point scale, where 1 indicated anti-trafficking should be the top priority to 5 that anti-trafficking should not be a priority at all. For this analysis, we have reverse-coded the responses so that higher numbers indicate greater prioritization.

On average, respondents believed human trafficking policies and programs should be a high government priority. In Albania, the mean response was a 4.50 on the five-point scale; in Moldova, it was 3.69. Here we seek to understand what factors increase respondent belief in the prioritization of anti-human trafficking policies and programs for both Moldovan and Albanian respondents. As with previous analyses, we estimate a series of OLS regression models stepping in measures of demographic characteristics, civic engagement, behavior, and information exposure to determine their impact on respondent belief (Table 5).

a.   Albania

Before adding in measures of behavior or information exposure, older respondents, more educated respondents, and unemployed in Albania thought human trafficking policies or programs should be a high government priority (Table 5, Model 1). Once measures of civil engagement (Model 2) and behavior (Model 3) are added, the effect of a respondent being female becomes non-significant, but education and age remain strong predictors, despite controlling for the strong effect of political knowledge. None of the measures of respondent behavior of personal exposure to human trafficking are associated with belief that the government should prioritize human trafficking policies or programs. The strongest predictor of support for government prioritization is respondent concern, affirming the expectations that concern facilitates respondents supporting the action of third parties. Every one-point increase in respondent concern about human trafficking worldwide increases Albanian respondent support of making human trafficking a top government priority by 4%.

b.   Moldova

Female respondents thought the government should prioritize human trafficking policies in Moldova, but ethnic and racial minorities were less likely to believe the government should prioritize human trafficking policies. Measures of civic engagement are added in Model 2, and the results show that respondents with the most political participation are the least supportive of their government prioritizing human trafficking policies or programs. These findings suggest that Moldovans who actively seek government attention on some political issues may oppose government prioritization of human trafficking perhaps out of concern that anti-trafficking programs compete for scare government resources and attention with the programs they support. Further research is needed to understand why politically engaged groups do not support government efforts to fight human trafficking in Moldova. Finally, Model 4 shows that, as in Albania, respondents who express concern about human trafficking are most likely to support the government prioritizing human trafficking policies or programs (Model 4), again affirming the relationship between concern and support for third-party action. In Moldova, every one-point increase in concern about human trafficking worldwide leads to an 8% increase in support of the Moldovan government prioritizing human trafficking policies and programs.

A follow-up question asked respondents how important various programs are to reducing human trafficking. Measured on a scale from 1 "extremely important" to 5 "extremely unimportant," they

included various prevention, protection, and prosecution options, such as providing victims with legal services, housing, counseling services, healthcare, job training, and repatriation (collectively protection), law enforcement training (prosecution) and anti-trafficking education in schools and anti-trafficking public awareness (prevention).

Table 5: Most Important Government Programs

Measure	Means of Importance of Government Response	
	Albania	Moldova
Protection	1.48	1.66
Prosecution	1.44	1.61
Prevention	1.37	1.55

All responses were supported roughly equally across both countries, with Moldovans expressing slightly less belief in the importance of all types of responses (lower values indicate increased belief in importance). Additionally, we calculated OLS regression models to determine what factors predict supporting particular types of responses. We found that concern about human trafficking and self-reported awareness of human trafficking were the strongest predictors of all types of responses in Albania. In Moldova, being informed about human trafficking or reporting hearing about human trafficking from more sources was the strongest predictor of belief in the importance of all three types of responses.

Table 6: Government Prioritization of Anti-Trafficking Programs/Policies

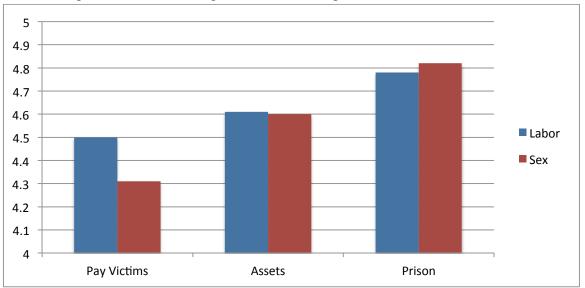| Variable	Model 1: Demographics		Model 2: Civic Engagement		Model 3: Behavior		Model 4: Information Sources	
	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)	Albania B(SE)	Moldova B(SE)
Female	0.09 (0.04)	0.11 (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)	0.10 (0.07)	0.08 (0.05)	0.10 (0.07)	0.05 (0.05)	0.06 (0.07)
Age	0.00 (0.00)*	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Education	0.07 (0.02)**	0.00 (0.03)	0.06 (0.02)**	-0.08 (0.04)*	0.07 (0.02)**	-0.07 (0.04)	0.07 (0.02)**	-0.09 (0.04)*
Minority	0.08 (0.17)	-0.15 (0.07)*	0.10 (0.17)	-0.14 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.22)	-0.13 (0.08)	0.07 (0.21)	-0.17 (0.08)*
Married	0.02 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	0.00 (0.08)	0.05 (0.09)	-0.00 (0.08)	0.04 (0.09)	0.01 (0.08)
Children	-0.01 (0.10)	0.06 (0.10)	-0.03 (0.10)	0.05 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.11)	0.04 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.11)	0.01 (0.11)
Unemployed	0.10 (0.05)*	0.08 (0.08)	0.10 (0.05)	0.10 (0.09)	0.07 (0.05)	0.09 (0.09)	0.05 (0.05)	0.06 (0.09)
Political knowledge			0.05 (0.02)*	0.01 (0.03)	0.06 (0.03)*	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Trust			-0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.05)
Participation			0.07 (0.10)	-0.78 (0.17)**	0.11 (0.10)	-0.78 (0.17)**	0.10 (0.10)	-0.80 (0.17)**
Political efficacy			-0.05 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)
Women's rights			-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Pornography					-0.08 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.09)
Stripclubs					0.04 (0.10)	0.05 (0.15)	0.09 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.15)
Trafficked					-0.06 (0.25)	0.27 (0.21)	-0.03 (0.24)	0.17 (0.21)
Friend/family trafficked					0.18 (0.11)	0.10 (0.15)	0.13 (0.10)	0.08 (0.15)
Informed							0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)
Number places							-0.00 (0.00)	-0.03 (0.02)
Concern world							0.18 (0.02)**	0.28 (0.05)**
Constant	4.00 (0.12)**	3.52 (0.19)**	4.05 (0.24)**	4.89 (0.45)**	3.94 (0.27)**	4.89 (0.46)**	3.45 (0.27)**	1.76 (0.48)**
N	996	972	947	865	845	865	842	853
R-Square	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.10	0.08

* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01

C. Section 3: Experimental Frames to Increase Affective Response to Human Trafficking

i. Framing Experiment 1: Sex Trafficking versus Labor Trafficking

The first embedded experiment was a single factor experiment with two levels (sex/labor). Specifically, half of the sample was asked how much they agreed or disagreed that traffickers should be required to pay victims monetary compensation, that traffickers should be required to forfeit their assets, and that traffickers should serve time in prison if they were convicted of labor trafficking. The other half of the sample was exposed to the same questions for a person convicted of sex trafficking. In other words, the only manipulation was the type of trafficking in the question stem. All responses were on a 1 "strongly disagree" to 5 "strongly agree" Likert scale. Figure 14 displays the results for Albania.

Respondents in Albania were significantly more likely to agree that traffickers should pay victims if they were convicted of labor trafficking than if they were convicted of sex trafficking; moving from the sex trafficking to the labor trafficking condition led to a 4% increase in agreement that traffickers should have to pay victims. There are no statistical differences, however, when it comes to forfeiting assets or serving time in prison.

A branching question was included for the prison question (for those persons indicating "agree" or "strongly agree") that asked how long of a prison sentence traffickers should serve. Respondents were significantly more likely to think that sex traffickers should serve long prison sentences than they were to say that labor traffickers should. Furthermore, looking across the three possible punishment options, respondents in Albania strongly prefer a punishment including prison to one including paying victims or asset forfeiture—regardless of whether the crime is labor or sex trafficking.

Figure 14: Labor Trafficking versus Sex Trafficking in Albania—Traffickers Should…

Similarly to respondents in Albania, respondents in Moldova were significantly more likely to agree that traffickers should pay victims if they were convicted of labor trafficking than if they were convicted of sex trafficking. However, there are no significant differences when it comes to assets, prison, or prison length. Additionally, respondents in Moldova were not strong in their preference for punishment when

it came to labor trafficking, with an insignificant gap between a preference for prison and paying victims or forfeiting assets. For sex trafficking, however, respondents in Moldova had a clear rank ordering of punishment preferences, from prison to asset forfeiture to paying victims.
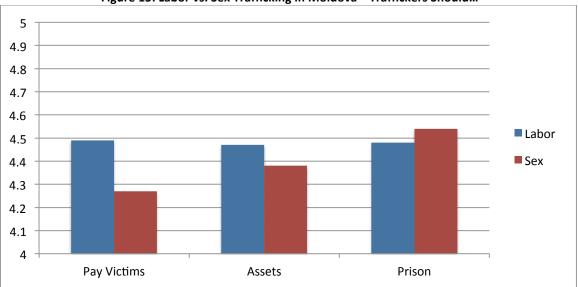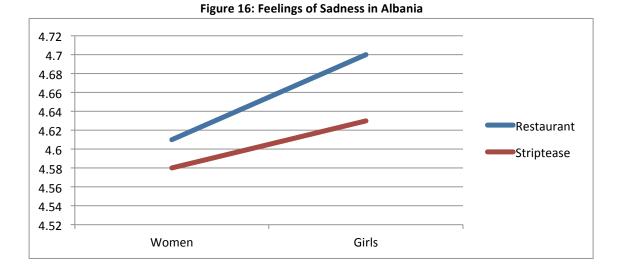
Figure 15: Labor vs. Sex Trafficking in Moldova—Traffickers Should…

ii. Framing Experiment 2: Age of Victim and Strategy of Trafficker

The second experiment was a 2x2 between subject design wherein the age of the victim (women/girls) and the level of deception (restaurant/strip tease club) used by the trafficker were manipulated. This yielded four conditions: women/restaurant, girls/restaurant, women/strip club, girls/strip club. Specifically, respondents were asked to read a paragraph that explained how the news recently reported on a group of (women/girls) who were recruited to work abroad in a (restaurant/strip club club). When they got to their destination, their travel and identification documents were taken from them, and they were raped, beaten, and forced into prostitution. After reading this excerpt, respondents were then asked to report whether this situation made them feel sad, frustrated, outraged, helpless, indifferent, concerned, surprised, or like they wanted to do something. All of the responses were on a Likert scale from 1 "strongly disagree" to 5 "strongly agree."

Figure 16 displays the means of the four conditions for sadness (gauging affective response given certain frames) for Albanian respondents. Respondents reported increased sadness when the victim was a girl rather than a woman, and when the victim was recruited to work in a restaurant rather than in a strip club. In other words, the main treatment effects of age and level of fraud were statistically significant. However, the interaction was only statistically significant between women/strip club and girls/restaurant. Furthermore, there does not appear to be any consistent patterns across the other dependent variables.[33]

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[33] The levels of concern are for women/strip club and the highest are for girls/strip club. However, it is important to note that none of these differences is statistically significant. Please see Appendix C for an overview of the means of the four conditions across all of the dependent variables.

Figure 16: Feelings of Sadness in Albania

To get a better idea of the effects of the conditions, we created one dummy variable for the age of the victim and one dummy variable for the recruitment strategy. *Women* is coded 1 if the victim in the experiment was a woman and 0 if the victim in the experiment was a girl. Similarly, *restaurant* is coded 1 if the victim was recruited to work in a restaurant and 0 if the victim was recruited to work in a strip club. We also created an interaction variable between *women* and *restaurant* in order to see if there is a conditional effect. We then estimated a series of OLS regression analyses with *women*, *restaurant*, and *women*restaurant* as our main independent variables of interest and *sad*, *frustrated*, *outraged*, *helpless*, *indifferent*, *concerned*, *surprised*, and *do something* as separate dependent variables. Table 7 shows the results of these analyses.[34] As can be seen from the top half of the table, which displays the results for Albania, there are few significant effects for the age of the victim or the type of recruitment strategy; age is only significant for *helpless* and recruitment strategy is only significant for *outraged*. In other words, people felt more outraged when given higher levels of fraud (recruited to work in restaurant and but found themselves forced into prostitution), and more helpless when the victim was an adult. Furthermore, the interaction variable is only significant for *helpless*.

Combined, these results illustrate that the Albanians respond with the most sadness when the victim in a young girl who experiences serious fraud. They are outraged by fraud and feel helpless about adult victims. On the other hand, the mean responses for all of these variables was greater than four on a five-point scale across all of the conditions indicating that, regardless of the frame, when the public hears about cases of human trafficking, they are emotionally moved and motivated to "do something" about the problem.

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[34] Since respondents were randomly assigned to the conditions, we do not include control variables in the OLS models.

Table 7: Main Effects on Experimental Treatments for Experiment #2

	Sad	Frustrated	Outraged	Helpless	Indifferent	Concerned	Surprised	Do Something
	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)
Albania								
Women	-0.05	-0.07	0.03	0.18*	-0.04	-0.08	-0.02	0.05
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.08)
Restaurant	0.07	0.01	0.17**	0.15	-0.01	-0.03	0.10	0.07
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.08)
Women*Restaurant	-0.04	-0.04	-0.14	-0.23*	0.02	0.08	0.08	-0.09
	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.17)	(0.11)
Moldova								
Women	0.12	-0.15	-0.19*	-0.22*	0.01	-0.17*	-0.12	-0.21*
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.08)
Restaurant	-0.01	-0.04	-0.03	-0.09	0.02	-0.11	0.17	-0.02
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.09)
Women*Restaurant	0.01	0.12	0.17	0.09	-0.09	0.10	-0.25	0.14
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.13)

"Women" is coded 1 for *women* and 0 for *girls*; "Restaurant" is coded 1 for *restaurant* and 0 for *stripclub*.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

However, not everyone in the public feels the same way. Although there are a multitude of demographic characteristics that may affect how respondents react to the experimental frames, arguably the most salient is gender. Previous research (Bouché, Farrell, and Wittmer 2015) has shown that women tend to care about human trafficking more than men, which may translate into them being more sensitive to how the issue is framed. To explore this possibility, we looked at the marginal means for *concern* and *do something* across each of the conditions, broken down by respondent gender. Although there are no significant treatment effects for the experimental conditions for either *concern* or *do something*, we find women report significantly higher levels of concern and more interest in doing something across all of the conditions. For example, women report approximately 6% higher concern than do men in the women/strip club condition.

Beyond the conditional effect of gender, it is important to note that all respondents, regardless of gender or experimental conditions, seem more willing to report that they feel concerned than they are to report that they want to "do something" to help stop the problem. This finding contradicts expectations that concern should increase individual (first-party) action. Unlike the findings described in the previous section where respondent concern positively and significantly predicted third-party action (support of government response), concern does not appear to move the Albanian and Moldovan public to take first party action and "do something" themselves. Thus, anti-trafficking efforts may want to dedicate resources to explicitly telling the public—and especially males in the public who are least likely to "do something"—how they can take personal steps to combat trafficking through their own actions (*e.g.,* consumer choices, not engaging in commercial sex) or through political and social engagement (*e.g.,* joining or supporting an anti-trafficking organization).
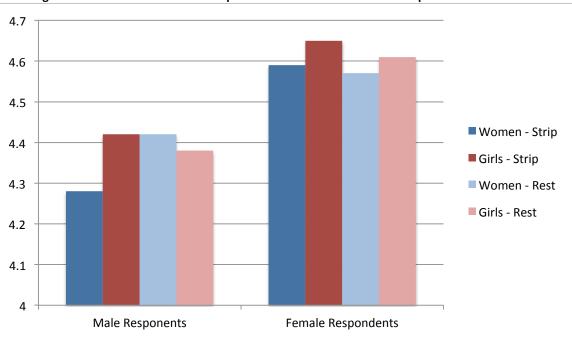
Figure 17: Conditional Effect of Respondent Gender on Concern for Experiment #2 in Albania

Figure 18: Conditional Effect of Respondent Gender on "Do Something" for Experiment #2 in Albania

A different pattern emerges in Moldova. Looking to the bottom half of Table 7, it is clear that respondents were significantly moved by the age of the victim. Across every dependent variable except for *indifferent*, respondents were more moved by girls than they were by women. This finding is similar to results from the US, where the public reports more concern if victims are under the age of 18

(Bouché, Farrell, Wittmer 2015). While age seems to be an important main effect for Moldovans, there are no effects for recruitment strategy or the interaction between age and recruitment strategy.

In assessing the conditional treatment effect of respondent gender on concern and *do something*, Moldovan males are significantly more concerned if victims were recruited for a strip club than a restaurant. Additionally, across all conditions except women/strip club, female respondents were significantly more concerned than were men. When asking about how likely respondents are to report wanting to do something to help stop the problem, both men and women are the least likely to want to do something when the victim is a women recruited for a strip club. Also, women are most likely to want to do something when the victim is a girl and men are most likely to want to do something when the victim is a girl recruited for a strip club. Finally, as was the case in Albania, respondents are more likely to report high levels of concern than they are to report that they want to get involved.

Figure 19: Conditional Effect of Respondent Gender on Concern for Experiment #2 in Moldova

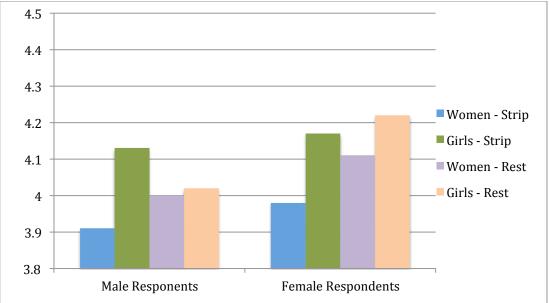**Figure 20: Conditional Effect of Respondent Gender on "Do Something" for Experiment 2 in Moldova**

iii.   Framing Experiment 3: Force, Fraud, Coercion

The third experiment was a single-factor design with three levels that manipulated the means that comprise "severe" forms of trafficking: physical force, fraud (being deceived or tricked), and coercion (being pressured by threats). Respondents were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. In the experiment, respondents were asked to read the following sentence: "As you may know, some people who pay others to transport them outside Albania/Moldova to another country end up being (physically forced/pressured by threats/deceived or tricked) to take work in the sex industry when they reach their destination." After reading this sentence, respondents were asked whether these people were victims of human trafficking, who is most to blame in these situations, who is least to blame in these situations, and who should be most responsible for providing assistance.

Turning first to who is considered a victim in Albania, there is little effect from the experimental conditions; approximately 97% of respondents reported that the person was a victim, regardless of whether the means were force, fraud, or coercion. This pattern of null effects remains across all of our dependent variables. As Table 8 shows, perceptions of blame do not depend on the experimental condition: respondents thought that people who make money from these situations were the most to blame, followed by the government of Albania. Furthermore, respondents thought that relatives were the least to blame, followed by the people who paid to go abroad.

Table 8: Effects of Force, Fraud, and Coercion on Blame in Albania (percent)

	People who paid to go abroad	Relatives	Society	Government	People who make money from these situations
Most to Blame					
Force	9	8	4	19	58
Coercion	10	10	6	22	50
Fraud	11	9	6	20	52
Least to Blame					
Force	35	57	12	6	2
Coercion	35	54	10	5	3
Fraud	38	58	9	5	2

When asked about who should be the most responsible for providing assistance in such a situation, almost 50% of respondents chose the government; 28% of respondents thought that people should rely on themselves, family, and friends; 16% of respondents thought that it was up to local authorities and police; and only about 4% of respondents thought it was international organizations or local service providers. These results are quite stable across the experimental conditions.

Table 9: Effects of Force, Fraud, and Coercion on Responsibility in Albania (percent)

	Government	Local Authorities/Police	International Organizations	Local Service Providers	People should rely on themselves, family, and friends
Force	49	17	3	3	27
Coercion	48	16	4	2	28
Fraud	47	15	5	4	27

In Moldova, a high number of respondents reported that a person is a victim of human trafficking regardless of whether force, fraud, or coercion was used. Specifically, 89% of respondents agreed for force, 93% for coercion, and 92% for fraud. The difference between force and coercion is statistically significant. This counterintuitive finding should be explored with additional research.

As Table 10 displays, there are few differences between the conditions. The highest percentage of people think that people who make money from these situations are to blame, followed by the government and the people who paid to go abroad. Twenty percent of the sample said that the person who paid to go abroad is the most to blame; however, a high percentage (about 38%) also chose this answer for who is the least to blame, indicating that there is a stark divide in public opinion. The other popular category for who is least to blame was relatives, with almost 30% of respondents choosing this answer.

Table 10: Effects of Force, Fraud, and Coercion on Blame in Moldova (percent)

	People who paid to go abroad	Relatives	Society	Government	People who make money from these situations
Most to Blame					
Force	18	6	11	24	32
Coercion	21	4	13	22	37
Fraud	21	6	12	25	32
Least to Blame					
Force	38	28	15	7	4
Coercion	38	31	10	7	5
Fraud	39	26	17	5	3

Finally, as Table 11 illustrates, a majority of the public thinks that the government is the most responsible for providing assistance. And this result holds regardless of whether force, fraud, or coercion was used. On the other hand, respondents were not very likely to say that international organizations should take responsibility. While there are few experimental effects in general, one that does warrant attention is that respondents under the fraud condition were more likely to say that people should rely on themselves, family, and friends, and less likely to say that people should rely on local authorities. Taken together, these findings suggest that respondents do not differentiate very much between trafficking situations based on force, fraud, or coercion. Furthermore, they see an important role for the government—both in terms of who is to blame, and who is responsible for providing assistance.

Table 11: Effects of Force, Fraud, and Coercion on Responsibility in Moldova (percent)

	Government	Local Authorities/Police	International Organizations	Local Service Providers	People should rely on themselves, family, & friends
Force	58	17	4	8	7
Coercion	55	15	6	11	8
Fraud	60	10	5	9	11

iv.   Experiment 4: Public Service Announcements

For the final experiment, we tested the efficacy of several PSAs in Albania.[35] For this portion, respondents were shown one of six possible PSAs that were taken from six different regions across the country. These PSAs were quite similar, as they all focused on anti-trafficking work that was done in the region. While none of these PSAs included a significant amount of information about human trafficking, how people can prevent human trafficking, or specific regional causes, the Vlora PSA did include some information about the causes of human trafficking while they were documenting education programs completed in schools, and the Berat PSA did show a story from one victim and one victim's friend.

Using a non-equivalent groups design, respondents were shown only the PSA that was designed for their region. In other words, the sample of people watching each PSA was not random. After watching the PSAs, respondents were asked how likely they would be to call the *national trafficking hotline*, call the *police* about a situation, have a *conversation* about trafficking, seek out *more information* about trafficking, or *vote* for a political party that prioritized trafficking as an issue. Finally, respondents were asked about how much *concern* they feel about trafficking in human beings.

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[35] We did not perform this experiment with the Moldovan respondents because no such PSAs existed in Moldova.

Figure 21 displays the results for *call hotline, call the police*, *seek information*, *conversation*, *vote,* and *concern*. The PSAs from Vlora and Peshkopi appear to be the most effective, for the respondents exposed to these conditions were significantly more likely to say that they would call the national trafficking hotline, call the police, seek more information, have a conversation, and vote for a political party that prioritized trafficking. The PSAs from Tirana and Berat appear to be the least effective, coming in fourth and fifth in most categories below. Similar patterns remain for *concern*, with Peshkopi (mean of 3.78) eliciting the most concern, followed by Vlora (3.72), Berat (3.54), and Fier's (3.54) PSAs eliciting the least concern, with Tirana (3.67) falling somewhere between the top and bottom.
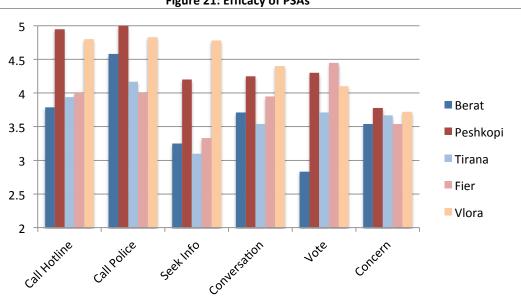
Figure 21: Efficacy of PSAs

Since respondents were not randomly assigned to each condition, in order to analyze the effects of the PSAs, it is important to control for pertinent variables that may have distinguished each region (for example, respondents in the Tirana region may be younger than respondents in Berat, and therefore, may have different responses about human trafficking). Therefore, in the analyses below, we use OLS regression with each PSA as a separate independent variable (with Vlora serving as the excluded, baseline category) and gender, age, marital status, employment status, education, children, Internet usage, and job satisfaction as control variables.[36]

Table 12 displays the results from the OLS regression analyses. To reiterate, the excluded, baseline category is Vlora. Looking across all of the dependent variables, it appears as if the Vlora was the most effective PSA. Specifically, Vlora is significantly more effective than Berat for *call hotline*, *seek*

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[36] Gender is coded 0 for males and 1 for females, age is a continuous variable ranging from 18 to 87, married is coded 0 if the respondent is not married and 1 if they are, employment is coded 0 if the respondent is not employed full time and 1 if they are, education ranges from 1 – 8, with higher numbers indicating higher levels of education, children is coded 0 if the respondent does not have children and 1 if they do, Internet is coded 0 if the respondent does not use the Internet for personal purposes and 1 if they do, and job satisfaction is 1 if the respondent is generally satisfied with their job and 0 if they are not.

information, and *vote*; Fier for *call hotline*, *call police*, and *seek information*; and Tirana for all of the variables except for *vote* and *concern*.

Since these PSAs were not randomly assigned, and there are multiple moving parts in the ads, we cannot make strong claims about what made Vlora the most effective. However, it would be useful to investigate if the specific information provided in the ad is what made it the most effective. Whereas most of the ads were focused only on the anti-trafficking programs being run in the region, the Vlora ad contained useful information about the causes of trafficking. The PSA showed education programs in schools and the community, and within these clips it discussed migration as a cause of human trafficking and the importance of registering yourself and your children with the state. Perhaps it was this type information—which would be more pertinent to the public at large—that moved public opinion.

Table 12: Effects of Experimental Conditions

	Call Hotline	Call Police	Conversation	Seek Info	Vote	Concern
Berat	-1.07*	-0.24	-0.70	-1.50**	-1.32**	-0.18
	(0.51)	(0.56)	(0.53)	(0.54)	(0.48)	(0.16)
Peshkopi	0.09	0.18	-0.24	-0.54	0.11	0.09
	(0.54)	(0.43)	(0.56)	(0.57)	(0.51)	(0.18)
Fier	-0.85*	-0.82	-0.55	-1.50**	0.26	-0.17
	(0.43)	(0.34)	(0.44)	(0.45)	(0.40)	(0.14)
Tirana	-0.90*	-0.61	-0.89	-1.60**	-0.40	-0.00
	(0.38)	(0.30)	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.36)	(0.12)
Gender	0.05	0.19	-0.01	0.55*	0.05	-0.07
	(0.24)	(0.19)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.23)	(0.08)
Age	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.01	-0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Married	-0.81	-0.06	0.08	0.64	0.55	0.09
	(0.41)	(0.33)	(0.43)	(0.43)	(0.39)	(0.13)
Employment	-0.26	0.35	-0.26	-0.07	0.08	-0.12
	(0.42)	(0.33)	(0.43)	(0.44)	(0.39)	(0.14)
Education	-0.03	0.05	0.01	0.04	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.03)
Children	1.01	0.05	0.37	-0.27	-0.36	0.13
	(0.51)	(0.40)	(0.53)	(0.53)	(0.48)	(0.16)
Internet	-0.14	-0.63*	-0.05	-0.35	-0.03	-0.11
	(0.32)	(0.05)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.31)	(0.11)
Job Satisfaction	0.07	-0.00	-0.05	-0.00	-0.05	-0.00
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.02)
N	268	268	268	268	268	265

Note: Vlora is the excluded reference category
* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01

CONCLUSION

In order to continue to make strategic investments in C-TIP programming in the areas of prevention and protection, USAID has funded the present research, which explores public opinion on human trafficking in two of the countries in which it has already made significant C-TIP investments: Albania and Moldova. The primary research questions we explored were:

- Overall, how knowledgeable and concerned is the public about human trafficking, and how do demographic characteristics predict levels of knowledge and concern?
- How does the public believe their respective governments should respond to this issue, and how do demographic characteristics predict these beliefs?
- How do varying levels of knowledge and concern predict first-person (personal) behavior regarding civic engagement with the issue of human trafficking?
- How do varying levels of knowledge and concern predict support for third-party (government) action relevant to human trafficking?
- What types of issue frames and public awareness messaging resonate most with the public?

These questions are undergirded by theories of attitude formation (Eagly and Chaiken 1993) and issue framing (Iyengar and Kinder 1987). Specifically, understanding "attitude" to be constitutive of both cognition (knowledge) and affect (concern) that contributes to behavior, we seek to explore who has what attitudes toward human trafficking, and how various frames of the issue affect these attitudes among the public. In what follows, we will discuss a few methodological considerations, as well as conclusions and related recommendations for Albania and Moldova.

A. Methodological Lessons Learned

There were several methodological issues that arose with the survey, and we did our best to address them in the survey design (as discussed in the methodology section of the introduction). However, there are several recommendations that we make based on lessons learned through this process.

First, self-reports of instances of human trafficking are very low, despite assurances of anonymity, confidentiality, and self-administration. Future research should consider other avenues to ask about experiences with trafficking, perhaps by using more than one method of eliciting information about personal experiences.

Second, knowledge about human trafficking in the US public opinion survey was measured by the respondents answering true/false questions, which provided a more objective measure than the self-reported subjective assessment of one's own knowledge about human trafficking. Despite the variablity that clearly exists in the subjective self-reports of knowledge about human trafficking in both countries, future surveys should consider or include the more objective measure, as well.

Finally, the PSAs that were shown in to the Albanian sample were not randomly assigned because they were designed specifically for certain regions of Albania, and we were not able to control for the content of the PSAs. This significantly limited our ability to make causal claims about the effectiveness of the PSAs in generating affective and behavioral responses. Future surey experiments should use more of an impact evaluation design that controls more closely for content and allows for random assignment to treatment and control groups.

B. Summary of Results and Policy Recommendations
i. Albania

Knowledge of trafficking: The majority (64%) of respondents in Albania report being very or somewhat informed about human trafficking. However, many Albanians appear to have only cursory understanding of this type of crime narrowing it down to a single type of victims or one type of victimization. The measures of knowledge here are: a) a subjective self-report assessment of how informed the individual

is about human trafficking; b) self-reported definitions of human trafficking provided by respondents. Future surveys may consider using the objective measure based on responses to true/false statements used in the US public opinion survey.[37]

Where knowledge was obtained: Albanians have heard of human trafficking mostly through TV and newspapers, which may also reflect the modes by which Albanians mostly receive their news and information. Therefore, anti-trafficking awareness programs may focus on increasing the availability of information in the platforms commonly used by Albanians.

Who is at risk: Albanians believe teenage girls, ethnic minorities, and rural residents to be at highest risk of both sex and labor trafficking. They believe adult men, little boys, and handicapped to be at the least risk for both types. The perceptions of Albanians regarding who is at risk generally comport with interview data and extant literature; however, anti-trafficking campaigns may benefit from highlighting situations in which men and boys are trafficked to increase awareness of risks among this population. The low risk perceived among men may be a function of gender stereotypes in Albanian culture; future research should explore this hypothesis. In addition, future C-TIP programming that raises awareness about the trafficking of men and boys may also serve as a type of gender equality campaign.

Characteristics that influence knowledge of trafficking: The strongest predictors of knowledge about human trafficking are general political knowledge and the number of places respondents have heard about human trafficking.[38] The greater the number of outlets from which individuals hear about human trafficking, the more knowledge they have about it, indicating that, while it is perhaps most efficient to target those outlets from which most people receive their information (TV and newspapers in Albania), more information from more outlets is also effective in increasing knowledge about human trafficking.

Characteristics that influence concern about trafficking: The most persistent predictors of concern for human trafficking are being female, being unemployed, having high levels of general political knowledge, and being informed about human trafficking. Among those with the highest levels of concern are those who may perceive their victimization as being higher, specifically women and those without jobs (who also may be more likely to be living in poverty). While those who visit strip clubs have equal amount of knowledge about human trafficking than those who do not, they have significantly less concern. Thus, it is not the case that respondents who visit strip clubs care less about human trafficking because they lack knowledge, but rather that their behavior may be affecting their concern about human trafficking as a social problem. CSOs may consider programs that make explicit connections for the public between commercial sex generally and sex trafficking.

Frames that influence concern for trafficking: Framing the problem of human trafficking differently based on the characteristics of the victims does little to alter Albanian concern or willingness to take personal action, though females are more moved than males by victim frames. The age of a victim of human trafficking has little effect on respondents in Albania as to their affective and likely behavioral responses, although female respondents are more likely to express affective and behavioral responses to the various victim frames. All respondents are much more likely to report high levels of concern than

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[37] We also measured knowledge based on open-ended definitions of human trafficking. We have not yet coded these responses, but they may also be used in subsequent analyses to measure "knowledge of human trafficking."
[38] The measure of political knowledge used in this report is a self-report of how often respondents follow government and public affairs.

they are to report that they want to do something themselves. Stories about girls being trafficked move the Albanian public more than stories about women, yet, despite the affective response, their behavior does not appear to be affected. Future research should explore these conditional treatment effects among other subgroups of the population, such as those that are generally more affectively engaged to see if their reported likelihood to engage is greater than those who are generally less concerned, regardless of the victim frame.

Government role: An overwhelming majority of Albanians believe their government should prioritize human trafficking (92% reporting that it should be a top priority). When government officials respond to human trafficking and publicize their actions, it should be understood in the context not just of international help and pressure, but also of government responsiveness to the desires of the public. Despite the fact that the Albanian public expresses concern about human trafficking, there is much more support of the government responding to human trafficking (third-party action) than interest in personally becoming involved in anti-trafficking activities (first-person action). Educating the public about the ways that they can become involved in anti-trafficking work can have positive implications for democratic citizenship because it builds social bonds, social capital, and social cohesion.

Characteristics that influence perceptions about government role: Older and educated individuals are significantly more likely than younger, less educated individuals to believe human trafficking should be a top Albanian government priority. Those Albanians reporting greater concern about human trafficking also believe it should be a high government priority, affirming expectations about concern activating support of third-party governmental anti-trafficking behavior. Those with high levels of political efficacy, on the other hand, are significantly less likely than those with lower political efficacy to believe the government should prioritize human trafficking. This result is somewhat counterintuitive, but may be a function of those with greater efficacy believing that this issue competes with other issues about which they care. Campaigns on human trafficking would therefore benefit from connecting it to other issues, such as poverty, women's rights, economic development, *etc.*

How traffickers should be punished: Prison is the strongest punishment option for both sex and labor trafficking in Albania. The Albanian government can set the criminal penalty for human traffickers very high with relatively strong public support for such a sentence. CSOs may consider messages that deter individuals from becoming traffickers in the first place, including the possible deterrent of spending a long time in prison. The Albanian public does not differentiate between the means used in severe forms of human trafficking—force, fraud, and coercion—when assigning blame or responsibility for human trafficking. The differences among these means may be too elusive for the public to be able to understand in a meaningful way that shapes their opinions about a trafficking situation, and so the means used by the trafficker are perhaps less important to highlight in messaging campaigns than the actual trafficking situation that took place.

How to make PSAs effective: The video postcard from Vlora was the most effective of those ads developed in 2005 that were deployed to different regions of the country. While we cannot make any strong claims about why this was the case, we suggest that it may have been the information included in the ad. Specifically, this was one of the only ads to discuss specific causes of human trafficking, thereby linking and connecting the issue with other salient and relevant issues such as poverty. By comparison, the video campaign in Peshkopi was highly effective at motivating respondents to call the national hotline or call the police but less effective in motivating respondents to seek information or have conversations than the Vlora ad. Future work can build on this by investigating what information

campaigns about human trafficking drive the public to care more about the issue based on random assignment to conditions and greater control over the content and manipulations of the ads.

ii. Moldova

Knowledge of trafficking: A minority (44%) of Moldovans report being very or somewhat informed about human trafficking. Similar to Albanians, Moldovans tend to display only superficial knowledge, and a lot of work needs to be done to raise the self-reported level of awareness.

Where knowledge was obtained: Moldovans have heard of human trafficking mostly through TV and radio. This may also reflect the modes by which Moldovans mostly receive their news and information; therefore, anti-trafficking awareness programs may focus on increasing the availability of information in the platforms commonly used by Moldovans.

Who is at risk: Moldovans view individuals from vulnerable families, teenage girls, and rural residents to be most at risk. They perceive men, boys, and ethnic minorities as least at risk. It is not clear how respondents interpreted "vulnerable families," and the word "vulnerable" inherently primes risk. Therefore, future surveys should consider removing this category or expressing the concept more clearly. Moldovan programming needs to focus on the vulnerabilities of ethnic minorities, specifically forced begging among Roma children and forced prostitution among Roma women. These campaigns may serve not only to educate, but also to increase sensitivity toward this minority group. As in Albania, there should be particular attention to educate Moldovans on the vulnerabilities of males to human trafficking, which may also be a gender equality campaign—equalizing vulnerability, as well as agency.

Characteristics that influence knowledge of trafficking: In Moldova, females, more educated individuals, those with greater general political knowledge, and those who have heard about human trafficking from more sources are significantly more likely to report being informed about human trafficking. Minorities and those with traditional attitudes toward women's rights know significantly less than non-minorities and those with more progressive attitudes toward gender roles. These results suggest that awareness campaigns should specifically target those populations who report knowing less about human trafficking. Awareness campaigns should target men, less educated individuals, and minorities. Programs that promote gender equality have the potential also to affect knowledge about human trafficking.

Characteristics that influence concern about trafficking: Affective responses toward human trafficking, operationalized here as concern, are strongest among females, older people, minorities, married individuals, those with higher levels of political efficacy, those who are more informed, and those who have heard about human trafficking from a variety of outlets. Those least concerned with human trafficking include individuals with traditional notions of gender roles, those who watch pornography, and those who visit strip clubs. There is again a strong connection between gender equality and human trafficking, reiterating the need to connect these issues for the public both explicitly and implicitly.

As in Albania, those who watch pornography and visit strip clubs report being equally informed about human trafficking as those who do not; however, they are significantly less concerned than those who do not. This appears to be a situation in which behavioral habits moderate the affective response to an issue, holding the cognitive response constant. In other words, behavior that one perceives to be connected with human trafficking leads one to be less affectively engaged with the issue. Increasing knowledge about human trafficking among this demographic is not enough to change behavior. In other words, it appears that knowledge about human trafficking does not decrease demand for commercial

sex (*i.e.*, it does not lead to behavior change). Research should explore other methods beyond traditional information campaigns to engage this segment of the public, and more specific demand-related measures may be necessary. Some of these measures might include a variety of punitive actions against buyers, stricter regulations of sexually oriented businesses, *etc.*

Government role: Sixty percent of Moldovans report that human trafficking should be a top government priority. This appears high, but it is low relative to the responses among Albanians. These attitudes may be the result of high levels of distrust in the Moldovan government among the public, and the perceptions of corruption of public officials, including public officials colluding with traffickers. Future research should explore the relationship between public distrust and government corruption and desire for government to prioritize human trafficking, which may shed light on the ways in which democratic governance and reform efforts ultimately affect public approval of and desire for government action and intervention in serious social and economic issues such as human trafficking.

Characteristics that influence perceptions about government role: Moldovans with greater concern for human trafficking also believe it should be a higher government priority, again supporting expectations about concern mobilizing support for third-party action. However, those that are educated, minorities, and those with high levels of political participation are significantly less likely to believe it should be a government priority. As with Albania, further research is needed to understand why politically engaged groups do not support government efforts to fight human trafficking. Preliminarily, this result may be based on a zero-sum assumption among the politically engaged public that if the Moldovan government prioritizes human trafficking, other issues will be less of a priority. Given the complexity of human trafficking and the inherent connections between human trafficking and a variety of other public policy issues, CSOs should continue to connect these dots for the public to develop an increased understanding of the interconnectedness of human trafficking with other government initiatives and priorities.

How traffickers should be punished: Prison was the prefered punishment for sex trafficking but not labor trafficking. The Moldovan government may consider the more nuanced manner in which its citizens view appropriate punishments for sex and labor trafficking, and amend its criminal and civil penalties accordingly. Similar to Albania, the Moldovan public does not differentiate between the means used in severe forms of human trafficking—force, fraud, and coercion—when assigning blame or responsibility.

Frames that influence concern for trafficking: Contrary to Albania, framing the problem of human trafficking differently based on victim characteristics does alter Moldovans' concern, but not their willingness to take personal action. There was a greater affective and behavioral response among Moldovans when the victim of was framed as a girl rather than a woman. Female respondents are more likely to express affective and behavioral responses to the various victim frames. All respondents are much more likely to report high levels of concern than they are to report that they want to do something, contrary to expectations about concern leading to first party (individual) action. These findings suggest that although it may be fairly easy to mobilize concern about human trafficking, it is difficult to translate that concern into action. The challenge may be associated with public confusion about how behavior either as a consumer or through political/social involvement can affect trafficking. However, concern is strongly associated with support of government (third-party) responses, suggesting that the public may place responsibility for anti-trafficking efforts on their government rather than on individuals. Further research is necessary to understand the barriers to individual anti-trafficking action in the study counties. Future research must explore who does report that they are likely to "do something" in order to target these populations with the most effective frame.

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Appendix A: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Overall Mean	Overall SD	Albania Mean	Albania SD	Moldova Mean	Moldova SD	Range Low	Range High
Concern worldwide	3.29	0.83	3.18	0.90	3.40	0.73	1	4
Concern country	3.52	0.72	3.54	0.74	3.51	0.70	1	4
Knowledge of trafficking	3.01	1.19	3.23	1.22	2.78	1.12	1	5
Government priority	4.10	0.95	4.50	0.68	3.68	1.01	1	5
Call hotline	4.10	1.69	4.10	1.69	-	-	1	5
Call police	4.25	1.55	4.25	1.55	-	-	1	5
Seek information	3.90	1.72	3.90	1.72	-	-	1	5
Have a conversation	3.54	1.85	3.54	1.85	-	-	1	5
Female	0.55	0.49	0.56	0.49	0.53	0.49	0	1
Age	45.36	16.65	44.41	16.35	46.30	16.90	18	87
Education	2.53	1.09	2.19	1.19	2.86	0.87	1	5
Minority	0.13	0.34	0.02	0.12	0.25	0.43	0	1
Married	0.71	0.45	0.74	0.43	0.67	0.47	0	1
Children	0.79	0.40	0.78	0.41	0.80	0.40	0	1
Unemployed	0.25	0.43	0.30	0.46	0.19	0.39	0	1
Political Knowledge	3.31	1.02	3.21	0.98	3.41	1.04	1	5
Trust	3.15	0.84	2.93	0.91	3.39	0.68	1	4
Participation	1.65	0.22	1.63	0.24	1.67	0.21	1	5
Political efficacy	2.25	0.81	2.20	0.81	2.29	0.80	1	5
Women's rights	2.09	1.92	1.96	1.85	2.23	1.97	1	7
Pornography	0.18	0.38	0.14	0.35	0.22	0.41	0	1
Stripclubs	0.06	0.23	0.06	0.23	0.06	0.24	0	1
Trafficked	0.02	0.15	0.01	0.10	0.04	0.18	0	1
Friend trafficked	0.05	0.22	0.04	0.20	0.06	0.24	0	1
Informed	3.01	1.19	3.23	1.23	2.80	1.12	0	5
Number places	2.92	2.39	3.46	2.80	2.38	1.72	1	10

APPENDIX B: MEANS OF CONDITIONS FOR EXPERIMENT 2

	Sad	Frustrated	Outraged	Helpless	Indifferent	Concerned	Surprised	Do Something
Albania								
Women Stripclub	4.58	4.31	4.36	4.32	1.78	4.46	2.71	4.25
Girls Stripclub	4.63	4.38	4.33	4.14	1.82	4.54	2.73	4.19
Women Restaurant	4.61	4.28	4.39	4.24	1.78	4.51	2.89	4.23
Girls Restaurant	4.70	4.39	4.50	4.28	1.81	4.51	2.83	4.26
Moldova								
Women Stripclub	4.36	4.16	4.16	4.00	2.03	422	3.25	3.94
Girls Stripclub	4.48	4.30	4.35	4.21	2.02	4.40	2.27	4.25
Women Restaurant	4.36	4.23	4.29	4.00	1.96	4.22	3.18	4.06
Girls Restaurant	4.47	4.26	4.32	4.12	2.04	4.29	3.54	4.12

APPENDIX C: ADDITIONAL COMPARISONS TO IOM 2008 REPORT

Findings about the groups most at risk for human trafficking in the current Moldova survey closely mirror those identified by IOM in 2006 and 2008. In both previous surveys, the Moldovan public perceived young women to be most at risk for human trafficking (74%, 73%) followed by children (21%, 24%) and women in middle age (17%, 18%). The present survey examined public perceptions in both labor trafficking and sex trafficking. We find teen girls are at the highest risk for labor trafficking (average of 7.29 on 10-point scale, where 1 = lowest risk and 10 = highest risk) for both followed by vulnerable families (7.34) and rural residents. A nearly identical pattern of perceived risk emerges for sex trafficking. The IOM survey did not ask questions about rural compared to urban resident risk of victimization or about the risk of victimization faced by vulnerable families—both of whom Moldovan residents in the present survey believed were at risk for trafficking.

There are many similarities in the causes identified by respondents in the IOM surveys and Moldovan respondents in the present survey. In both 2006 and 2008, respondents in the IOM surveys indicated that low levels of wages (39% and 42%) and unemployment (32% and 25%) were the leading causes of human trafficking in Moldova. We find similar patterns in the present study. Respondents indicated how likely the conditions outlined in Table A1 were to cause human trafficking on a scale from 1 "very likely" to 5 "very unlikely" (*note: lower scores mean the condition is more likely to cause human trafficking*).

Table A1: Mean Response for Causes of Human Trafficking in Moldova and Albania

	Moldova Mean (SD)	Albania Mean (SD)
Poverty	1.52 (0.84)	1.31 (0.63)
Pornography	2.81 (1.27)	2.50 (1.29)
Gender discrimination in society	2.67 (1.19)	2.17 (1.08)
Ethnic discrimination in society	3.07 (1.23)	2.33 (1.14)
Demand for cheap labor	2.61 (1.27)	2.12 (1.06)
Rise of transnational crime	1.73 (0.89)	1.74 (0.88)
Careless behavior by victim	1.89 (0.91)	1.86 (0.93)
Weak laws	1.65 (0.90)	1.65 (0.96)
Corruption	1.57 (0.86)	1.52 (0.79)
Weak law enforcement	1.56 (0.83)	1.60 (0.83)

Similar to the findings from the IOM study, respondents in Moldova and Albania indicated that poverty was the condition most likely to cause human trafficking (means of 1.52 in Moldova and 1.31 in Albania). Additionally, the public believes other cultural conditions give rise to human trafficking. Corruption, weak law enforcement, and weak laws were the next three most likely cause of human trafficking (these factors were similarly ranked high in the IOM study). The public in both Moldova and Albania does not believe that gender or racial discrimination, nor the demand for cheap labor, are significant causes of human trafficking. These findings suggest that solutions to trafficking lie in both reducing the conditions that push people into vulnerability such as poverty, while simultaneously strengthening the guardianship of the state to protect people from harm.

In the IOM 2008 study, Moldovan respondents were overwhelmingly likely to have heard about human trafficking from TV (88% in 2006 and 92% in 2008). The next most frequent source was friends of relatives (38% and 36%) and newspapers (32% and 33%). In the present study, respondents were asked

whether or not they had heard of trafficking through a variety of different sources (code 0 for no and 1 for yes). We found that respondents in Moldova and Albania were still very likely to have heard about human trafficking through TV (84% in Moldova and 98% in Albania) but they were also exposed to human trafficking through newspapers (19% Moldova and 42% Albania), movies/documentaries (19% Moldova and 37% Albania), and the Internet (24% Moldova and 36% Albania). Not surprising, considering the global spread of Internet service since 2008, the Internet and social networking (9% in Moldova and 20% in Albania) were much more significant sources of information in 2014 than in either 2008 or 2006. The radio remains a prominent source of information about human trafficking in Moldova; in 2014, 33% heard about human trafficking through the radio in Moldova. Few Moldovans hear about human trafficking through school (0.05%) or political speeches (1%). Very few respondents have heard about human trafficking through billboards, church, or public events in either country. TV is the primary source of information about human trafficking in both counties, but potentially more could be done to tap into social network and Internet sources, particularly among younger populations. There is a need for more attention to human trafficking in political speeches and public events in both counties.

Table A2: Sources of Information about Human Trafficking

	Moldova Mean (SD)	Albania Mean (SD)
Never heard	0.05 (0.05)	0.01 (0.11)
TV	0.84 (0.36)	0.98 (0.15)
Advertisements/PSAs	0.11 (0.31)	0.16 (0.37)
Social network	0.09 (0.29)	0.20 (0.40)
Internet	0.24 (0.43)	0.36 (0.48)
Movies	0.21 (0.41)	
Documentaries	0.19 (0.39)	0.37 (0.48)
Newspapers	0.18 (0.39)	0.42 (0.49)
Billboards	0.10 (0.29)	0.06 (0.24)
Radio	0.33 (0.47)	0.16 (0.37)
Public event	0.05 (0.21)	0.07 (0.25)
Church	0.01 (0.11)	0.04 (0.20)
Friends	0.17 (0.37)	0.36 (0.48)
School	0.05 (0.22)	0.16 (0.36)
Personal experience	0.02 (0.13)	0.02 (0.14)
Political speech	0.01 (0.07)	0.11 (0.31)

APPENDIX D: ALBANIA PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested.

A1. How often would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs in your municipality or district?
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Very often

A2. How often would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs in Albania?
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Very often

A3. How often would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs on an international level?
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Very often

A4	Have you ever done the following activities?	Yes	No
A4.1	Volunteered on a political campaign	☐	☐
A4.2	Contacted a government official	☐	☐
A4.3	Attended a protest	☐	☐
A4.4	Voted in an election	☐	☐
A4.5	Volunteered in my community	☐	☐

A5. How much of the time do you think you can trust the Albanian government to do what is right?
- ☐ Just about always
- ☐ Most of the time
- ☐ Only some of the time
- ☐ Almost never

A6	I would like you to read a few statements about public life. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of them. [*Randomize order*]	Strongly Agree		Neutral		Strongly Disagree
A6.1	Public officials don't care much what people like me think.	1	2	3	4	5
A6.2	Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.	1	2	3	4	5
A6.3	People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	1	2	3	4	5
A6.4	I consider myself well qualified to participate in politics.	1	2	3	4	5

A7.   Corruption is a common practice in Albania.
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Somewhat agree
- ☐ Somewhat disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Hard to say

Remember, at the beginning of the study we described how all of your responses are anonymous and confidential. On the next page you are going to read about some things that people do. First indicate whether you have ever in your life done any of these things. Then you will be asked how many times you have done the thing during the past 12 months. Please give your best estimate or guess.
(*This section will be self-administered by respondent*).

--START OF SELF-ADMINISTERED--1--------------------------------

S1	Have you ever…?	Yes	No
S1.1	Taken money or property from others that does not belong to you worth 500 lek or more	☐	☐
S1.2	Physically harmed or threatened to harm another person on purpose	☐	☐
S1.3	Used alcohol excessively (such as getting drunk)	☐	☐
S1.4	Given someone a bribe (money or other rewards in exchange for their help or special favors related to their work duties)	☐	☐
S1.5	Accepted a bribe (money or a reward in exchange for your help or service related to your work duties)	☐	☐
S1.6	Watched pornography	☐	☐
S1.7	Visited a strip club	☐	☐
S1.8	Been paid by someone for having sex with them	☐	☐
S1.9	Paid for sex	☐	☐

If S1.1 = 1, ask **S2.1**. How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you taken money or property from others worth 500 lek or more?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If S1.2 = 1, ask **S2.2**. How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you physically harmed or threatened to harm another person on purpose?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If S1.3 = 1, ask **S2.3**. How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you used alcohol excessively (such as getting drunk)?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If S1.4 = 1, ask **S2.4**. How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you given someone a bribe (money or other rewards in exchange for their help or special favors related to their work duties)?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If S1.5 = 1, ask **S2.5**. How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you accepted a bribe (money or a reward in exchange for your help or service related to your work duties)?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If S1.6 = 1, ask **S2.6**. How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you watched pornography?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If S1.7 = 1, ask **S2.7**. How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you visited a strip club?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times

☐ 5 or more times

If S1.8 = 1, ask **S2.8**. How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you been paid by someone for having sex with them?
      ☐ None
      ☐ 1-2 times
      ☐ 3-4 times
      ☐ 5 or more times

If S1.9 = 1, ask **S2.9**. How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you paid for sex?
      ☐ None
      ☐ 1-2 times
      ☐ 3-4 times
      ☐ 5 or more times

--END OF SELF-ADMINISTERED----1------------------------------

B1. Tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is safe to meet new people over the Internet.
      ☐ Strongly agree
      ☐ Agree
      ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
      ☐ Disagree
      ☐ Strongly disagree

B2. How concerned would you say you are about prostitution in Albania?
      ☐ Very concerned
      ☐ Somewhat concerned
      ☐ Little concerned
      ☐ Not concerned at all

B3. What do you think is the most appropriate penalty to give an adult who has been paid to have sex?
      ☐ No punishment
      ☐ Counseling
      ☐ Community service
      ☐ A fine
      ☐ A short prison sentence (less than a year)
      ☐ A long prison sentence (more than a year)
      ☐ Other _____

B4. What do you think is the most appropriate penalty to give a minor (under the age of 18) who has been paid to have sex?
      ☐ No punishment
      ☐ Counseling
      ☐ Community service
      ☐ A fine

☐ A short prison sentence (less than a year)
☐ A long prison sentence (more than a year)
☐ Other _____

B5.   What do you think is the most appropriate penalty to give people who purchase sex?
☐ No punishment
☐ Counseling
☐ Community service
☐ A fine
☐ A short prison sentence (less than a year)
☐ A long prison sentence (less than a year)
☐ Anti-prostitution education program
☐ The publication of their name through local media
☐ Other _____

Below are some questions about politics. Some of the questions below are open-ended. Many people do not know the answer to these, so you should not worry if you don't know all, or many of the answers.

C1.   Who is the president of Albania now?

C2.1. Who is the head of the parliamentary group of the political parties (PS – Socialist Party)?

C2.2. Who is the head of the parliamentary group of the political parties (PD – Democratic Party)?

C2.   Please select from the following list of parties the ones that are part of the current parliament of Albania? (Choose all that apply)
☐ PR (*Partia Republikane*)
☐ PSD (*Partia Social Demokrate*)
☐ LSI (*Levizja Socialiste per Integrim*)
☐ PDIU (*Partia Drejtesi, Integrim dhe Unitet*)
☐ PDK (*Partia Demokristiane*)
☐ FRD (*Fryma e re Demokratike*)

For the following questions, please give us your best guess.

C3	Please tell us how often you think the following things happen to citizens of Albania (either in Albania or abroad) with 1 being not often at all to 5 being very often. Even if you don't know how much it actually happens to Albanians, please give us your best guess as to how often you think it happens.	Not often at all		Somewhat Often		Very often
C3.1	People being forced or coerced to work for little or no pay	1	2	3	4	5
C3.2	People being forced or coerced to work to pay off a debt	1	2	3	4	5
C3.3	People being forced or coerced to engage in prostitution	1	2	3	4	5
C3.4	People being forced or coerced to sell organs	1	2	3	4	5
C3.5	People being forced or coerced to beg	1	2	3	4	5

We are now going to ask you some questions about human trafficking.

C4. How informed would you say you are about human trafficking of Albanian citizens?
- ☐ Very informed
- ☐ Somewhat informed
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Not so informed
- ☐ Not informed at all

D1. Please tell us what you understand is the definition of human trafficking:

_____
_____
_____

We would now like to provide you with a short definition of human trafficking. Please read this carefully. In simple terms, the definition of human trafficking in the Criminal Code of the Republic of Albania is:

> *Using force, threat of force, coercion, kidnapping, or fraud in order to recruit, transport, transfer, harbor, or receive a person for the purpose of sexual exploitation or prostitution, forced services or work, or other forms of slavery and exploitation, or giving or receiving payments or benefits to a person who controls another person in exchange for sex or labor. Trafficking a child under the age of 18 for the purposes of exploitation does not require force, fraud, or other forms of coercion.*

---START OF SELF-ADMINISTERED---2-------------------------------

D2.   Given this definition of human trafficking, have you ever been in a situation where you were not free to leave due to force, fraud, or coercion?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If D2 = 1, ask **D2.1**. When you were in this situation, was it for the purpose of forced sex, forced labor, or something else? (*More than one answer possible*)
- ☐ Sex
- ☐ Labor
- ☐ Something else

If D2 = 1, ask **D2.2.** When you were in this situation, did it take place in Albania or abroad? (*Two answers possible*)
- ☐ Albania
- ☐ Abroad

If D2.2 = 2, ask **D2.3.** What country or countries did this happen in? (*Textbox*)

D3.   Given this definition of human trafficking, has a friend or family member ever been in a situation where they were not free to leave due to force, fraud, or coercion? (*Self-administer*)

☐ Yes
☐ No

If D3 = 1, ask **D3.1**: When your friend or family member was in this situation, was it for the purpose of forced sex, forced labor, or something else? (*More than one answer possible*)

☐ Sex
☐ Labor
☐ Something else

If D3.1 = 1, ask **D3.2:** When your friend or family member was in this situation, did it take place in Albania or abroad? (*Two answers possible*)

☐ Albania
☐ Abroad

If D3.2 = 2, ask **D3.3**. What country or countries did this happen in? [Textbox]

D4	How morally acceptable would it be to you to…?	Always acceptable		Sometimes acceptable, sometimes unacceptable		Always unacceptable
D4.1	Take money or property from others worth 48 lek or more	1	2	3	4	5
D4.2	Physically harm or threaten to harm another person on purpose	1	2	3	4	5
D4.3	Use alcohol excessively (such as getting drunk)	1	2	3	4	5
D4.4	Give someone a bribe (money or other rewards in exchange for their help or special favors related to their work duties)	1	2	3	4	5
D4.5	Accept a bribe (money or a reward in exchange for your help or service related to your work duties)	1	2	3	4	5
D4.6	Watch pornography	1	2	3	4	5
D4.7	Visit a strip club	1	2	3	4	5
D4.8	Be paid by someone for having sex with them	1	2	3	4	5
D4.9	Pay for sex	1	2	3	4	5

---END OF SELF-ADMINISTERED----2-------------------------------

		Widespread	Occasional	Rare	Non-Existent	Unsure
E1.1	How common is it for an Albanian to be forced or coerced by someone else to engage in prostitution within Albania?	1	2	3	4	5
E1.2	How common is it for an Albanian to be forced or coerced by someone else to engage in prostitution outside of Albania (*e.g.*, in Greece or Italy)?	1	2	3	4	5
E1.3	How common is it for an Albanian to be forced or coerced by someone else for labor purposes (agriculture, restaurants, construction, *etc.*) within Albania?	1	2	3	4	5
E1.4	How common is it for an Albanian to be forced or coerced by someone else for labor purposes (agriculture, restaurants, construction, *etc.*) outside of Albania (*e.g.*, in Greece or Italy)?	1	2	3	4	5
E1.5	How common is it for an Albanian to be forced or coerced by someone else to beg within Albania?	1	2	3	4	5
E1.6	How common is it for an Albanian to be forced or coerced by someone else to beg outside of Albania (*e.g.*, in Greece or Italy)?	1	2	3	4	5

	How much do you think each of the following groups of Albanian citizens is at risk of being trafficked for the purpose of forced labor? Even if you don't know actually how much at risk these groups of Albanians are of being forced or coerced by someone else for the purposes of labor, please give us your best guess as to how much at risk you think they are. On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means there is no risk that a person will be a victim of trafficking and 10 means that there is extreme risk that a person will be trafficked, what do you think the risk of labor trafficking is for:	Lowest Risk									Highest Risk
E2											
E2.1	Adult women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E2.2	Teenage girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E2.3	Little girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E2.4	Adult men	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E2.5	Teenage boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E2.6	Little boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E2.7	People from urban areas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E2.8	People from rural areas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

E2	How much do you think each of the following groups of Albanian citizens is at risk of being trafficked for the purpose of forced labor? Even if you don't know actually how much at risk these groups of Albanians are of being forced or coerced by someone else for the purposes of labor, please give us your best guess as to how much at risk you think they are. On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means there is no risk that a person will be a victim of trafficking and 10 means that there is extreme risk that a person will be trafficked, what do you think the risk of labor trafficking is for:	Lowest Risk									Highest Risk
E2.9	Physically/mentally disabled	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E2.10	Ethnic minorities (*e.g.*, Roma)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

E3	Using the same scale, how much do you think each of the following groups of Albanian citizens is at risk of being forced or coerced by someone else into prostitution? Even if you don't know actually how much at risk these groups of Albanians are of being forced or coerced by someone else into prostitution, please give us your best guess as to how much at risk you think they are.	Lowest Risk									Highest Risk
E3.1	Adult women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E3.2	Teenage girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E3.3	Little girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E3.4	Adult men	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E3.5	Teenage boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E3.6	Little boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E3.7	People from urban areas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E3.8	People from rural areas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E3.9	Physically/mentally disabled	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E3.10	Ethnic minorities (*e.g.*, Roma)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

F1. Where have you heard of human trafficking? Please check all of the answer options that apply.
- ☐ Never heard of human trafficking
- ☐ Television news programs
- ☐ Advertisements/public service announcements
- ☐ Social networking websites (*e.g.*, Facebook)
- ☐ Movies
- ☐ Documentary
- ☐ Newspapers
- ☐ Billboards/posters
- ☐ Radio

- ☐ Public event/workshop
- ☐ Religious gathering
- ☐ Friends and family
- ☐ School
- ☐ Personal experience
- ☐ Political speeches
- ☐ Other [textbox]

F2. How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings?
- ☐ A lot of concern
- ☐ Some concern
- ☐ Little concern
- ☐ No concern

We would like you to tell us about how much concern you feel for human trafficking in specific contexts.

F3. How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings worldwide?
- ☐ A lot of concern
- ☐ Some concern
- ☐ Little concern
- ☐ No concern

F4. How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings in Albania?
- ☐ A lot of concern
- ☐ Some concern
- ☐ Little concern
- ☐ No concern

F5. There are many issues facing Albania today, and choices have to be made about how to prioritize them. How would you say that the Albanian government should prioritize anti-trafficking policies and programs compared to other problems facing the country?
- ☐ It should be the top priority
- ☐ It should be a high priority
- ☐ It should be a moderate priority
- ☐ It should be a low priority
- ☐ It should not be a priority at all

F6	There are many potential ways to combat trafficking. How important do you think each of the following programs are in reducing *(Version A: trafficking for labor OR Version B: trafficking for sex)* in Albania? Even if you don't know actually how effective each of these programs are, please give us your best guess as to how effective you think they are. *(Randomize the order of response options.)*	Extremely Important		Neutral		Extremely Unimportant
F6.1	Legal services for victims of human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5
F6.2	Housing services for victims of human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5
F6.3	Counseling services for victims of human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5
F6.4	Health care for victims of human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5
F6.5	Job training for victims of human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5
F6.6	Human trafficking training for law enforcement	1	2	3	4	5
F6.7	Anti-trafficking education programs in schools	1	2	3	4	5
F6.8	Anti-trafficking public awareness programs	1	2	3	4	5
F6.9	Repatriation services to return trafficked persons back to Albania	1	2	3	4	5

F7	In your opinion, how active should each of the following institutions be in fighting human trafficking in Albania? *(Randomize the order of response options)*	Very Active				Not Active At All	Don't Know
F7.1	The Albanian government	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F7.2	Police	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F7.3	NGOs/non-profit organizations	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F7.4	Religious organizations	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F7.5	United Nations	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F7.6	Prosecutor's office	1	2	3	4	5	☐

F8	When a person is convicted of human trafficking, there are many punishment options. Below is a list of just a few of them. For each punishment option, please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree that it should be used for persons convicted of trafficking someone for (*Version A: the purpose of labor OR Version B: for the purpose of sex*).	Agree Strongly		Neutral		Disagree Strongly
F8.1	Traffickers should be required to pay victims monetary compensation	1	2	3	4	5
F8.2	Traffickers should be required to forfeit their assets	1	2	3	4	5
F8.3	Traffickers should serve time in prison	1	2	3	4	5

If F8.3 = 1 or 2, ask **F8.3A.** How long of a prison sentence should they serve?
  ☐ A long prison sentence (10 years or more)
  ☐ A moderate prison sentence (1-9 years)
  ☐ A short prison sentence (less than 1 year)

F9	We would now like your opinion about what causes people to be forced or coerced into prostitution or other forms of labor. For each of the factors listed below, please tell us whether you think that it is a likely cause or an unlikely cause of human trafficking *(randomize the order of response options)*.	Very Likely		Neutral		Very unlikely	Don't Know
F9.1	Poverty	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F9.2	Pornography	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F9.3	Gender discrimination in society	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F9.4	Ethnic discrimination in society	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F9.5	Demand for cheap goods and services	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F9.6	Rise of transnational organized crime	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F9.7	Careless behavior by the victims	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F9.8	Weak laws	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F9.9	High levels of corruption	1	2	3	4	5	☐
F9.10	Weak law enforcement	1	2	3	4	5	☐

We would now like you to read about a recent incident involving human trafficking. (Experiment—randomly assign respondents to A, B, C, or D)

(A) A news report recently reported on a group of Albanian woman who were recruited to move abroad to work in a restaurant. When they got to their destination, their travel and identification documents were taken from them, and they were raped, beaten, and forced into prostitution. The crime ring allegedly recruits Albanian women between the ages of 18 to 25.

(B) A news report recently reported on a group of Albanian girls who were recruited to move abroad to work in a restaurant. When they got to their destination, their travel and identification documents were taken from them, and they were raped, beaten, and forced into prostitution. The crime ring allegedly recruits Albanian girls between the ages of 12 to 16.

(C) A news report recently reported on a group of Albanian girls who were recruited to move abroad to work in a strip club. When they got to their destination, their travel and identification documents were taken from them, and they were raped, beaten, and forced into prostitution. The crime ring allegedly recruits Albanian girls between the ages of 12 to 16.

(D) A news report recently reported on a group of Albanian woman who were recruited to move abroad to work in a strip club. When they got to their destination, their travel and identification documents were taken from them, and they were raped, beaten, and forced into prostitution. The crime ring allegedly recruits Albanian women between the ages of 18 to 25.

G1	After reading about this situation, we are interested in hearing how you feel. I feel…	Agree Strongly		Neutral		Disagree Strongly
G1.1	Sad	1	2	3	4	5
G1.2	Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5
G1.3	Outraged	1	2	3	4	5

G1	After reading about this situation, we are interested in hearing how you feel. I feel…	Agree Strongly		Neutral		Disagree Strongly
G1.4	Helpless	1	2	3	4	5
G1.5	Indifferent	1	2	3	4	5
G1.6	Concerned	1	2	3	4	5
G1.7	Surprised	1	2	3	4	5
G1.8	Like I want to do something to help stop this problem	1	2	3	4	5
G1.9	Like this issue affects people around me	1	2	3	4	5
G1.10	Other:_____	1	2	3	4	5

G2	In your opinion, the people in this situation are…	Agree Strongly		Neutral		Disagree Strongly
G2.1	Being taken advantage of	1	2	3	4	5
G2.2	Partially to blame	1	2	3	4	5
G2.3	Naïve	1	2	3	4	5
G2.4	Needing social services	1	2	3	4	5
G2.5	Typical victims of human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5

(Experiment—randomly assign respondents to A, B, or C)

(A) As you may know, some people who pay others to transport them outside Albania to another country end up being physically forced to take work in the sex industry when they reach their destination.

(B) As you may know, some people who pay others to transport them outside Albania to another country end up being pressured by threats or other means to take work in the sex industry when they reach their destination.

(C) As you may know, some people who pay others to transport them outside Albania to another country end up being deceived or tricked to take work in the sex industry when they reach their destination.

H1. Are these people victims of human trafficking?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know

H2. Who or what is MOST to blame in these types of situations? (choose only one) *(randomize order)*
- ☐ The people who paid to go abroad
- ☐ Relatives, friends, neighbors
- ☐ Society for not providing enough information about the dangers
- ☐ The Albanian government
- ☐ The people who make money from these situations
- ☐ Other_____
- ☐ Don't know

H3. Who or what is LEAST to blame in these types of situations? (choose only ONE) *(randomize order)*
- ☐ The people who paid to go abroad
- ☐ Relatives, friends, neighbors
- ☐ Society for not providing enough information about the dangers
- ☐ The Albanian government
- ☐ The people who make money from these situations
- ☐ Other_____
- ☐ Don't know

H4. Who do you think should be *MOST responsible* for providing assistance? (choose only one) *(randomize order)*
- ☐ The Albanian government
- ☐ Local authorities/police
- ☐ International organizations
- ☐ Local service providers
- ☐ People should rely only on themselves, their family and friends
- ☐ Don't know

PSAs (in each region, half of respondents get the video specific to their region, one-quarter get the FACT VOICE video, and the other quarter gets the FACT MUSIC video. In regions that are not represented by these videos, half of respondents should get the FACT VOICE and half get the FACT MUSIC.)

FACT VOICE 2:28
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = KvQNYC4veg4 (2:28 min—used to launch app)

FACT MUSIC 3:21
vimeo.com/18739314

Regional Information Postcards

7:47 VLORA
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = ukjATIKlvSI

6:23 BERAT
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = U-XMIF6W7xU&list = PLB1714AE6352FBE00

6:43 PESHKOPI
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = xdU1jzficQM&list = PLB1714AE6352FBE00

5:36 KUCOVA
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = YpQXmM_FiEg&index = 8&list = PLB1714AE6352FBE00

5:22 MURIALDO
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = CqbfVi2jKaM

5:01 TIRANA
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = EQBXSUWlXHc&index = 10&list = PLB1714AE6352FBE00

K1	Based on what you saw in this public service announcement, please tell us how likely you would be on a scale from 1-5 to do the following things *(randomize)*:	Not at all likely				Very likely
K1.1	Call the National Trafficking Hotline about a suspicious situation	1	2	3	4	5
K1.2	Call the police about a situation that you thought might be trafficking	1	2	3	4	5
K1.3	Have a conversation about human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5
K1.4	Seek out more information about human trafficking. For example, look up more information online or watch a documentary	1	2	3	4	5
K1.5	Vote for a political party who pledged to get serious about human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5

K2. How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings?
- ☐ A lot of concern
- ☐ Some concern
- ☐ Little concern
- ☐ No concern

K3. Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that a women's place is in the home. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this?
- ☐ 1 – Women and men should have an equal role
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7 – Women's place is in the home
- ☐ 8 – Haven't much thought about it

K4. How much do you think that what happens with women in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?
- ☐ A lot
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Not very much
- ☐ Not at all

K5. How many times per year do you travel outside of your home country?
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Once or twice per year
- ☐ Three to five times per year
- ☐ More than six times per year

If K5 = 2, 3, or 4, ask **K5.1.** To which country/countries have you traveled in the last year?

K6. Are you, or have you ever been, a member of the military?
- ☐ Yes, I am currently a member of the military
- ☐ Yes, I am a former member of the military
- ☐ No

If K6 = 1 or 2, ask **K6.1.** How long have you served/did you serve?_____

K7. Do you use the Internet (for work, leisure, or other)?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If K7-1, ask **K7.1.** How many hours a day do you spend on the following NON-WORK RELATED Internet activities? It may be hard to estimate the exact number, but please do your best.
- ☐ Chatting _____(hours)
- ☐ Email _____(hours)
- ☐ Shopping _____(hours)
- ☐ Social networking _____(hours)

L1. What is your current employment status?
- ☐ Full-time work (40 hours or more) for pay
- ☐ Part-time Work (Less than 40 hours) for pay
- ☐ Self-employed
- ☐ Student
- ☐ Homemaker
- ☐ Retired
- ☐ Unemployed
- ☐ Disability

If L1 = 1, 2, or 3, ask **L1.1.** Which of the following describes your attitudes about your current job? *(mark all that apply)*
- ☐ I am underpaid for the work that I do
- ☐ I work only part-time, but want to work full-time
- ☐ My job is inferior to my education and skill level
- ☐ My job does not provide opportunities for promotion/advancement
- ☐ I would change jobs if I could find a better one
- ☐ I am paid less than others doing the same job
- ☐ I am mostly satisfied with my job

If L1 = 1, 2, or 3, ask **L1.2.** On a typical work day, how many hours do you work? _____hrs.

L2. Which of the following can you afford on your income? (*mark all that apply*)
- ☐ Buying all of the groceries you need
- ☐ Buying clothes you need
- ☐ Buying durable goods
- ☐ Traveling abroad for leisure
- ☐ Buying a car
- ☐ Buying an apartment/house
- ☐ Nothing from this list

L3. What is your level of education?
- ☐ Incomplete elementary
- ☐ Competed elementary
- ☐ Incomplete high school
- ☐ Completed high school
- ☐ Vocational/technical
- ☐ Some university
- ☐ University degree
- ☐ Masters or Ph.D.

L4. (*Note for the interviewer: fill out the gender of the respondent without asking*)
- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

L5. How old are you?_____

L6. What ethnicity do you consider yourself? If you consider yourself more than one ethnicity, please choose the one you think best describes you.
- ☐ Albanian
- ☐ Greek
- ☐ Macedonian
- ☐ Montenegrin
- ☐ Egyptian
- ☐ Jewish
- ☐ Other _____

L7. What is your marital status?
- ☐ Single, never married
- ☐ Married
- ☐ Separated, though legally married
- ☐ Living with a partner
- ☐ Divorced
- ☐ Widowed
- ☐ Other_____

L8. Do you have children?
- ☐ Yes

☐   No

If L8 = 1, ask **L8.1**: How many children do you have? _____

If L8 = 1, ask **L8.2:** How many of your children are under 18 years old? _____

L9.   How many people live (*e.g.*, eat and sleep) in your home at least four days of the week? _____ (persons)

APPENDIX E: MOLDOVA PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

1.   Gender *(check quotas!)*
- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

2.   Respondent's age *(check quotas!) Write down: /_____/ years old and code:*
- ☐ 18-20 years
- ☐ 21-25 years
- ☐ 26-30 years
- ☐ 31-35 years
- ☐ 36-40 years
- ☐ 41-45 years
- ☐ 46-50 years
- ☐ 51-55 years
- ☐ 56 years or over

Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested.

3.   How often would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs in your municipality or district?
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Very often

4.   How often would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs in Moldova?
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Very often

5.   How often would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs on an international level?
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Very often

6. How much of the time do you think you can trust the Moldovan government to do what is right?
- ☐ Just about always
- ☐ Most of the time
- ☐ Only some of the time
- ☐ Almost never

7	I would like you to read a few statements about public life. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of them. (*Randomize order*)	Strongly Agree		Neutral		Strongly Disagree
7.1	Public officials don't care much what people like me think.	1	2	3	4	5
7.2	Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.	1	2	3	4	5
7.3	People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	1	2	3	4	5
7.4	I consider myself well qualified to participate in politics.	1	2	3	4	5

Below are some questions about politics. Some of the questions below are open-ended. Many people do not know the answer to these, so you should not worry if you don't know all or many of the answers.
[Small Textbox]

8. Who is the president of Moldova now?
- ☐ Vladymyr Voronyn
- ☐ Myrcha Snehur
- ☐ Nykolay Tymofty
- ☐ Petr Luchynskyy
- ☐ Other_____
- ☐ Don't know

9	I will read you the list of politicians. Tell me please members of what parties they are? (*Do not prompt the name of the party. One answer.*)	
9.1	Igor Dodon	☐ Liberal Democratic Party ☐ Socialist Party of Republic of Moldova ☐ Communist Party of Republic of Moldova ☐ Other_____ ☐ Don't know *(Do not read)*
9.2	Vladimir Voronin	☐ Liberal Democratic Party ☐ Socialist Party of Republic of Moldova ☐ Communist Party of Republic of Moldova ☐ Other_____ ☐ Don't know *(Do not read)*

9	**I will read you the list of politicians. Tell me please members of what parties they are?** (*Do not prompt the name of the party. One answer.*)
9.3	Vlad Filat

- ☐ Liberal Democratic Party
- ☐ Socialist Party of Republic of Moldova
- ☐ Communist Party of Republic of Moldova
- ☐ Other_____
- ☐ Don't know *(Do not read)*

10. Which of these parties were elected to the Parliament of Moldova during the last elections, which took place on November 30, 2014? (*Choose all that apply*)

- ☐ Democratic Party of Moldova
- ☐ Liberal Democratic Party
- ☐ Party of Communists and Reformists
- ☐ Socialist Party of Republic of Moldova
- ☐ Party "Demokratiya – doma"
- ☐ Communist Party of Republic of Moldova
- ☐ Liberal Party
- ☐ Party "Revival"
- ☐ Green Ecological Party
- ☐ Party "For the people and for the country"
- ☐ Other _____
- ☐ Don't know *(Do not read out)*

11	**Have you ever done the following activities?**	Yes	No
11.1	Volunteered on a political campaign (*Volunteering is unenforced activity for the good of society without remuneration. Volunteering does not include any financial contributions, only your own time and effort.*)	☐	☐
11.2	Contacted a government official	☐	☐
11.3	Attended a protest	☐	☐
11.4	Voted in an election	☐	☐
11.5	Volunteered in my community (for example, made repairs in a stairwell or cleaned the children's playground)	☐	☐

12. Corruption is a common practice in Moldova.

- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Somewhat agree
- ☐ Somewhat disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Hard to say (*Do not read out*)

Remember at the beginning of the study we described how all of your responses are anonymous and confidential. On the next page, you are going to read about some things that people do. First indicate whether you have ever in your life done any of these things. Then you will be asked how many times you have done the thing during the past 12 months. Please give your best estimate or guess.

(This section will be self-administered by respondent. If the respondent refuses to self-administer, try to push him/her gently: "The following set of questions are sensitive and may make you feel uncomfortable, so I ask you to answer these questions by yourself. In any case, I want to remind you that all your answers are confidential and anonymous, and none of your answers will ever be known to anyone. Please answer these questions as honestly as possible.")

---START SELF-ADMINISTERED SECTION 1---

13	Have you ever…?	Yes	No
13.1	Taken money or property from others that does not belong to you worth 100 lei or more	☐	☐
13.2	Physically harmed or threatened to harm another person on purpose	☐	☐
13.3	Used alcohol excessively (such as getting drunk)	☐	☐
13.4	Given someone a bribe (money or other rewards in exchange for their help or special favors related to their work duties)	☐	☐
13.5	Accepted a bribe (money or a reward in exchange for your help or service related to your work duties)	☐	☐
13.6	Watched pornography	☐	☐
13.7	Visited a strip club	☐	☐
13.8	Been paid by someone for having sex with them	☐	☐
13.9	Paid for sex	☐	☐

If 13.1 = 1, ask **13.1A**. How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you taken money or property from others that does not belong to you worth 100 lei or more?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If 13.2 = 1, ask **13.2A**. How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you physically harmed or threatened to harm another person on purpose?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If 13.3 = 1, ask **13.3A**. How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you used alcohol excessively (such as getting drunk)?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If 13.4 = 1, ask **13.4A.** How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you given someone a bribe (money or other rewards in exchange for their help or special favors related to their work duties)?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If 13.5 = 1, ask **13.5A.** How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you accepted a bribe (money or a reward in exchange for your help or service related to your work duties)?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If 13.6 = 1, ask **13.6A.** How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you watched pornography?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If 13.7 = 1, ask **13.7A.** How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you visited a strip club?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If 13.8 = 1, ask **13.8A.** How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you been paid by someone for having sex with them?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

If 13.9 = 1, ask **13.9A.** How many times within the LAST 12 MONTHS have you paid for sex?
- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2 times
- ☐ 3-4 times
- ☐ 5 or more times

---**END SELF-ADMINISTER SECTION 1**--

14. Tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is safe to meet new people over the Internet.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

15.	How concerned are you about prostitution in Moldova?
- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Somewhat concerned
- ☐ Little concerned
- ☐ Not concerned at all

16.	What do you think is the most appropriate penalty to give an adult who has been paid to have sex?
- ☐ No punishment
- ☐ Counseling
- ☐ Community service
- ☐ A fine
- ☐ A short prison sentence (less than a year)
- ☐ A long prison sentence (more than a year)
- ☐ Other _____

17.	What do you think is the most appropriate penalty to give a minor (under the age of 18) who has been paid to have sex?
- ☐ No punishment
- ☐ Counseling
- ☐ Community service
- ☐ A fine
- ☐ A short prison sentence (less than a year)
- ☐ A long prison sentence (more than a year)
- ☐ Other _____

18.	What do you think is the most appropriate penalty to give people who purchase sex?
- ☐ No punishment
- ☐ Counseling
- ☐ Community service
- ☐ Anti-prostitution education program
- ☐ The publication of their name through local media
- ☐ A fine
- ☐ A short prison sentence (less than a year)
- ☐ A long prison sentence (less than a year)
- ☐ Other _____

For the following questions please give us your best guess.

19	**For the following activities, please tell us how often you think that they happen to citizens of Moldova (either in Moldova or abroad) with 1 being not often at all to 5 being very often.**	**Not often at all**		**Somewhat Often**		**Very often**
19.1	People being forced or coerced to work for little or no pay	1	2	3	4	5
19.2	People being forced or coerced to work to pay off a debt	1	2	3	4	5
19.3	People being forced or coerced to engage in prostitution	1	2	3	4	5
19.4	People being forced or coerced to sell organs	1	2	3	4	5
19.5	People being forced or coerced to beg	1	2	3	4	5

We are now going to ask you some questions about human trafficking.

20.   How informed would you say you are about human trafficking of Moldova citizens?
- ☐ Very informed
- ☐ Somewhat informed
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Not so informed
- ☐ Not informed at all

21.   In your own words, please describe what you understand human trafficking to be (*Interviewer: If respondent doesn't know what it is, write down 99*):
[Open Ended Type Box]

We would now like to provide you with a short definition of human trafficking. Please read this carefully. In simple terms, the definition of human trafficking in Moldova is:

Using force, threat of force, fraud, coercion, abusing authority, or taking advantage of a person's vulnerability to recruit, transport, or use a person for the purposes of labor or sex. Trafficking a child under the age of 18 for the purposes of exploitation does not require force, fraud, or other forms of coercion.

If the respondent refuses to self-administer, try to push him/her gently: "The following set of questions are sensitive and may make you feel uncomfortable, so I ask you to answer these questions by yourself. In any case, I want to remind you that all your answers are confidential and anonymous, and none of your answers will ever be known to anyone. Please answer these questions as honestly as possible."

22. Given this definition of human trafficking, have you ever been in a situation where you were not free to leave due to force, fraud, or coercion?
  - ☐ Yes*
  - ☐ No

If 22 = 1, ask **22.1**. When you were in this situation, was it for the purpose of forced sex, forced labor, or

  something else? (*more than one answer possible*)
  - ☐ Sex
  - ☐ Labor
  - ☐ Something else

If 22 = 1, ask **22.2**. When you were in this situation, did it take place in Moldova or abroad? (*two answers

  possible*)
  - ☐ Moldova
  - ☐ Abroad

If 22.2 = 1, ask **22.2A**. What country or countries did this happen in? [*Textbox*]

23. Given this definition of human trafficking, has a friend or family member ever been in a situation where they were not free to leave due to force, fraud, or coercion?
  - ☐ Yes
  - ☐ No

If 23 = 1, ask **23.1**. When your friend or family member was in this situation, was it for the purpose of forced sex, forced labor, or something else? (*more than one answer possible*)
  - ☐ Sex
  - ☐ Labor
  - ☐ Something else

If 23 = 1, ask **23.2**. When your friend or family member was in this situation, did it take place in Moldova or abroad? (*two answers possible*)
  - ☐ Moldova
  - ☐ Abroad

If 23.2 = 2, ask **23.3**. What country or countries did this happen in? [Textbox]

24	How morally acceptable would it be to you to…?	Always acceptable		Sometimes acceptable, sometimes unacceptable		Always unacceptable
24.1	Take money or property from others that does not belong to you worth 100 lei or more	1	2	3	4	5
24.2	Physically harm or threaten to harm another person on purpose	1	2	3	4	5
24.3	Use alcohol excessively (such as getting drunk)	1	2	3	4	5
24.4	Give someone a bribe (money or other rewards in exchange for their help or special favors related to their work duties)	1	2	3	4	5
24.5	Accept a bribe (money or a reward in exchange for your help or service related to your work duties)	1	2	3	4	5
24.6	Watch pornography	1	2	3	4	5
24.7	Visit a strip club	1	2	3	4	5
24.8	Be paid by someone for having sex with them	1	2	3	4	5
24.9	Pay for sex	1	2	3	4	5

---END OF SELF-ADMINISTERED SECTION 2---

		Widespread	Occasional	Rare	Non-existent	Unsure
25.1	How common is it for a person from Moldova to be forced or coerced by someone else to engage in prostitution within Moldova?	1	2	3	4	5
25.2	How common is it for a person from Moldova to be forced or coerced by someone else to engage in prostitution outside of Moldova (*e.g.*, in Turkey or Russia)?	1	2	3	4	5
25.3	How common is it for a person from Moldova to be forced or coerced by someone else for labor purposes (agriculture, restaurant, construction, *etc.*) within Moldova?	1	2	3	4	5
25.4	How common is it for a person from Moldova to be forced or coerced by someone else for labor purposes (agriculture, restaurant, construction, *etc.*) outside of Moldova (*e.g.*, in Turkey or Russia)?	1	2	3	4	5

		Widespread	Occasional	Rare	Non-existent	Unsure
25.5	How common is it for a person from Moldova to be forced or coerced by someone else to beg within Moldova?	1	2	3	4	5
25.6	How common is it for a person from Moldova to be forced or coerced by someone else to beg outside of Moldova (*e.g.*, in Turkey or Russia)?	1	2	3	4	5

		Lowest Risk									Highest Risk
26	**We are now going to ask you about what groups of Moldovan citizens are at the most risk to being trafficked for the purpose of forced labor. How much do you think each of the following groups of Moldova citizens is at risk of being forced or coerced by someone else for the purposes of labor? On a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means there is no risk that a person will be a victim of trafficking and 10 means that there is extreme risk that a person will be trafficked, what do you think the risk of labor trafficking is for:**										
26.1	Adult women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
26.2	Teenage girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
26.3	Little girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
26.4	Adult men	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
26.5	Teenage boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
26.6	Little boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
26.7	People from urban areas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
26.8	People from rural areas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
26.9	Physically/mentally disabled	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
26.10	Ethnic minorities (*e.g.* Roma)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
26.11	People from vulnerable families (families (poor families, single parent families, families with substance abuse problems, *etc.*)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

27	Using the same scale, how much do you think each of the following groups of Moldovan citizens is at risk of being forced or coerced by someone else into prostitution?	Lowest Risk									Highest Risk
27.1	Adult women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
27.2	Teenage girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
27.3	Little girls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
27.4	Adult men	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
27.5	Teenage boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
27.6	Little boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
27.7	People from urban areas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
27.8	People from rural areas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
27.9	Physically/mentally disabled	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
27.10	Ethnic minorities (*e.g.,* Roma)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
27.11	People from vulnerable families (families (poor families, single parent families, families with substance abuse problems, *etc.*)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

28. Where have you heard of human trafficking? Please check all of the answer options that apply.
    □ Never heard of human trafficking
    □ Television news programs
    □ Advertisements/public service announcements
    □ Social networking websites (*e.g.*, Facebook)
    □ Internet (other than social networking sites)
    □ Movies
    □ Documentary
    □ Newspapers
    □ Billboards/posters
    □ Radio
    □ Public event/workshop
    □ Religious gathering
    □ Friends and family
    □ School
    □ Personal experience
    □ Political speeches
    □ Other [textbox]

29. How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings?
    □ A lot of concern
    □ Some concern
    □ Little concern
    □ No concern

We would like you to tell us about how much concern you feel for human trafficking in specific contexts.

30. How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings worldwide?
    ☐ A lot of concern
    ☐ Some concern
    ☐ Little concern
    ☐ No concern

31. How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings in Moldova?
    ☐ A lot of concern
    ☐ Some concern
    ☐ Little concern
    ☐ No concern

32. There are many issues facing Moldova today, and choices have to be made about how to prioritize them. How would you say that the government of Moldova should prioritize anti-trafficking policies and programs compared to other problems facing the country?
    ☐ It should be the top priority
    ☐ It should be a high priority
    ☐ It should be a moderate priority
    ☐ It should be a low priority
    ☐ It should not be a priority at all

33	There are many potential ways to combat trafficking. How important do you think each of the following programs are in reducing (*Version A: trafficking for labor OR Version B: trafficking for sex*) in Moldova? *(Randomize the order of reading)*	Extremely Important		Neutral		Extremely Unimportant
33.1	Legal services for victims of human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5
33.2	Housing services for victims of human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5
33.3	Counseling services for victims of human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5
33.4	Health care for victims of human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5
33.5	Job training for victims of human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5
33.6	Human trafficking training for law enforcement agencies	1	2	3	4	5
33.7	Anti-trafficking education programs in schools	1	2	3	4	5
33.8	Anti-trafficking public awareness programs	1	2	3	4	5
33.9	Repatriation services to return trafficked persons back to Moldova	1	2	3	4	5

34	In your opinion, how active should each of the following institutions be in fighting human trafficking in Moldova? *(Randomize the order of reading)*	Very Active				Not Active At All	Don't Know
34.1	The Moldovan government	1	2	3	4	5	☐
34.2	Police	1	2	3	4	5	☐
34.3	Local NGOs/non-profit organizations	1	2	3	4	5	☐
34.4	International NGOs/non-profit organizations	1	2	3	4	5	☐
34.5	Religious organizations	1	2	3	4	5	☐
34.6	United Nations	1	2	3	4	5	☐
34.7	Prosecutors office	1	2	3	4	5	☐

35	When a person is convicted of human trafficking, there are many punishment options. Below is a list of just a few of them. For each punishment option, please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree that it should be used for persons convicted of trafficking someone for (*Version A: the purpose of labor OR Version B: for the purpose of sex*).	Agree Strongly		Neutral		Disagree Strongly
35.1	Traffickers should be required to pay victims monetary compensation	1	2	3	4	5
35.2	Traffickers should be required to forfeit their assets	1	2	3	4	5
35.3	Traffickers should serve time in prison*	1	2	3	4	5

If 35.3 = 1, 2, or 3, ask **35.4.** How long of a prison sentence should they serve?
- ☐ A long prison sentence (10 years or more)
- ☐ A moderate prison sentence (1 – 9 years)
- ☐ A short prison sentence (Less than 1 year)

36	We would now like your opinion about what causes people to be forced or coerced into prostitution or other forms of labor. For each of the factors listed below, please tell us whether you think that it is a likely cause or an unlikely cause of human trafficking. *(randomize the order of reading)*	Very Likely		Neutral		Very Unlikely	Don't Know
36.1	Poverty	1	2	3	4	5	☐
36.2	Pornography	1	2	3	4	5	☐
36.3	Gender discrimination in society	1	2	3	4	5	☐
36.4	Ethnic discrimination in society	1	2	3	4	5	☐
36.5	Consumer demand for cheap goods and services	1	2	3	4	5	☐
36.6	Rise of transnational organized crime	1	2	3	4	5	☐
36.7	Careless behavior by the victims	1	2	3	4	5	☐
36.8	Weak laws	1	2	3	4	5	☐
36.9	High levels of corruption	1	2	3	4	5	☐
36.10	Weak law enforcement	1	2	3	4	5	☐

We would now like you to read about a recent incident involving human trafficking (experiment—randomly assign respondents to A, B, C, or D):

(A) A news report recently reported on a group of Moldovan women who were recruited to move abroad to work in a restaurant. When they got to their destination, their travel and identification documents were taken from them, and they were raped, beaten, and forced into prostitution. The crime ring allegedly recruits Moldovan women between the ages of 18 to 25.

(B) A news report recently reported on a group of Moldovan girls who were recruited to move abroad to work in a restaurant. When they got to their destination, their travel and identification documents were taken from them, and they were raped, beaten, and forced into prostitution. The crime ring allegedly recruits Moldovan girls between the ages of 12 to 16.

(C) A news report recently reported on a group of Moldovan girls who were recruited to move abroad to work in a strip club. When they got to their destination, their travel and identification documents were taken from them, and they were raped, beaten, and forced into prostitution. The crime ring allegedly recruits Moldovan girls between the ages of 12 to 16.

(D) A news report recently reported on a group of Moldovan women who were recruited to move abroad to work in a strip club. When they got to their destination, their travel and identification documents were taken from them, and they were raped, beaten, and forced into prostitution. The crime ring allegedly recruits Moldovan women between the ages of 18 to 25.

37	After reading about this situation, we are interested in hearing how you feel. I feel…	Agree Strongly		Neutral		Disagree Strongly
37.1	Sad	1	2	3	4	5
37.2	Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5
37.3	Outraged	1	2	3	4	5
37.4	Helpless	1	2	3	4	5
37.5	Indifferent	1	2	3	4	5
37.6	Concerned	1	2	3	4	5
37.7	Surprised	1	2	3	4	5
37.8	Like I want to do something to help stop this problem	1	2	3	4	5
37.9	Like this issue affects people around me	1	2	3	4	5
37.10	Other:_____	1	2	3	4	5

38	In your opinion, the people in this situation are…	Strongly Agree		Neutral		Strongly Disagree
38.1	Being taken advantage of	1	2	3	4	5
38.2	Partially to blame	1	2	3	4	5
38.3	Naïve	1	2	3	4	5
38.4	Needing social services	1	2	3	4	5
38.5	Typical victims of human trafficking	1	2	3	4	5

(Experiment—randomly assign respondents to A, B, or C)

(A) As you may know, some people who pay others to transport them outside Moldova to another country end up being physically forced to take work in the sex industry when they reach their destination.

(B) As you may know, some people who pay others to transport them outside Moldova to another country end up being pressured by threats or other means to take work in the sex industry when they reach their destination.

(C) As you may know, some people who pay others to transport them outside Moldova to another country end up being deceived or tricked to take work in the sex industry when they reach their destination.

39.   Are these people victims of human trafficking?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know

39.1 Who or what is MOST to blame in these types of situations? (*Choose only one*) (*Randomize order of reading*)
- ☐ The people who paid to go abroad
- ☐ Relatives, friends, neighbors
- ☐ Society for not providing enough information about the dangers of migration
- ☐ The Moldovan government
- ☐ The people who make money from these situations
- ☐ Other_____
- ☐ Don't know

39.2. Who or what is LEAST to blame in these types of situations? *(Choose only one) (Randomize order of reading)*
- ☐ The people who paid to go abroad
- ☐ Relatives, friends, neighbors
- ☐ Society for not providing enough information about the dangers of migration
- ☐ The Moldovan government
- ☐ The people who make money from these situations
- ☐ Other_____
- ☐ Don't know

39.3. Who do you think should be MOST responsible for providing assistance? *(Choose only one) (Randomize order of reading)*
- ☐ Moldovan government
- ☐ Local authorities/police
- ☐ International organizations
- ☐ Local service providers
- ☐ None of these: people should rely on themselves, their family, and their friends
- ☐ Don't know

40. Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running businesses, industry, and government. Others feel that a women's place is in the home. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

- ☐ 1 – Women and men should have an equal role
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7 – Women's place is in the home
- ☐ 8 – Haven't much thought about it

41. How much do you think that what happens with women in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

- ☐ A lot
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Not very much at all
- ☐ Not at all

42. How often do you travel outside of your home country?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Somewhat often
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never

If 42 = 1, 2, or 3, ask **42.1.** To which country/countries have you traveled?

43. Are you, or have you ever been, a member of the military?

- ☐ Yes, I am currently a member of the military
- ☐ Yes, I am a former member of the military
- ☐ No

If 43 = 1 or 2, ask **43.1.** How long have you served/did you serve? _____ months *(If the respondent doesn't remember put 99.)*

44. Do you use the Internet (for work, leisure or other)?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If 44 = 1, ask 44.1	How many hours a day do you spend on the following Internet activities? It may be hard to estimate the exact number, but please do your best.	Less than 1 hour	1-2 hours	3-5 hours	More than 5 hours
44.1A	Chatting	1	2	3	4
44.1B	Email	1	2	3	4
44.1C	Shopping	1	2	3	4
44.1D	Social Networking	1	2	3	4
44.1E	Personal (not shopping)	1	2	3	4
44.1F	Work	1	2	3	4

45. What is your current employment status?
- ☐ 1 – Full-time work (40 hours or more) for pay
- ☐ 2 – Part-time work (Less than 40 hours) for pay
- ☐ 3 – Self-employed
- ☐ 4 – Student
- ☐ 5 – Homemaker
- ☐ 6 – Retired
- ☐ 7 – Unemployed but looking for job
- ☐ 8 – Unemployed and not looking for job
- ☐ 9 – Disability
- ☐ 10 – I leave for work abroad from time to time

If 43 = 1 or 2, ask **43.1.** Which of the following describes your attitudes about your current job? *(mark all that apply) (Interviewer, at least one option should be applicable)*
- ☐ I am underpaid for the work that I do
- ☐ I work only part-time, but want to work full-time
- ☐ My job is inferior to my education and skill level
- ☐ My job does not provide opportunities for promotion/advancement
- ☐ I would change jobs if I could find a better one
- ☐ I am paid less than others doing the same job
- ☐ I am mostly satisfied with my job

If 43 = 1 or 2, ask **43.2.** On a typical work day, how many hours do you work? _____ hrs

44. Which of the following can you afford on your current income? (*Choose all that apply*)
- ☐ Buying all of the groceries you need
- ☐ Buying clothes you need
- ☐ Buying durable goods
- ☐ Traveling abroad for leisure
- ☐ Buying a car
- ☐ Buying an apartment/house
- ☐ Nothing from this list

45. What is your level of education**?**
- ☐ Incomplete secondary
- ☐ Complete secondary
- ☐ Trade school
- ☐ Vocational/technical
- ☐ College degree
- ☐ University degree
- ☐ Masters or Ph.D.

46. What ethnicity do you consider yourself? If you consider yourself more than one ethnicity, please choose the one you think best describes you.
- ☐ Moldovan
- ☐ Russian
- ☐ Romanian
- ☐ Ukrainian
- ☐ Bulgarian
- ☐ Gagauz
- ☐ Jewish
- ☐ Other_____

47. What is your marital status?
- ☐ Single, never married
- ☐ Married
- ☐ Separated, though legally married
- ☐ Living with a partner
- ☐ Divorced
- ☐ Widowed
- ☐ Other_____

48. Do you have children?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If 48 = 1, ask **48.1.** How many children do you have? _____

If 48 = 1, ask **48.2.** How many of your children are under 18 years old? _____

49. How many people live (*e.g.*, eat and sleep) in your home at least 4 days of the week?
_____ (persons)