Understanding Public Knowledge and Attitudes towards Trafficking in Human Beings

Research Paper | Part 2 | July 2015

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MARIE CURIE ACTIONS

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This research received funding from the People Programme (Marie Curie Actions) of the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7/2007-2013/ under REA grant agreement n° [PIEF-GA-2011-298401]

Suggested citation

Sharapov, K. (2015) *Understanding Public Knowledge and Attitudes towards Trafficking in Human Beings: Research Paper. Part 2.* Budapest: Center for Policy Studies, Central European University

About the Author

Having secured funding from the European Commission, Kiril Sharapov served as a Marie Curie Research Fellow at the Center for Policy Studies, Central European University in Budapest, Hungary in 2013-2014. He led a two-year project investigating public understanding of human trafficking in Hungary, Ukraine and the UK. Kiril holds an MA in Human Rights from Central European University, and a PhD in Politics from the University of Glasgow. He is currently a senior lecturer in sociology at the University of Bedfordshire.

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Art work on the front cover: left corner image - 'A Gift from Heaven' by Jiao Xingtao. Both images photo courtesy of Kiril Sharapov

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Abbreviations and acronyms

HU	Hungary
GB	Great Britain
UK	United Kingdom
UA	Ukraine
THB	Trafficking in Human Beings

Introduction (part 2)

Part 2 of this research report should be read and considered within the context of the discussion, methodological overview and survey data analysis introduced in part 1 (Sharapov 2014a). In picking up where Part 1 left off, Part 2 explores how survey respondents answered a series of agree/disagree statements in relation to various issues associated with trafficking in human beings. The project's survey questionnaire is included as Annex 1 in Part 1.

As noted in Part 1 (Sharapov 2014a: 24), any comparison of responses between these three samples must be sensitive to the fact that:

(a) Randomised national samples in the survey are representative of national populations representing three different age rages: 15-59 in Ukraine, 18 and older in Hungary, and 16 and older in Great Britain. For this reason, the analysis below includes two elements: the analysis of national samples in their entirety (N=1,000) and a series of cross-national comparisons. The cross-national comparison samples represent national samples adjusted for age to enable comparisons between respondents within the shared age range of 18-59. As a result, national sample sizes decreased to 693 (N=693) resulting in the increased margin of error of +/- 3.72 at the standard 95% confidence level.

(b) Three different survey providers completed the surveys in respective countries. This may have resulted in a combination of both sampling and non-sampling errors within the context of cross-national research.

The two blocks of survey questions reviewed in this part were standardised by constructing a scale using the Likert scaling technique with a five-point scale response format: strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, do not know. The analysis that follows assumes that all given responses represent a 'good approximation of the attitude of a respondent under study' (Hader 2008: 390). To address a tendency where some respondents are likely to answer 'agree' to all questions if all of them are positively formulated, about 40% of items in the final questionnaire were negatively formulated to reduce response acquiescence. For ease of presentation and interpretation, agree and strongly agree responses were combined into a single 'agree' category, and disagree and strongly disagree responses were combined into a single 'disagree' category. Further details on the survey methodology are included under 'UP-KAT Survey Methodology' and 'Development of the Survey Instrument' in Part 1. The discussion below refers to the 'United Kingdom' when discussing legislation, policies, and anti-trafficking activities enacted by the Government of the United Kingdom. In discussing the outcomes of survey research, references are made to 'Great Britain' since the representative survey sample covered England, Scotland, and Wales and their associated islands, and did not include Northern Ireland.

The discussion below is based on responses provided by all respondents in the survey, including respondents who were unable to provide an unprompted definition of human trafficking using their own words when asked to do so at the start of the interview (Question 1). Part 1 of the report provides a detailed overview and analysis of open-ended responses to this question. Before being asked the second interview question, all respondents were provided with a prompt, which explained what human trafficking was. The ability of respondents to provide an unprompted definition of human trafficking is included as a variable in the statistical analysis and is reviewed below. Other socio-demographic characteristics in the statistical analysis are gender and age for all three datasets, education for the Ukrainian dataset, and occupation for the Hungarian and Great Britain's datasets. The remainder of Part 2 reviews survey responses organised around the following broad sub-headings:

- Who is the victim?
- Human Trafficking and I: it is a problem? Does it affect me directly?
- Criminals and 'their victims'
- Victims of human trafficking: re-instating human rights or 'rescuing'?
- Preventing Human Trafficking

Part 3 of the Research Report (forthcoming in Autumn 2015) will be based on the outcomes reported below and will include a more in-depth statistical analysis of survey responses.

Who are the victims?

Women trafficked for sexual exploitation? Men, women and children?

Survey questions
Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:
- Most victims of trafficking are young women trafficked for sexual exploitation
- Anyone, men, women, children can be trafficked

Responses at the national level

To identify who, in the view of the survey respondents, was most likely to become a victim of human trafficking, the survey included a series of 'agree/disagree' statements. The first two statements asked respondents to agree or disagree with the suggestions that (a) most victims of trafficking were women trafficked for sexual exploitation, and (b) that everyone – including women, men and children – could be trafficked. These questions were asked to explore the extent to which public opinion reflected one of the prevalent representations of human trafficking in the mass media and in policy discussions as affecting, predominantly, young women trafficked across borders for the purposes of sexual exploitation[1]. Although no definitive causal link could be established between the framing of human trafficking in the mass media and national policies on the one hand, and national public opinion as explored within the context of this survey, the discussion of survey responses must be sensitive to the suggestion that the news media play a significant role in explaining the issue of human trafficking and 'may influence discourse among the public and policymakers' (Johnston et al. 2012: 419).

The policy and media discussions of human trafficking are characterised by conflicting and incomplete evidence not only on the scale of human trafficking but also on its most prevalent form, and who, in terms of gender and age, it mostly affects. At the national level, the data are normally released by national law-enforcement agencies, and are based on the number of people identified by law enforcement authorities as meeting restrictive 'victim of trafficking' criteria set within the contexts of national referral mechanisms, and national anti-trafficking policies and legislation. In some cases, the data provided by non-governmental organisations are also used, and may include individuals identified as victims by NGOs, but not necessarily by law enforcement agencies.

In the UK, for example, according to the UK National Crime Agency's strategic assessment of serious and organised crime, 1,746 referrals to the National Referral Mechanism were recorded in 2013, an increase of 47% on the previous year's total (NCA 2014: 26). The document places human trafficking into one category with 'organised immigration crime' and includes a confusing narrative, which conflates 'irregular migrants', 'modern slavery', 'human trafficking', 'criminality', 'forged and counterfeit documents', and 'criminal exploitation of the legitimate supply of firearms' (NCA 2014: 4) into a mono-menace threatening the UK. The annually released UK NRM Statistics (NCA 2013) reveals that 33% of these referrals were in relation to sexual exploitation (an increase of 53% in comparison to 2012), followed by 29% in relation to labour exploitation (an increase of 89%). These data provide a fragmentary and incomplete picture based on the increased number of identified and registered victims, which may suggests both an increase in the number of people trafficked into or within the UK, and/or an improvement in the victim identification procedures and mechanisms, rather than an objective and trustworthy assessment of the overall number of people trafficked into the UK and of its dynamics. Such reservations about the nature and completeness of the data, and the rapidly decreasing gap between the numbers of identified victims for sexual and labour exploitation, did not however preclude the UK Parliament's All-Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade from referring to these statistics in concluding that 'trafficking to the UK for the purpose of sexual exploitation continues to be the most prevalent form of trafficking, with predominantly female victims' (APPG 2014: 21). The release of the APPG's report was accompanied by sensationalist media headlines (see, for example UK Daily Mail (2013), Telegraph (2013) focusing on the reported 155% increase in the number of minors (UK nationals) trafficked for sexual exploitation (56 cases in total registered in 2013, an increase from 22 cases in 2012), equating the increase in the number of identifications with the increase in the number of people actually trafficked, and ignoring a 89% increase in the number of identified victims trafficked for labour exploitation (to 511 people).

In Ukraine, the 2012 estimate by the International Organisation for Migration suggests that 120,000 Ukrainian citizens were trafficked since 1991 (IOM Ukraine 2012). In 2013, the IOM office in Ukraine assisted 945 victims of trafficking. Also in 2013, the number of male victims of trafficking registered by the IOM office in Ukraine exceeded the number for female victims for the first time in 9 years in which the IOM data was disaggregated by gender. A series of other new trends (in the context of Ukraine) was reported, including: 'an increase in labour exploitation; the risk group for trafficking expanding from young women between 15-24 years to women and men of all ages; a significant number of

[1] See, for example, Galusca 2012, Andrijasevic 2007, Uy 2011, Johnston et al. 2012 for a general discussion of the media framing of human trafficking

unidentified child victims in state care, and an increasing number of foreigners exploited in Ukraine' (IOM Ukraine 2013: 12).

According to the annual report released by the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine on the state of the implementation of the State Targeted Social Programme on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings in 2013 (Government of Ukraine 2014), the Ministry of Interior of Ukraine identified 107 persons who 'suffered from the process of the sale of people'[2] in 2013, including 72 women, 35 men and 5 minors. In addition, between September 2012 and January 2014, the Ministry of Social Policy officially identified 54 persons 'who suffered from the process of the sale of people' (20 women, 25 men and 9 children), including 25 cases of labour exploitation, 14 cases of sexual exploitation, 4 cases of mixed (sexual and labour) exploitation (ibid.).

In Hungary, 57 people were reported as 'registered victims coming into contact with the authorities' in 2012 according to the 2014 Eurostat report on human trafficking (Eurostat 2014: 23).

At the European Union level, the first official assessment of the scale of human trafficking is contained within the first Eurostat report on human trafficking published in 2013 (Eurostat 2013). The report is based on the metadata collected from national authorities, civil society organisations, national projects, studies and reports; national law enforcement agencies remain the principal source of information. The report includes a number of methodological reservations and recommends caution in interpreting the figures. The data contained within the report suggests that among 5,535 victims identified in 2010 in the 24 Member States that provided information, 80% were female and 20% male, around 62% were trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation, 25% for labour exploitation and 14% for other types of exploitation. In its 2014 edition, the report asserts that 30,146 victims were registered in the 28 EU Member States between 2010 and 2012, with 80 % of registered victims being female and 69% being trafficked for sexual exploitation (Eurostat 2014).

At the international level, the data on the scale of human trafficking released by various international agencies and non-governmental organisations provides a complex (at the very least) if not confusing (at its worst) picture. The 2014 Global Report on Trafficking in Persons recently released by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2014: 17-18) indicates that there were 40,177 victims of trafficking in 2010-2012 based on the statistical criminal justice data officially reported to the UNODC by Member States. At the same time, the 2014 Global Slavery Index, released by the privately-funded 'Walk Free Foundation' provides an estimate of 35.8 million 'men, women and children around the world…trapped in modern day slavery' based on the Foundation's own definition of 'modern slavery' as encompassing trafficking in persons, slavery and slavery like practices, and forced labour' (Walk Free 2014: 10)[3]. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) provides one of the best available estimates so far on the scale of forced labour globally, including trafficked labour (ILO 2012). It may be assumed that the unique tripartite structure of the ILO places it at a distance from politicised and securitised discourses at the national level that appear to ignore the fact that human trafficking remains an outcome and a symptom of a much wider set of exploitative labour practices than some national government and international organisations would like to consider. Within this context, the Organisation estimates that 20.9 million people were victims of forced labour globally, 'trapped in jobs into which they were coerced or deceived and which they cannot leave' (ILO 2012: 1). Although inclusive of human trafficking for labour and sexual exploitation, which, as the ILO notes, can be regarded as forced labour (ibid.), this estimate is set within the context of the ILO's own definition of forced labour, encompassed within ILO Conventions 29 and 105, and further specified within the context of six elements, which point to a situation of forced labour according to the ILO's Guidelines for Legislation and Law Enforcement on Human Trafficking and Forced Labour Exploitation (ILO 2005: 20). Such approach, however, may not be always adequate in reflecting the continuum of exploitation (see Skrivankova 2010) intersecting with the continuum of migration (from 'legal' to irregular(ised), from internal to external, from voluntary to 'forced') to reflect individual circumstances of each and every migrant.

Within this context, it is almost important to assess how a variety of assessments and estimates, produced at different levels of policy-making and anti-trafficking practice, and often re-interpreted and sensationalised by the national mass media, translate into the public understanding of who may be trafficked and why. Responses to the two questions concerned with who can be a victim of trafficking are summarised in Figure 2.1 on page 6.

The national sample data (N=1000, differing age ranges) indicate that the majority of respondents in Ukraine (92%) agreed that anyone could be trafficked, irrespective of their gender or age; a similar proportion of respondents (91%) also believed that most victims of trafficking were young women trafficked for sexual exploitation. In Hungary, the majority of respondents agreed that anyone could be trafficked, irrespective of their age or gender (93%); the majority also agreed that young women were more likely to become victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation (89% agreed). In Great Britain, about 91% of respondents agreed that anyone could be trafficked notwithstanding their age or gender. However, a significantly lower share of respondents (70%) thought that most victims of trafficking were sexually exploited young women.

[2] An official term in the Ukrainian law and policy to describe victims of trafficking, despite the availability of an equivalent term 'victim' in the Ukrainian language

[3] For a critical assessment of the methodological inadequacy of the Global Slavery Index see https://www.opendemocracy.net/beyondslavery/siobhán-mcgrath-fabiola-mieres/mapping-politics-of-national-rankings-in-movement-again + https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/anne-gallagher/global-slavery-index-seduction-and-obfuscation

Figure 2.1: Who are the victims? (%, national samples, not fully comparable due to different national age ranges)

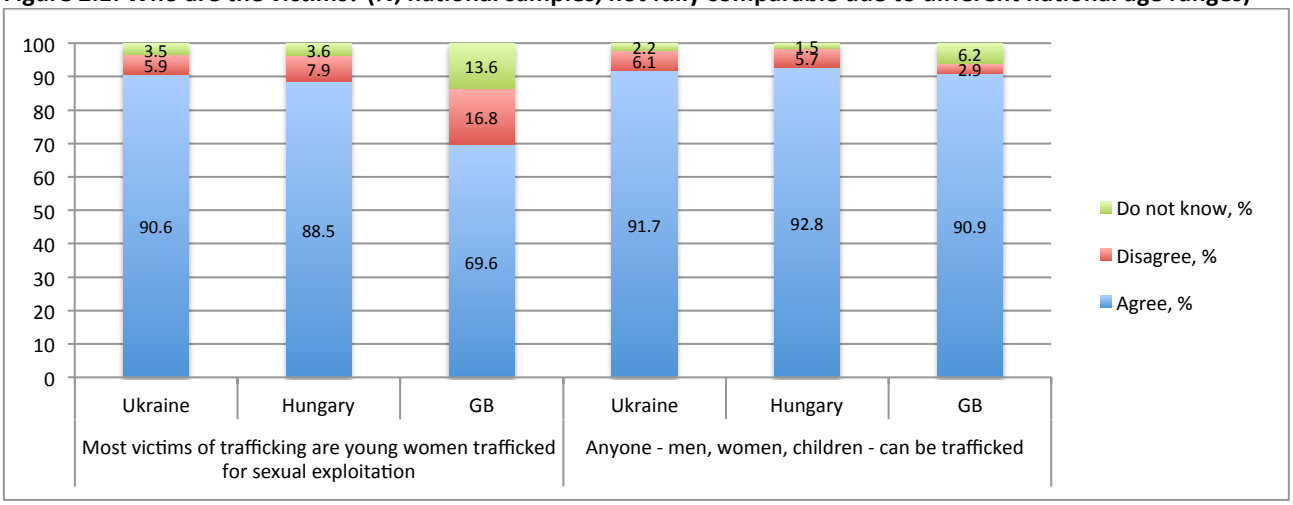


Table 2.1 below summarises outcomes of the statistical analysis (SPSS, chi-square test for association), which explored the nature of the relationship between respondents' socio-demographic characteristics and the overall response pattern at the national level.

Table 2.1: Who are the victims? National responses / socio-demographic characteristics relationship pattern

	Ukraine (N=1,000; age 15-59)				Hungary (N=1,000; age 18 and older)				Great Britain (N=1,000; age 16 and older)			
	Gender	Age	Education	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*
Most victims are women trafficked for sexual exploitation	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Anyone – men, women and children – can be trafficked	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

* Respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (see Part 1 of this research report)

In all three countries, there is a relationship between respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking and their responses to these two questions. In Ukraine and Hungary, the relationship between other socio-economic characteristics is not as pronounced as in Great Britain. In Ukraine, there is a statistically significant relationship between respondents' level of education and their response to the statement that most victims were women trafficked for sexual exploitation. In Hungary, where respondents of all ages above 18 were included into the sample (unlike Ukraine, where the age range was limited to 15-59), there was a statistically significant relationship between the age of respondents and their views on whether most victims of trafficking were women trafficked for sexual exploitation. In Great Britain, both the age of respondents and their occupation were variables showing significant relationship with respondents' answers to both questions. The nature of this relationship is further discussed in Part 3 of the report.

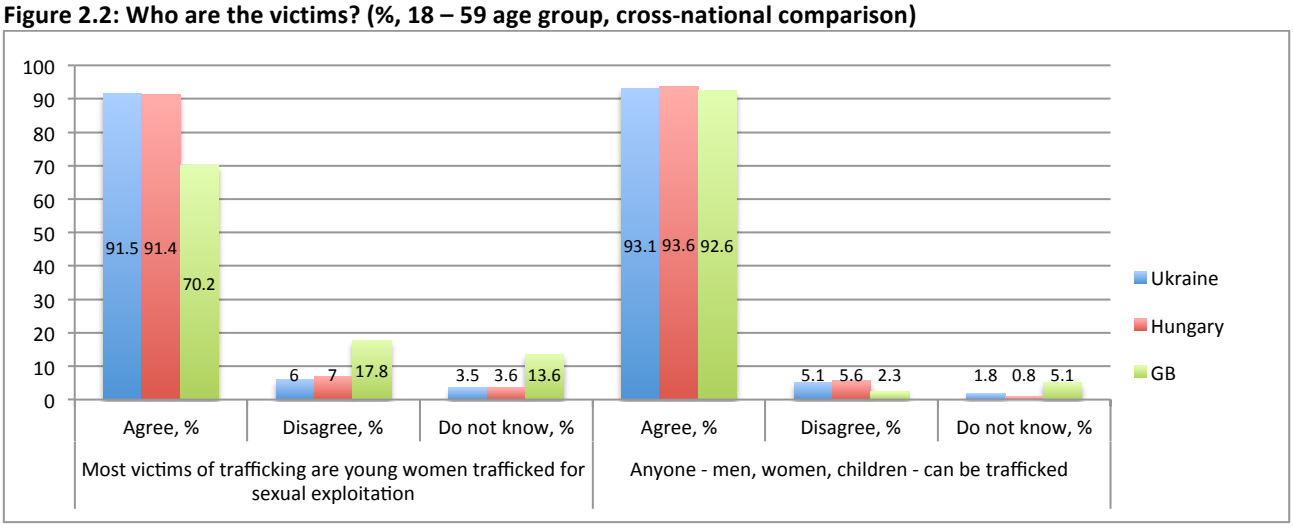
Cross-national comparison

For respondents in the 18-59 age group, which allows a cross-national comparison, results did not differ significantly from complete national samples. These results are presented in Figure 2.2.

There is an almost uniform level of agreement among respondents in these three case-study countries that anyone, including men, women and children, can be trafficked. At the same time, almost equal majorities in Ukraine and Hungary believe that most victims of trafficking are women trafficked for sexual exploitation; with a significantly lower share of respondents in Great Britain – although still a sizeable majority (70%) – supporting this opinion. This may reflect the initial framing of trafficking as the problem affecting predominantly women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation, mirrored in the very title of Palermo Protocol (the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children) and the subsequent policy framing of human trafficking (see Sharapov 2015). In the case of Great Britain, the analysis of policy documents and media representations of trafficking in the UK demonstrates a clear shift from problematizing trafficking as an individualised story of sexual abuse and violation, to the interlinked problem of organised crime, terrorism and illegal immigration, and to the issue of 'modern day slavery'. Within this context, the reductive narrative of sexual abuse and victimhood is being replaced with a series of equally reductive media and policy narratives – historical (slavery) narratives, totalising yet highly individualised anti-crime and anti-immigration narratives, and the narratives of 'race' (see, for example, Telegraph 2014) and individual deviousness (see, for example, Mail Online 2013, Mirror 2013). Such an on-going 're-ordering' of media and policy

discourses, which replaces one set of reductive frames with another set of equally reductive representations, may be a factor behind the lower share of respondents in the UK associating human trafficking with young women trafficked for sexual exploitation.

Figure 2.2: Who are the victims? (%, 18 – 59 age group, cross-national comparison)



Victims of Trafficking: 'Illegal' immigrants from poor countries searching for work?

Survey questions

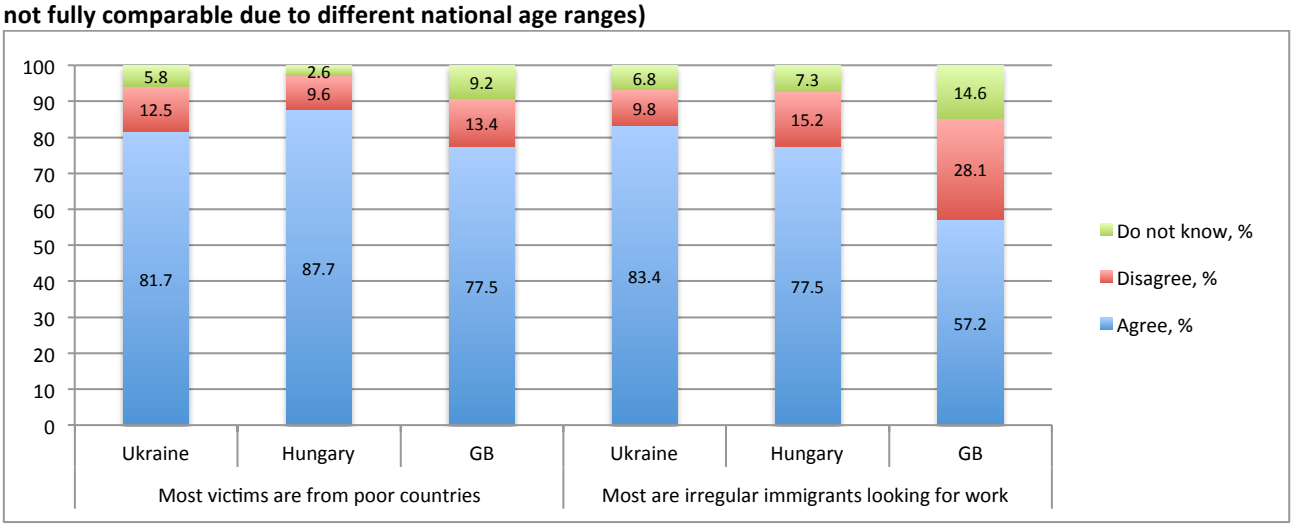
Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- Most victims of trafficking come from poor countries
- Most victims of trafficking are illegal immigrants who are looking for work

Responses at the national level

The two statements above sought to identify the extent to which the general public (a) had a specific view of victims of trafficking as coming from poor countries; and (b) associated victims of trafficking with 'irregular' economic immigrants in response to an increasingly accepted framing of trafficking by national authorities as a subset of 'illegal' immigration, within which only a small proportion of people claiming to be victims of trafficking are recognised as 'genuine'. The first question did not include any economic development benchmarks to distinguish between 'rich' and 'poor' countries; it relied on respondents' individual subjective assessments of what a 'poor country' could mean.

Figure 2.3: Victims of Trafficking: Illegal immigrants from poor countries searching for work? (%, national samples, not fully comparable due to different national age ranges)



In Ukraine, a country ranked 78th out of 186 countries according to the Human Development Index 2013 (UNDP 2013), with a 24.3% relative poverty rate, and US$ 3,867 per capita income (ibid.), about 82% of respondents agreed that most victims of trafficking came from poor countries, 12% disagreed, and 6% did not know or provided no

answer. A similar pattern characterises responses to the second question: 83% agreed that most victims were 'illegal' immigrants looking for work, 10% disagreed and 7% did not know or provided no answer. In Hungary, ranked 37th out of 186 countries on the Human Development Index 2013 (UNDP 2013a), 88% of respondents agreed that most victims of trafficking came from poor countries, about 10% disagreed, and 3% did not know/had no opinion. However, only 78% of respondents agreed that most victims were 'illegal' immigrants looking for work. In Great Britain, with the UK ranked 26th in the 2013 Human Development Index (ibid.), 78% of respondents agreed that most victims of trafficking came from poor countries, 13% disagreed, and 9% did not know or did not have an opinion. When asked for their opinion on whether most victims of trafficking were irregular immigrants, significantly less respondents agreed with this statement: 57% agreed, 28% disagreed, and 7% did not know or did not have an opinion.

Table 2.2 provides some details on the relationship between respondents' answers and their socio-demographic characteristics, and their ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (SPSS, chi-square test for association). A more detailed statistical overview of this relationship is included in Part 3 of this research paper. The outline results suggest there is a significant link between respondents' responses to these two questions and their education in Ukraine, and no relationship between respondents' answers and their gender or age. In Hungary, there is a statistically significant relationship between respondents' occupation and their responses to the 'most victim come from poor countries' statement; and there is a relationship between respondents' age and their response to the second statement, which suggested that most victims were 'illegal' immigrants looking for work. In Great Britain, the overall response pattern to these two questions is affected by all three socio-economic characteristics apart from gender in relation to the question on 'Illegal' migration, where there appears to be no statistically significant relationship. In addition, all three datasets demonstrate a relationship between respondents' ability to describe in their own words what human trafficking means and their responses to these questions.

Table 2.2: Victims of Trafficking: 'Illegal' immigrants from poor countries searching for work? National responses / socio-demographic characteristics relationship pattern

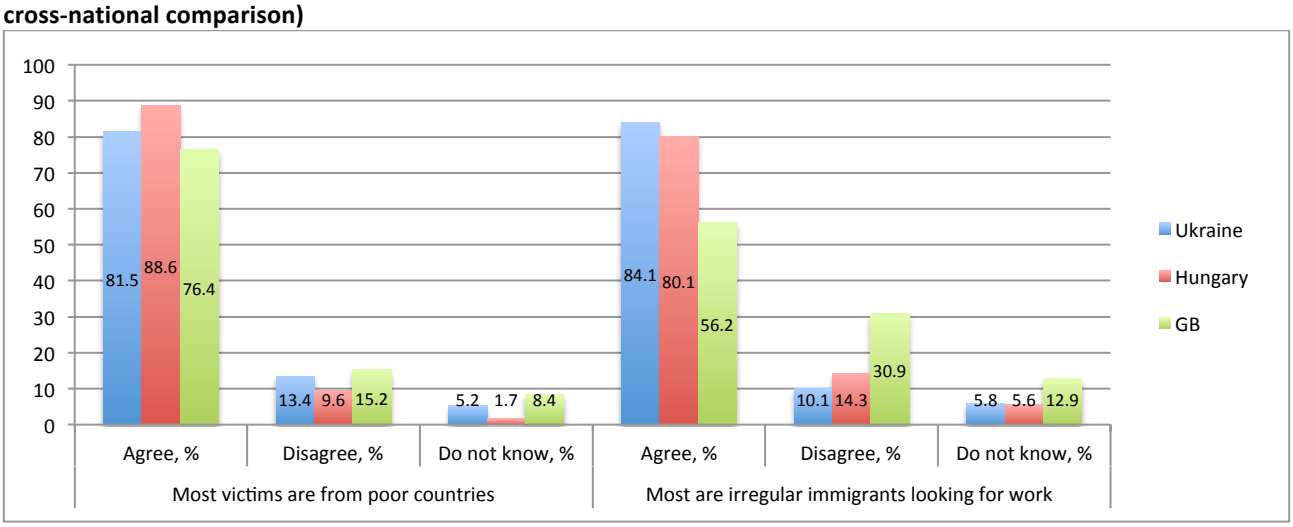
	Ukraine (N=1,000; age 15-59)				Hungary (N=1,000; age 18 and older)				Great Britain (N=1,000; age 16 and older)			
	Gender	Age	Education	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*
Most victims are from poor countries	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Most are irregular immigrants looking for work	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

* Respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (see Part 1 of this research report)

Cross-national comparison

For respondents in the 18-58 age group, which allows a cross-national comparison, results did not, overall, differ significantly from complete national datasets; they are presented in Figure 2.4 below.

Figure 2.4: Victims of Trafficking: Illegal immigrants from poor countries searching for work? (%, 18 – 59 age group, cross-national comparison)



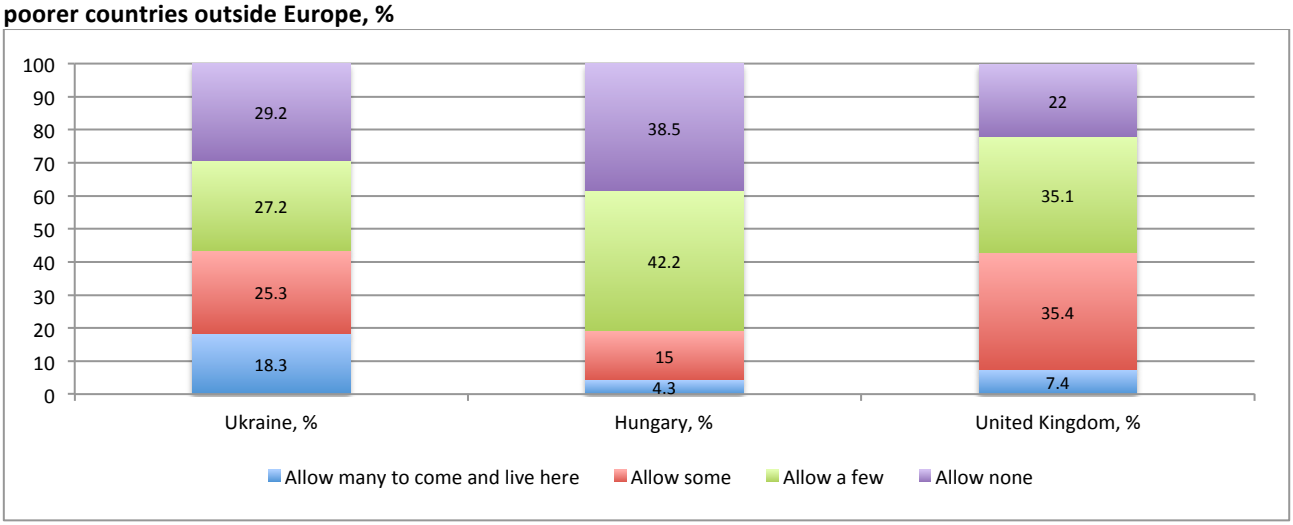
Among the three case-study countries, respondents from Great Britain were less likely to agree with both statements and, consequently, were more likely to either disagree or provide a 'do not know/ no opinion' answer. This was especially noticeable with the regards to the question on victims' immigration status with about 31% of GB respondents disagreeing with the statement. This outcome should be further explored within the context, where the UK Government's anti-trafficking policy actively constructs trafficking as a matter of crime and 'illegal' immigration,

the increasing number of racially prejudiced people in the UK (Guardian 2014), and the complex nature of economic and non-economic determinants influencing individual attitudes towards immigration (Facchini et al. 2013).

In Ukraine, traditionally considered as one of the key countries of labour migrants' origin in Europe and, increasingly, a country of destination for labour migrants from some of the former Soviet Union republics, high levels of agreement among respondents with both statements may reflect a specific understanding and attitudes among the general public towards a large-scale labour migration, described by a term 'zarobytchanstvo' – which remains a poorly theorized and explored phenomenon. Interviews with some of the Ukrainian non-governmental organisations (conducted in November – December 2014[4]) suggest that the concept of 'zarobytchanstvo', which in addition to internal labour migration covers both legal and irregular(ised) ways of entering labour markets outside Ukraine, includes an expectation of financial and/or physical hardship as almost routine on the continuum of most migrants' experiences of moving and finding a job outside Ukraine. The analysis presented in Part 1 of this report (see Sharapov 2014a) suggests that there may be a gap between public understanding of human trafficking (or 'the sale of people' as a policy term used to describe trafficking in Ukraine) as an extreme illegal practice of slavery and 'involuntary' exploitation on the one hand, and voluntary labour migration, on the other hand, even if the latter may involve varying degrees of physical, emotional or financial hardship. Nevertheless, responses to these two questions suggest that the majority of respondents in Ukraine do associate human trafficking with irregular(ised) migration and economic vulnerability. This, what appears to be, a 'mismatch' between the general public's own interpretation of trafficking and their degree of agreement with the two statements reviewed in this section may be due to the fact that all respondents were given a prompt once they provided their own interpretation of what human trafficking was. This prompt included a definition of human trafficking and highlighted the fact that trafficked people are tricked or forced into forced labour, begging, sexual exploitation, and could be recruited by acquaintances, relatives or criminal gangs, often with promises of well-paid jobs. Further research is required to explore public understanding of labour exploitation, including its extreme form of forced labour, human trafficking, economic vulnerability, voluntary and involuntary migration experiences by the general public in Ukraine. This is especially important within the context of the deteriorating economic and political situation in Ukraine, which is set to have a significant impact on the number of internally displaced Ukrainian citizens, who may be considering leaving Ukraine in search of work, including both 'regular' and 'irregular' migration channels (see Jaroszewicz 2014).

In Hungary, about 87% of respondents – the highest among the three countries – agreed that most victims came from poor countries; an equally high number of respondents agreed that most victims were irregular immigrants looking for work. These outcomes may reflect increasing anti-immigration attitudes in the country, reported by Tarki in July 2014 (Tarki 2014), and measured by the European Social Survey (ESS) Round 6 (ESS 2012). The ESS includes a range of questions on the issue of immigration, which this paper does not discuss. However, a measure of public opinion towards letting many or few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe (see Figure 2.5 below) indicates a clear difference in the distribution of attitudes in Ukraine, Hungary and the UK, with a larger majority of respondents in Hungary selecting 'allow a few' and 'allow none' in comparison to respondents in the UK and Ukraine.

Figure 2.5: European Social Survey (2012): Attitudes towards immigration – Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe, %



Source: ESS6-2012, ed.2.0 weight: post-stratification weight including design weight

[4] See Part 4 of the Research Report for further details (to be released by the end of 2015)

Human Trafficking and I: it is a problem? Does it affect me directly?

Human Trafficking: a problem for the country? A problem that affects me directly?

Survey questions
Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:
- Human trafficking does not affect me directly
- Human trafficking is a problem in this country

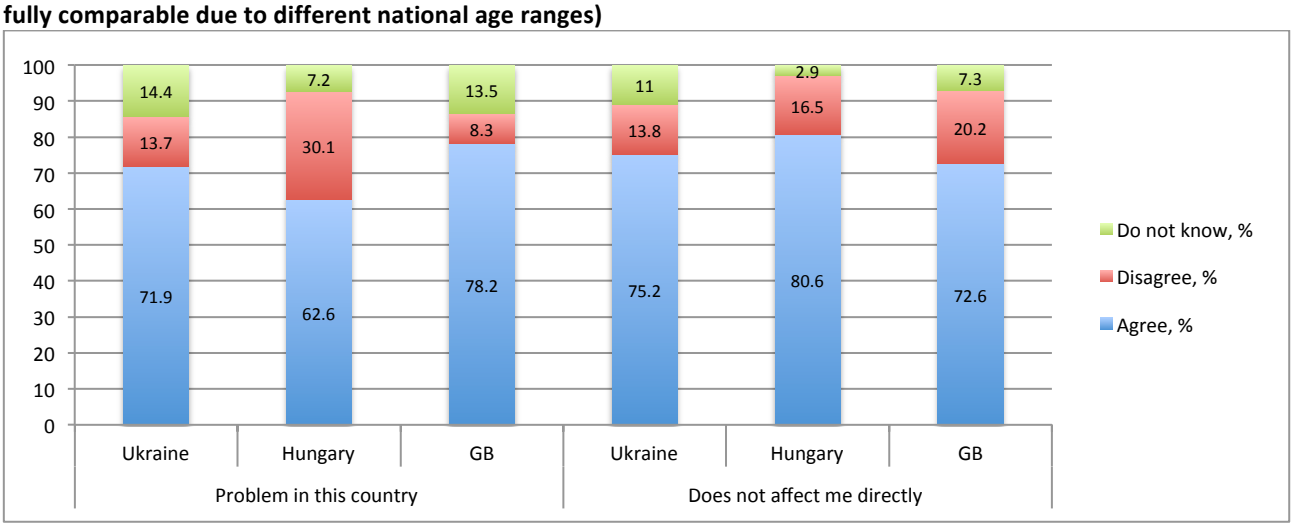
Responses at the national level

These two questions asked respondents to express their opinion on the extent to which they considered human trafficking to be a problem in their respective countries, and whether it was a problem, which they felt affected them directly.

The dominant representations of human trafficking within international and national policy and legal frameworks as a matter of crime, immigration, victim identification and assistance, and, in some contexts, its conflation with prostitution, construct trafficking as a phenomenon of little relevance to everyday lives of 'ordinary' citizens who rarely come into direct contact with traffickers and 'their victims'[5]. The only exception to this are 'those that pay for sexual services from trafficked women' (UK Strategy 2011: 23). In addition, the sensationalist media reporting of isolated instances of 'slaves' held by private individuals in 'suburban jails' and of their 'miraculous' rescue in the UK (Telegraph 2013a, Mirror 2013a, Guardian 2013), of 'black transpontologists', accused of trafficking in human organs in Ukraine (Segodnya 2013), and references to 'Roma criminality' within the context of human trafficking in Hungary (CoE 2012:113) set the media-frame of the 'scandal of human trafficking' (UN 2013) as one of a highly deviant nature. Despite this 'scandal' being clearly linked to other issues of concern ranked as important by the general public including race relations, immigration, crime, law and order (Ipsos MORI 2014), human trafficking remains separated from the immediate economic, social or ethical universe of the 'normal' person's life. Human trafficking, policy-makers and the media tell us, resides in the murky world of criminal gangs and syndicates, organised criminals, illegal border crossing, brothels, and communities at the 'margins'.

The national survey responses appear to reflect this view of trafficking as a problem for the nation but not as a problem that affects citizens directly. In Ukraine, about 72% of respondents agreed that trafficking was a problem in their country, 14% disagreed, and 14% provided a 'do not know/no opinion' answer. A similar share of respondents, about 75%, did not consider trafficking to be a problem that affected them directly. In Hungary, about 63% of respondents thought that trafficking was a problem, 30% disagreed, and 7% did not know or provided no opinion. A higher share of respondents – about 80% - did not consider trafficking as a problem that affected them directly. In Great Britain, 78% of respondents considered trafficking as a problem, 8.3% disagreed and 13.5% did not know or provided no opinion; 73% did not perceive it to be a problem affecting them directly. Figure 2.6 provides a visual representation of these data.

Figure 2.6: Is human trafficking a problem in this country? Does it affect you directly? (%, national samples, not fully comparable due to different national age ranges)



[5] The UK Human Trafficking Strategy's wording 'traffickers and their victims' appears to be self-explanatory and unproblematic in the first place; however within the context of the UK Government's interpretation of human trafficking as a problem residing in the realm of the foreign, criminal, devious and deviant, 'trafficking and their victims' becomes a tool of responsibility diffusion implicating 'traffickers' and traffickers only in the crime of trafficking, and ignoring a range of broader structural factors (see Sharapov 2015).

Table 2.3 includes details on the relationship between respondents' answers to these two questions and their socio-demographic characteristics (SPSS, chi-square test for association) and their ability to provide a definition of human trafficking. In all three countries, there is a statistically significant relationship between respondents' ability to describe what they think human trafficking is and their responses to these two questions. The nature of this relationship will be reviewed in more detail in Part 3 of this research report. At the same time, there appears to be no relationship between Ukrainian respondents' gender, age or level of education and their responses to these questions. In Hungary, age and occupation are linked to respondents' views on whether trafficking is a problem in Hungary; however responses to the question on whether trafficking affects respondents directly are not pattered by gender, age or occupation. In Great Britain, there is a statistically significant relationship between respondents' age and occupation but not gender and their responses to both questions.

Table 2.3: Is human trafficking a problem in this country? Does it affect you directly? National responses / socio-demographic characteristics relationship pattern

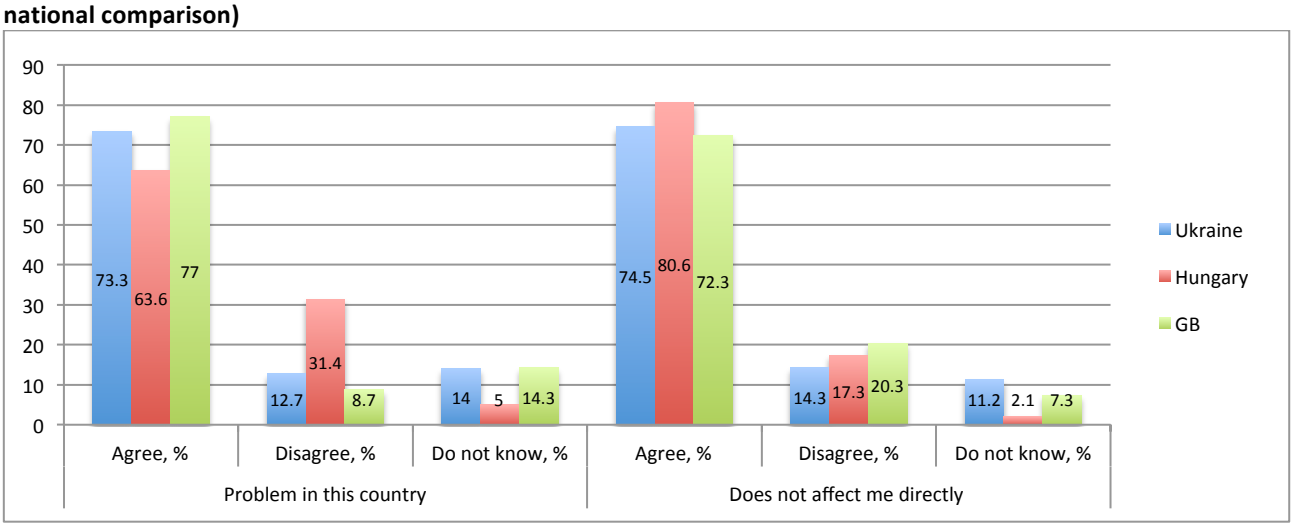
	Ukraine (N=1,000; age 15-59)				Hungary (N=1,000; age 18 and older)				Great Britain (N=1,000; age 16 and older)			
	Gender	Age	Education	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*
Problem in this country	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Does not affect me directly	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

* Respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (see Part 1 of this research report)

Cross-national comparison

For respondents in the 18-58 age group, which allows a cross-national comparison, results did not, overall, differ significantly from complete national datasets; they are represented in Figure 2.7 below.

Figure 2.7: Is human trafficking a problem in this country? Does it affect you directly? (%, 18 – 59 age group, cross-national comparison)



With a significantly lower level of agreement among respondents in Hungary that human trafficking was a problem (64%) in comparison to Ukraine (73%) and Great Britain (77%), Hungary, consequently, was also a country with a significantly larger number of respondents in comparison to Ukraine and Great Britain who disagreed that human trafficking was a problem in their country (31%) rather than being uncertain or not having an opinion. In both Ukraine and Hungary, the number of respondents who considered trafficking as not affecting them directly was higher than the number of respondents who thought it was a problem in their own country. Overall, responses to these questions indicate that in all three countries, the majority of respondents consider human trafficking to be a problem in their country (with the highest proportion in Great Britain – about 77%, and the lowest in Hungary - 64%), however the majority of respondents did not perceive it as a problem which affected them directly (with the highest proportion in Hungary - about 81%, and the lowest in Great Britain – 72.3%). About a third of respondents in Hungary (31%) did not perceive trafficking to be a problem in their country - a significantly higher proportion of respondents than in Ukraine or Great Britain.

My shopping habits, labour exploitation and human trafficking

Survey questions
Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- When I do my daily shopping I do not normally think if things that I buy were produced by victims of trafficking or forced labour
- I would be prepared to pay up to 10% more for goods and services if I knew that people who produced them were not trafficked, exploited and were paid a living wage
- I would personally be prepared to boycott companies and businesses if I knew they relied on trafficked or exploited labour

The survey included a series of agree/disagree statements to explore respondents' awareness of the links between human trafficking and exploited labour[6] on the one hand, and their everyday purchasing behaviour and preparedness to buy and act ethically on the other hand.

A number of considerations need to be taken into account when assessing responses to these questions:

(a) The increasing awareness among European consumers of various ethical trading initiatives, including fair trade schemes across Europe (The Guardian 2013a, FairTrade Association 2014); and, at the same time,

(b) Unresolved scholarly and policy-level debates on the nature of the relationship between consumer attitudes and beliefs on the one hand, and consumer practices and purchasing behaviour on the other hand. These include a central question: how awareness, as a factor, interacts with other key influences, including individual ethical beliefs, normative influences and socio-economic characteristics, broader socio-economic and political contexts, and ideological frameworks, and to what extent such complex interactions remain a predictor of individual purchasing behaviours. A research briefing on fair trade and consumers in the European Union, released by the European Parliamentary Research Service in 2014 suggests that 'Influencing collective decisions, e.g. provisioning policies for retail outlets and public spaces, may be a more productive approach to increasing market for fair trade products than focusing on individual consumer decisions' (EPRS 2014: 2). It may be suggested, however, that for any policies targeting 'collective decisions' to be effective, a certain level of awareness of exploitative labour among the general population may be required.

(c) The following three groups of factors influence the development of such awareness: broader socio-economic, political and cultural factors (a macro-level); specific media and policy problem representations (a meso-level); and individual identities of aware/unaware consumers (micro/individual level). The variety and the nature of macro-level factors make the task of assessing their influence on public awareness and attitudes problematic. At the same time, the influence of meso-level factors, including specific policy and media frames, may be identified especially within the context of comparative cross-national research. The importance of such assessments is crucial in the context, where the majority of citizens may never come across a person identified by anti-trafficking policies as a 'genuine' victim and, therefore, rely on policy and media messages to form their knowledge of the phenomenon represented in the policy as something ethereal yet everywhere. The analysis of policy and media representation of trafficking in Ukraine, Hungary and the UK - undertaken as part of this project - highlights how dominant policy representations of trafficking hyperseparate[7] sexual and labour exploitation of victims from the outcomes of this exploitation, and neglect the economic value of victims' labour as if goods and services produced with the involvement of their labour are consumed solely by criminals. This is despite increasing evidence that trafficking, as a subset of exploitative labour practices on the continuum of labour exploitation (Skrivankova 2010) makes 'economic sense'[8].

The degree of consumer awareness of exploitative and trafficked labour, and of consumers' willingness to act ethically should also be considered against recent policy developments at the international and national levels within the broadly defined fields of business and human rights, and corporate social responsibility. Dinah Rajak described the latter as 'theatres of virtue' by arguing that 'by claiming the confluence of good business and doing good, commitment [of corporations] to the market logic of maximisation is not only maintained, but endowed with a moral legitimacy' (2011: 9). These developments include an increasingly apparent ambivalence of national governments to introduce legally binding measures to oblige businesses to eliminate exploitative labour practices from their supply chains with policy arguments cutting across the contested issues of extraterritorial jurisdiction and regulation

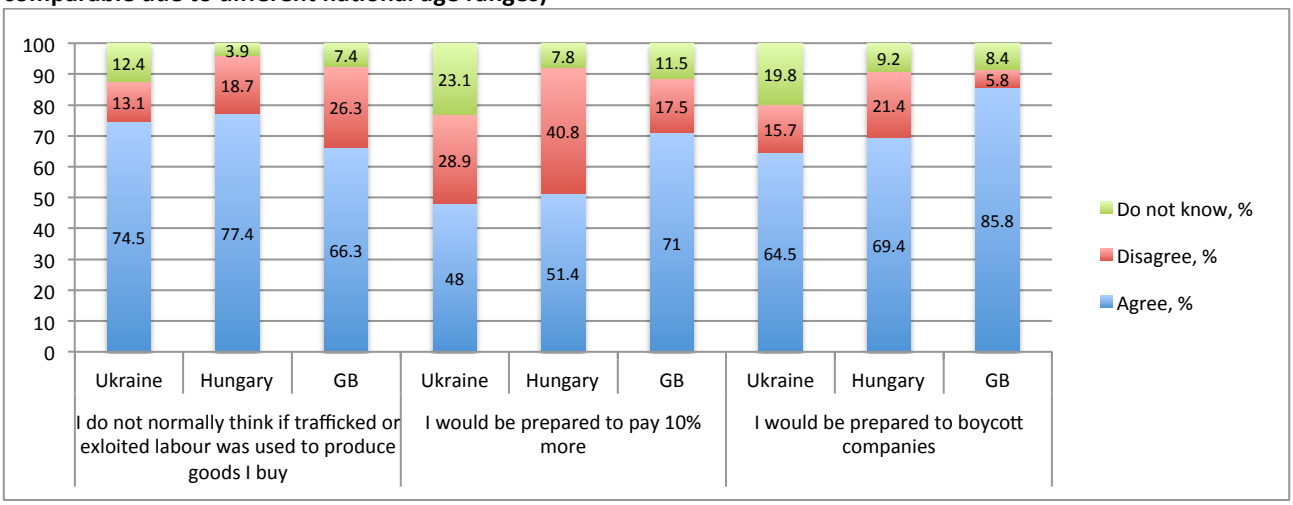
[6] Within the context of this discussion and research exploited labour is understood to as located on a broad continuum of exploitation ranging from decent work to extreme exploitation, introduced by Skrivankova (2010).
[7] Deborah Bird Rose defines hypeseparation as 'the stretching of dualisms so that the two poles have nothing in common' (Rose 2011: 12)
[8] See a series of reports released by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation investigating reliance on labour exploitation across low-paid low-skilled sectors in the UK economy, including a specific study on forced labour's business models and supply chains. Available at: http://www.jrf.org.uk/publications/forced-labour-business-models-supply

(Stephens 2002, Deva and Bilchitz 2013). From this perspective, consumer-citizen awareness of exploitation may only find limited avenues for translating into a meaningful consumer-citizen action within the neoliberal economic context, in which anything that does not contribute to the production of market value, or stands in the way of producing it, is disabled and un-made (Povinelli 2012). In addition, discussions about consumer activism, as we came to know it, are further complicated by a suggestion that 'the ethical becomes a way to manage citizenship, and [that] consumption obscures alternative forms of resistance' (Page 2014: 14). Further research may be required to assess the extent to which opportunities to make informed and ethical purchasing decisions by consumers are made available by national governments/regulators and businesses.

Responses at the national level

In all of the three countries, the majority of respondents acknowledged that they would not normally think whether items they buy on a daily basis may have been produced by victims of trafficking or, generally, people exploited for their labour: 75% in Ukraine, 77% in Hungary, and 66% in Great Britain. When queried about their intentions to engage in ethical consumer behaviour, including boycotting companies implicated in forced and/or trafficked labour, or being prepared to pay more for 'exploitation-free' goods and services, the majority of consumers in the three countries expressed their willingness to act ethically with the only exception being Ukraine, where less than 50% of respondents would be prepared to pay 10% more for goods and services produced without the involvement of exploited and/or trafficked labour. The breakdown of answers at the national level is presented in Figure 2.8 below.

Figure 2.8: My shopping habits, labour exploitation and human trafficking (%, national samples, not fully comparable due to different national age ranges)



The statistical analysis of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha, discussed in Part 3 of the research report) confirms the overall consistency of the survey scale apart from the question on respondents' willingness to pay more to ensure that workers are not exploited and/or trafficked, and are paid a living wage. Within the context of this research this finding may indicate the extent to which a suggestion of consumer involvement in exploitative practices by relying on consumer products produced with the involvement of exploited labour remains outside of the predominant understanding of trafficking, which squarely attributes blame for trafficking to criminals responsible for illegal cross-border movements of 'slaves'. Table 2.4 provides details on the relationship between respondents' answers to these questions, their socio-demographic characteristics, and their ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (SPSS, chi-square test for association).

Table 2.4: Shopping habits, labour exploitation and human trafficking. National responses / socio-demographic characteristics relationship pattern

	Ukraine (N=1,000; age 15-59)				Hungary (N=1,000; age 18 and older)				Great Britain (N=1,000; age 16 and older)			
	Gender	Age	Education	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*
I do not normally think if trafficked or exploited labour was used to produce goods I buy	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
I would be prepared to pay more	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
I would be prepared to boycott companies	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

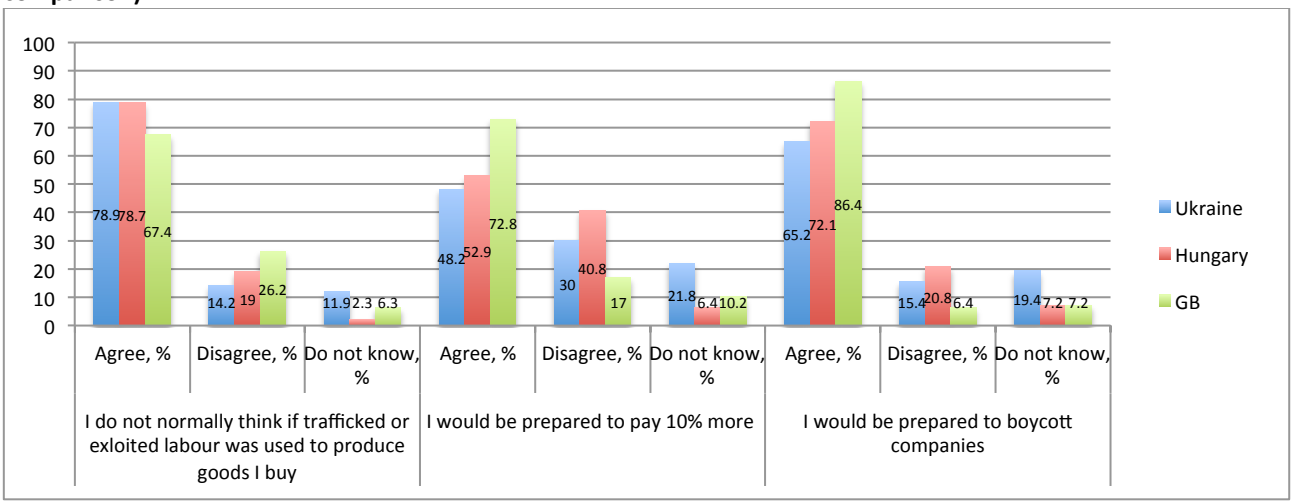
* Respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (see Part 1 of this research report)

Overall, the ability of respondents to explain, in their own words, what human trafficking is appears to be the most pertinent factor in relation to this group of questions. Additionally, in Ukraine, there is a statistically significant relationship between gender and respondents' declared willingness to pay more for goods and services; and there is a statistically significant relationship between respondents' education and their declared willingness to boycott companies that rely on exploited labour. In Hungary, there is a statistically significant relationship between respondents' occupation and their answers to all questions, and between respondents' age and their declared preparedness to boycott companies, and not thinking about trafficked and/or exploited labour when making purchasing decisions. In Great Britain, there is a significant relationship between gender and respondents' answers to the first two questions, and between respondents' age and occupation and their answers to all questions included into this set. The nature of these relationships will be discussed in more detail in Part 3 of the research report.

Cross-national comparison

For respondents in the 18-58 age group, which allows a cross-national comparison, results did not, overall, differ significantly from complete national datasets and are represented in Figure 2.9 below.

Figure 2.9: My shopping habits, labour exploitation and human trafficking (%, 18 – 59 age group, cross-national comparison)



The data suggests a mixed comparative picture of respondents' declared ethical commitments. About 80% of respondents in Ukraine and Hungary admitted that concerns about potential involvement of exploited labour in the production of goods and services they purchased was not a factor in their purchasing behaviour, compared to 68% of respondents in Great Britain. This difference should be considered within the context of the increasing awareness of ethically produced fair trade products in the United Kingdom. For example, according to the Food Statistics Pocketbook 2013 released by the UK Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA 2013:24), sales of 'ethical' food and drink in the UK, including organic, fair-trade, free range and 'freedom food' increased to £7.7 billion in 2012 and represented 8.5% of all household food sales. Such sales increased year on year since 2007 notwithstanding the economic downturn (ibid.) Comparatively, the smallest share of consumers who declared to be concerned about the 'labour exploitation/trafficking' footprint of goods and services were consumers in Ukraine (about 14%). Respondents in Great Britain declared that they were more likely to act ethically if/when the required knowledge was available - about 73% of respondents declared that they would be prepared 10% more for exploitation/trafficking-free goods and services. This is in comparison to 53% of respondents in Hungary and 48% in Ukraine.

In considering respondents' answers to these questions, it is important to account for the impact of 'social desirability' bias[9]. The impact of social desirability within the context of survey research is difficult to assess; it can therefore be assumed that some survey respondents consciously over-report performance of socially desirable behaviours. This means that the share of respondents who self-identified as being concerned about the involvement of trafficked and/or exploited labour in the production of goods and services may be somewhat lower than recorded by the survey, and consequently, the share of respondents not thinking about these issues - somewhat higher. In a similar manner, questions about boycotting companies and business, and about being prepared to overpay for goods and services may have attracted an extra share of responses as a result of respondents' willingness to portray themselves as concerned and aware citizens and consumers.

[9] A situation where respondents, especially within the context of interviewer-administered questionnaires, portray themselves in keeping with perceived cultural norms and may over-declare positively assessed behaviours, opinions or attitudes; see, for example, D'Ancona (2014).

Overall, considered within the context of the open-ended survey responses discussed in Part 1 of the research report (Sharapov 2014a) and despite a number of noticeable differences in national response patterns, there appears to be a gap in respondents' understanding of trafficking as a set of exploitative labour practices, 'slavery', or sexual abuse, on the one hand, and their individual purchasing decisions and practices as they go about their daily life, on the other hand. This finding parallels the outcomes of the government anti-trafficking policy analysis in these three case study counties, which suggests that in all three countries policy representations of trafficking and corresponding anti-trafficking measures are hyperseparated from the economic and political contexts in which the exploitation of trafficked people, labour migrants and non-migrating low-skilled low-paid workers becomes possible. The policy analysis was conducted within the context of this research project; some of its outcomes are further discussed in Sharapov (2014, 2015).

Criminals and 'their victims'[10]

Survey questions
Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement:
- Organized criminals bear the main responsibility for human trafficking

The question to explore whether respondents associated human trafficking with organised crime was included to assess the extent to which public opinion reflected the dominant policy and media representations of human trafficking as a matter of criminality linked to other types of criminal enterprise including trafficking in drugs, arms, money laundering, and terrorism. Article 5 of the 'Palermo Protocol' (United Nations 2000), entitled 'Criminalisation', obliges state parties to establish criminal offences for activities defined by the Protocol as trafficking in human beings. Prosecution, as part of the widely accepted 3-P framework to combat human trafficking (US Department of State 2011), has been predominantly centred on criminal justice responses to specific and individualised illegalities of border-crossing and sexual exploitation, rather than on broader yet specific and identifiable political, economic and legal contexts of 'unfreedom'. In the UK, for example, the Draft Modern Slavery Bill promoted by the UK Government as 'the first of its kind in Europe' (UK Government 2014), begins with a bold statement by the UK Home Secretary: 'Modern slavery is an appalling crime' (UK Government 2013). Human trafficking is indeed a crime; however the questions of who bears responsibility for this crime, and who and how apportions the blame, are key to finding an effective solution to the problem. So far, dominant policy discourses have been reducing the complexity of trafficking to the racialised and gendered binary of 'evil criminal' – 'dehumanised victim', whilst dominant media discourses have been creating a limited set of human trafficking narratives centred around the imagery of chained hands and evil criminals' mugshots. The assumption that underlies such representations is that trafficking can be eliminated by stopping 'criminals and their victims' from crossing borders, identifying those who already crossed them, prosecuting individual criminals, and rescuing 'their' 'genuine' victims.

Responses at the national level

The overwhelming majority of respondents in each of the three countries agreed that organised criminals bore the main responsibility for human trafficking. Figure 2.10 below provides an overview of responses at the national level. Table 2.5 provides details on the relationship between respondents' answers to this question, their socio-demographic characteristics, and their ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (SPSS, chi-square test for association).

There is a statistically significant association between respondents' ability to describe using their own words what human trafficking is and their views on whether organised criminals bear the main responsibility for human trafficking. In terms of other socio-economic characteristics, public opinion in Ukraine appears to be rather uniform with no association between public views and age, gender or educational background. In Great Britain, on the other hand, there is a statistically significant relationship between respondents' gender, age and occupation, and the pattern of responses to this question. In Hungary, gender and age but not respondents' occupation are linked to their views on who bears the main responsibility for trafficking.

[10] The UK Human Trafficking Strategy's wording 'traffickers and their victims' appears to be self-explanatory and unproblematic in the first place; however within the content of the UK Government's interpretation of human trafficking as a problem residing in the realm of the foreign, criminal, devious and deviant, 'trafficking and their victims' becomes a tool of responsibility diffusion implicating 'traffickers' and traffickers only in the crime of trafficking.

Figure 2.10: Organised Criminals Bear the Main Responsibility for Human Trafficking (%, national samples, not fully comparable due to different national age ranges)

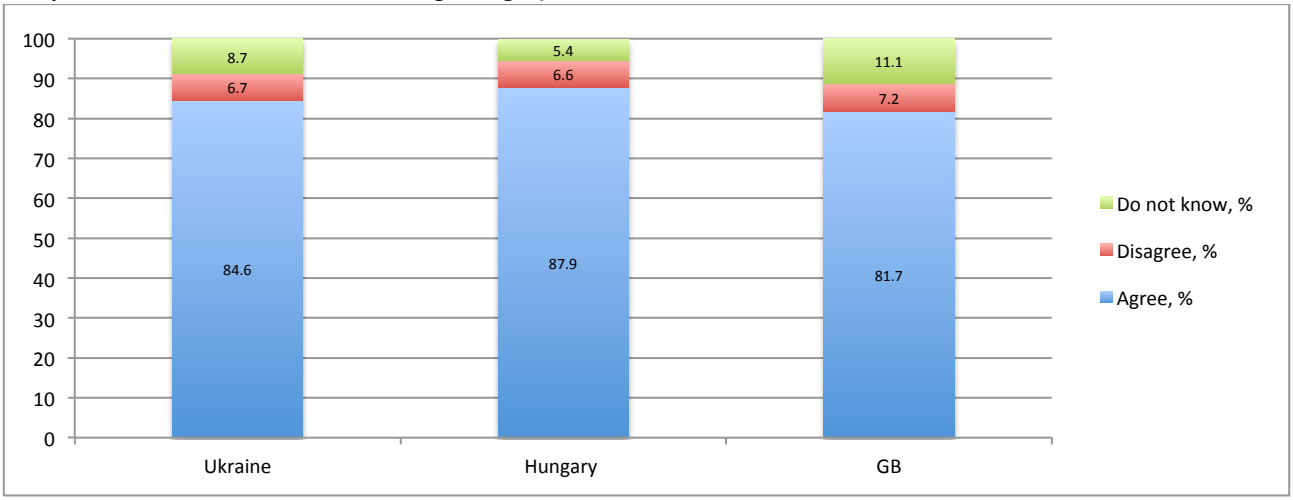


Table 2.5: Criminals and 'their victims'? National responses / socio-demographic characteristics relationship pattern

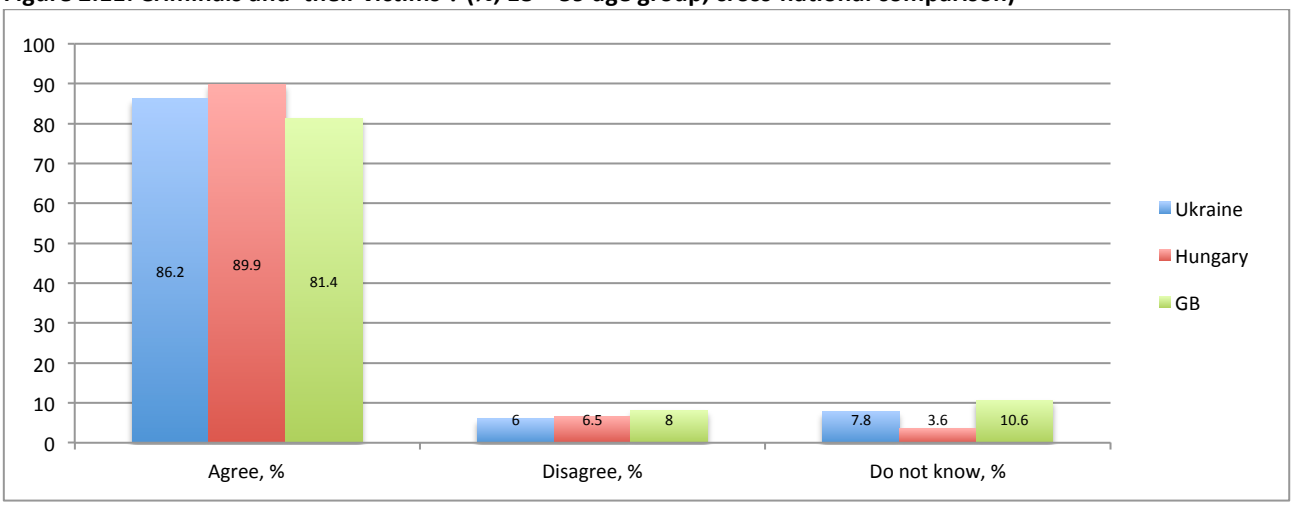
	Ukraine (N=1,000; age 15-59)				Hungary (N=1,000; age 18 and older)				Great Britain (N=1,000; age 16 and older)			
	Gender	Age	Education	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*
Organised criminals bear the main responsibility	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

* Respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (see Part 1 of this research report)

Cross-national comparison

For respondents in the 18-58 age group, which allows a cross-national comparison, results did not, overall, differ significantly from complete national datasets and are represented in Figure 2.11 below.

Figure 2.11: Criminals and 'their victims'? (%, 18 – 59 age group, cross-national comparison)



In all of the three countries, the majority of respondents agree that organised criminals bear the main responsibility for human trafficking, with the highest level of agreement in Hungary – about 90%, followed by Ukraine – about 86%, and Great Britain – about 81%. The extent of disagreement and uncertainty is also broadly similar with respondents in Great Britain, however, exhibiting slightly higher levels of uncertainty (about 11%) in comparison to Hungary (about 4%). Overall, the data suggest that the prevalent public understanding of trafficking as an outcome of criminal activity reflects dominant policy and media interpretations of human trafficking as a matter of organised crime, where 'criminals' bear the main responsibility and, also, are chief 'beneficiaries' of profit derived from moving and exploiting 'genuine' victims.

Victims of human trafficking: re-instating human rights or 'rescuing'?

Survey questions
Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement:

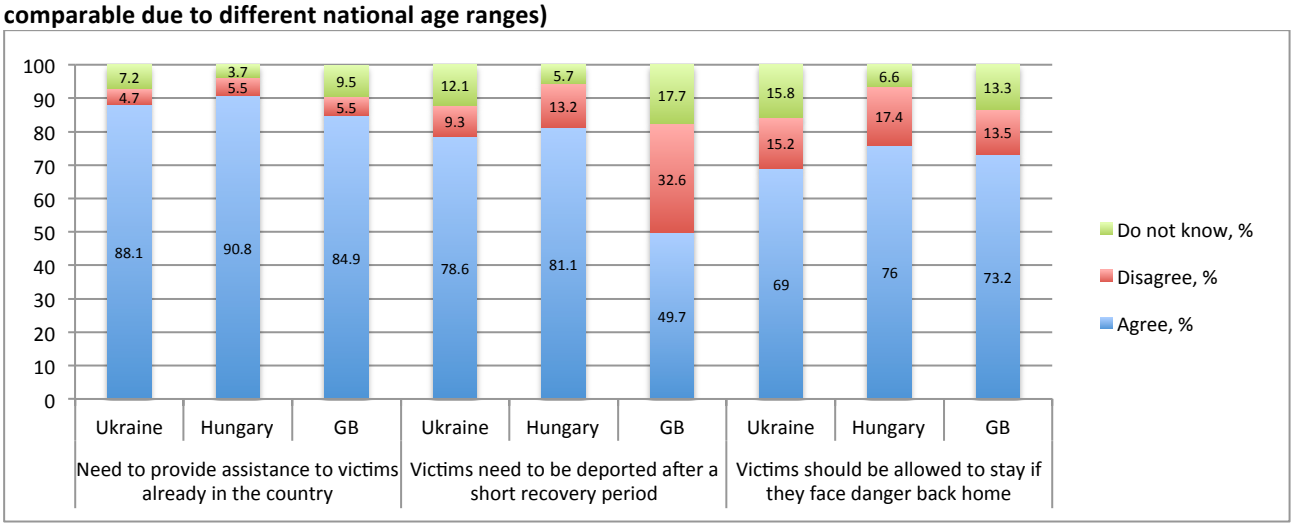
- We need to provide assistance (psychological, legal and financial) to all victims of trafficking already in this country
- Victims of trafficking need to be deported back to their country of origin after a short recovery period
- Victims of trafficking should be allowed to stay in this country legally if they face threats or harm from their traffickers back home

The complexity of identification, protection and assistance provided to victims of human trafficking remains a topic of continuous debates at both policy and scholarly levels. The recurring theme of state responsibilities in relation to victims' protection and identification, and of what constitutes 'genuine' victimhood had been influenced by equally complex debates surrounding the issues of sexual and labour exploitation on the one hand, and the issues of border and immigration controls, on the other. Within this context, the lack of a statutory system for the minimum standards of victim support and assistance in the UK allows the current government to operate a deeply flawed policy-based 'National Referral Mechanism' (UK Parliament 2013) as an instrument of security and border control to separate 'genuine' victims of trafficking from 'illegal' immigrants, 'bogus asylum seekers' and 'criminals'. On the other hand, in Ukraine, a separate piece of legislation identifies a minimum set of standards for the provision of care and assistance to potential and confirmed victims of human trafficking (Parliament of Ukraine 2013). The very word 'victim' is omitted from the Ukrainian legislation, which, instead, identifies a victim as 'a person who suffered from [the process of] the sale of people' and confirms the priority of reinstating their human rights. At the same time, the extent to which the existing legal and policy frameworks in Ukraine are capable of reinstating human rights of many thousands of Ukrainian citizens exploited abroad for their labour is severely limited due to the ongoing socio-economic and political crises in the country. These include a rapid increase in the number of economically, socially and psychologically vulnerable internally displaced people as a result of the conflict in the East of the country and the annexation of Crimea by Russian Federation in March 2014. As of January 2015, the number of internally displaced people in Ukraine ranged from 659,000 to 921,000 (UNHCR 2015). In order to explore public attitudes towards how much support and assistance were to be made available to victims of human trafficking, including an option of staying legally in respective countries, survey respondents were asked to indicate their extent of agreement or disagreement with the three statements mentioned above.

Responses at the national level

Responses at the national level are presented in Figure 2.12 below.

Figure 2.12: Victims: Reinstating human rights or 'rescuing' 'genuine' victims? (%, national samples, not fully comparable due to different national age ranges)



In Ukraine, although the majority of respondents (about 88%) agreed that victims of trafficking needed to have access to psychological, legal or financial assistance to enable their rehabilitation and recovery, only 69% of respondents agreed that victims should be allowed to stay in Ukraine if they faced danger in their home countries. The majority of respondents (79%) also agreed that once rehabilitated, victims should be deported back to their countries of origin. In

Hungary, the overwhelming majority of respondents (about 91%) agreed that victims should have access to support, and that victims who faced danger upon returning home were to be allowed to stay (about 76%). This view aligns with the victim-centred policy approach outlined by the Hungarian government in its 2013-2016 Anti-Trafficking Strategy (Government of Hungary 2013). A significant majority (about 81%) however also agreed that victims had to be deported to their countries of origin after a short recovery period. In Great Britain, the majority of respondents (85%) agreed that victims had to be supported, with a smaller majority (73%) agreeing that victims should be allowed to stay in the UK if they faced danger back home. Less than half of respondents in Great Britain agreed with the statement that victims should be deported back to their countries of origin after a short recovery period.

Table 2.6 provides details on the relationship between respondents' answers to this question and their socio-demographic characteristics, and their ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (SPSS, chi-square test for association).

Table 2.6: Victims: Reinstating human rights or 'rescuing' 'genuine' victims? National responses / socio-demographic characteristics relationship pattern

	Ukraine (N=1,000; age 15-59)				Hungary (N=1,000; age 18 and older)				Great Britain (N=1,000; age 16 and older)			
	Gender	Age	Education	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*
Provide assistance to all victims already in this country	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Victims to be deported back to countries of origin after a short recovery period	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Victims to stay legally if they face threats or harm from traffickers back home	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

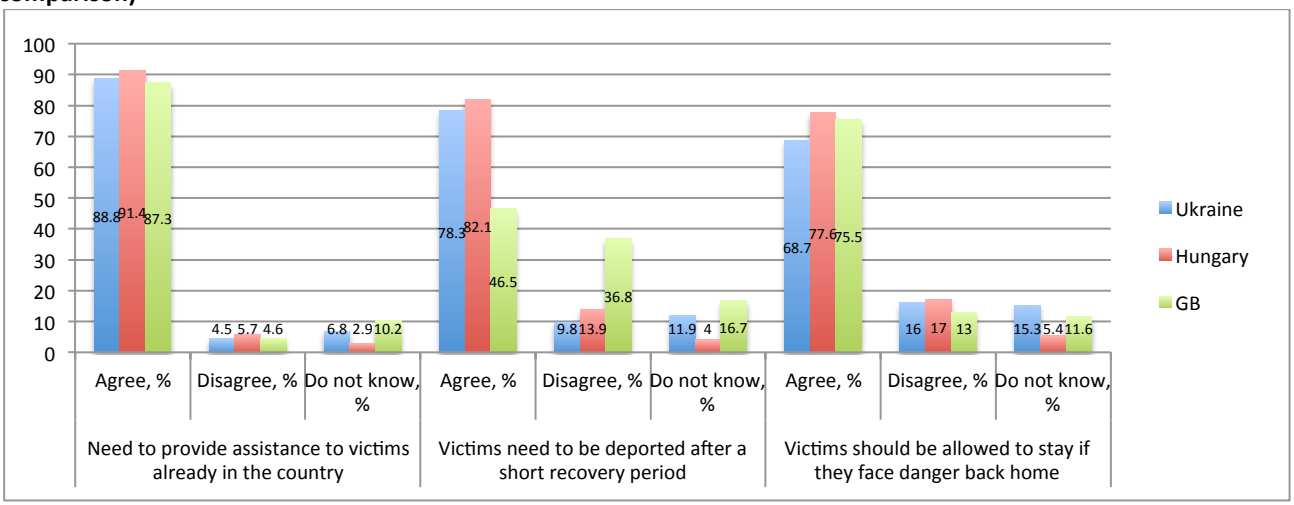
* Respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (see Part 1 of this research report)

In Ukraine, respondents' educational background appears to be linked to the variability of responses to these three questions. Gender, on the contrary, does not appear as a statistically significant association. There was a more mixed picture of statistically significant influence between responses to these three questions, on the one hand, and respondents' age and their ability to define in their own words what human trafficking is, on the other hand.
In Hungary, respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking using their own words and without any prompts appears to be a statistically significant factor in their responses. There is no statistically significant relationship between respondents' answers and their gender, and a mixed picture of influence/relationship between respondents' answers and their occupation and age. In Great Britain, there is a statistically significant relationship between occupation and age of respondents, their ability to provide a definition of human trafficking, and their answers to these three questions. There is a statistically significant relationship between respondents' gender and their responses to the question on whether victims of trafficking should be deported following a short recovery period. The nature of these relationships will be further explored in Part 3 of this research report.

Cross-national comparison

For respondents in the 18-59 age group, which allows a comparison between the countries, results did not differ significantly from complete national samples, and are represented in Figure 2.13 below.
Cross-nationally, there appears to be an almost uniform level of support (about 90%) among respondents in all three countries in relation to the provision of psychological, legal and financial assistance with relatively low levels of disagreement and uncertainty, apart from Great Britain, where 10% of respondents were unsure whether such support had to be provided to victims of trafficking. Although still in the majority, support for an option 'Victims should be allowed to stay if they face danger back home' was lower in comparison to support for providing victims with assistance, with the largest drop in the level of support recorded for Ukraine (a drop of 20.1% from 88.8% to 68.7%), followed by Hungary (13.8%) and Great Britain (11.8%). The option of having victims deported after a short recovery period gained most support in Hungary (82.1%), followed by Ukraine (78.3%), and a significantly lower level of support in Great Britain (46.5%), where a significant minority of respondents (36.8%) disagreed with this statement, and a considerable share of respondents did not provide an answer or had no opinion (16.7%).

Figure 2.13: Victims: Reinstating human rights or 'rescuing' 'genuine' victims? (%, 18 – 59 age group, cross-national comparison)



Overall, public opinion appears to reflect, on an aggregate level, a dominant policy approach to victims' rescue and assistance: identified victims need to be provided with psychological, legal and financial assistance; following a short recovery period victims must be deported or, alternatively, allowed to stay if they face danger upon return to their country of origin. On a structural level, this approach has been criticised for: (a) failing to recognise and address the diversity of people assessed by governments to meet narrow national definitions of 'genuine' victims, and their location on the continuums of free-unfree labour and regular-irregularised migration; and (b) failing to acknowledge and address structural causes of trafficking, including gendered and racialised inequality (including inequality on the basis of nationality or citizenship) within and between nation states, and the productive role such inequality plays within the context of neoliberal capitalist economies. The implementation of such rescue-centred policies has been hampered at national levels by factors specific to individual national contexts, which this report is not attempting to fully cover. A removal of all references to human rights of trafficked people from the anti-trafficking legal and policy frameworks in the UK, a range of criticisms surrounding the functioning of the UK's National Referral mechanism, inadequate (in relation to the magnitude of the problem) funding of anti-trafficking activities in Ukraine (see Sharapov 2014) are some of the indicators highlighting the extent to which anti-trafficking policies and approaches adopted by national governments remain 'not fit for purpose'.

Preventing Human Trafficking

Key anti-trafficking policy prevention measures

Survey questions
Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- We need tougher border controls to stop victims of trafficking from entering this country in the first place
- We need tougher law enforcement to tackle criminals responsible for trafficking
- All European countries should criminalize the purchase of sexual services\prostitution
- Countries where people are trafficked from need to do more to increase their standard of living so that their nationals do not need to look for work abroad

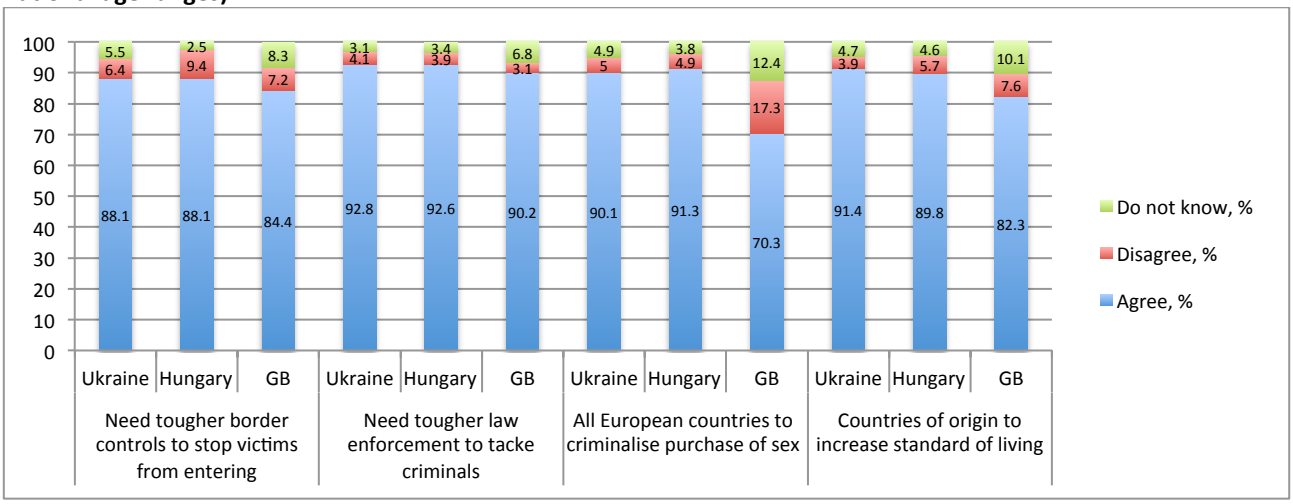
Over recent years, the fight against 'modern slavery' has become one of the key priorities for almost every European government that reaffirmed its commitment to the '3P' paradigm (Prevention, Prosecution, Protection) as reflected in the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (United Nations 2000) and the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking (Council of Europe 2005). National policies on immigration, crime prevention, anti-terrorism and prostitution – often controversial and divisive in their own right - intersected to produce a specific environment within which the '3-P' anti-trafficking activities have been developed and implemented. The review of national policies undertaken within the context of this research indicates that national approaches towards 'Prevention' are similar in that human trafficking is predominantly considered to be a crime in need of a law enforcement response, and, at the same time, are different owing to variations in national socio-economic and political contexts. Border control (to stop criminals and 'their victims' from crossing borders), law enforcement (to identify and prosecute criminals and, also, 'illegal' immigrants assessed by

state authorities as not fulfilling the 'genuine victim' criteria), criminalisation of prostitution (with recent policy discussions focusing on criminalising the purchase of sexual services), and, increasingly, the apportioning of blame and responsibility to 'other countries' (either non-cooperative in the fight against 'modern slavery', or not doing enough to reduce income inequality and poverty within its own borders) have been identified as some of the key 'prevention' vectors in the corpus of policy documents that set out anti-trafficking policies in Ukraine, Hungary and the UK. These vectors informed the development of the survey questions, responses to which are reviewed below.

Responses at the national level

Responses at the national level are described in Figure 2.14 below.

Figure 2.14: Prevention/anti-trafficking measures (%, national samples, not fully comparable due to different national age ranges)



In Ukraine, there is a high degree of public support in relation to all four anti-trafficking measures with the highest level of support for tougher law enforcement (about 93%), followed by the expectation to see countries of origin increasing their standard of living as a way of deterring people from looking for jobs abroad (about 91%), followed by the suggestion to criminalise purchase of sex in Europe (90%), and to introduce tougher border controls to stop victims of trafficking from crossing the border (88%). A similar pattern characterizes public views in Hungary with a similarly high degree of support for the four anti-trafficking measures. In Great Britain, the law enforcement aspect attracted the highest degree of support (90%), followed by border controls (84%), and an expectation for counties of origin to increase their citizens' standard of living (82%). The lowest level of support in Great Britain was recorded for the suggestion that all European countries should criminalize purchase of sex: only 70% of respondents agreed this should be done, 17% disagreed, and 12% said 'do not know/no opinion'.

Table 2.7 provides details on the relationship between respondents' answers to this set of questions and their socio-demographic characteristics, and their ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (SPSS, chi-square test for association).

Table 2.7: Prevention/anti-trafficking measures. National responses / socio-demographic characteristics relationship pattern

	Ukraine (N=1,000; age 15-59)				Hungary (N=1,000; age 18 and older)				Great Britain (N=1,000; age 16 and older)			
	Gender	Age	Education	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*
Tougher border controls to stop victims from entering	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Tougher law enforcement to tackle criminals	No	No	No	NA**	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
European countries to criminalise the purchase of sexual services /prostitution	No	No	Yes	NA**	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Countries or origin to do more to increase their standard of living	No	No	No	NA**	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

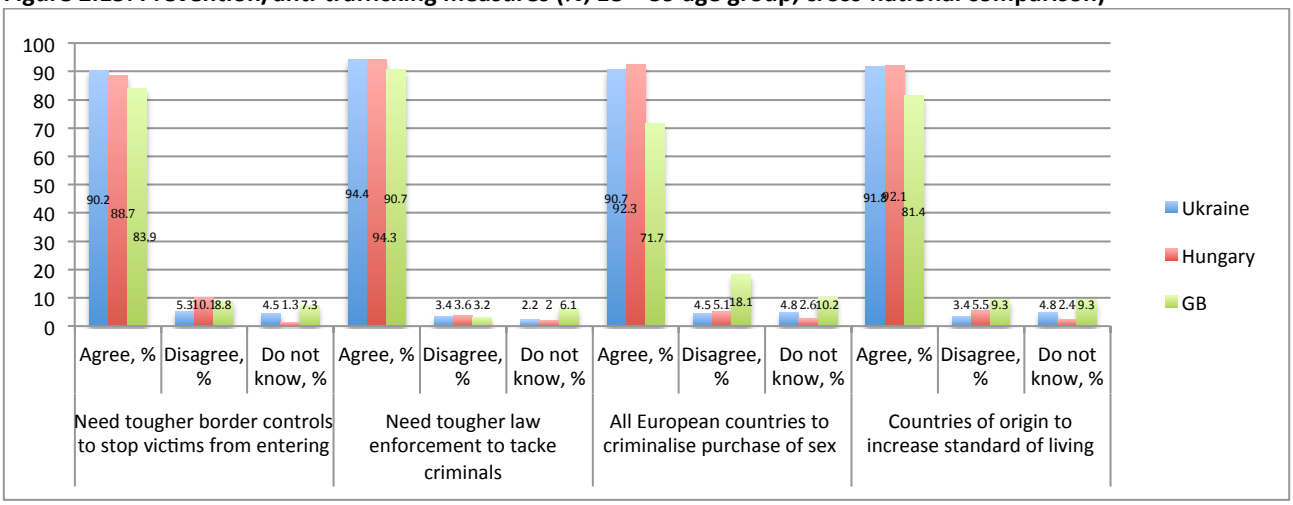
* Respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (see Part 1 of this research report)
**More than 20% of cells had expected count of less than 5; categories' combination not feasible.

There appears to be little socio-economic or gender patterning of responses in the Ukrainian dataset, apart from the question on criminalising the purchase of sexual services in Europe, where there is a statistically significant relationship between respondents' education and their answers. In Hungary, respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking appears to be an influence for the overall response pattern in this dataset. In addition, there is a significant relationship between respondents' gender and their views on the role of stricter border controls and law enforcement. There is no relationship between Hungarian respondents' occupation and their responses to these questions. Age, apart from the question on tougher law enforcement, does not appear to be a significant influence either. The most complex patterning of responses has been recorded for Great Britain. Respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking appears to be in association with respondents' answers to all four questions, unlike gender. There is a statistically significant relationship between respondents' age and their answers to all questions apart from the question on law enforcement; respondents' occupation appears to be in a statistically significant relationship with their opinion on criminalising the purchase of sex and countries of origin having to increase their standards of living.

Cross-national comparison

For respondents in the 18-59 age group, which allows a comparison between the countries, results did not differ significantly from complete national samples, and are represented in Figure 2.15 below.

Figure 2.15: Prevention/anti-trafficking measures (%, 18 – 59 age group, cross-national comparison)



There is a more or less uniform level of agreement between respondents in the three countries on the issues of law enforcement and border controls with law enforcement attracting a high level of support - about 93% of respondents in Ukraine and Hungary, and 90% in Great Britain. The need for tougher border controls also attracts significant public support: about 88% in Ukraine and Hungary, and 84% in Great Britain. A significant difference in the level of public support towards the criminalization of the purchase of sex has been recorded for Ukraine and Hungary on the one hand (about 90%), and Great Britain (70%) on the other hand. Similarly, less respondents in Great Britain (82%) than in Ukraine (91%) or Hungary (90%) supported the idea that countries of origin should do more to increase the standard of living to deter people seeking low-skilled low-paid work abroad. Further research may be required to explore factors behind these different levels of support including different approaches to the regulation of prostitution/sex work in the three countries[11], and different social attitudes towards prostitution/sex work (see, for example, Levin (2011) for a general discussion of measuring social attitudes towards prostitution). The lower levels of support among respondents in Great Britain towards the idea that countries of origin should increase the standard of living could potentially be explained by the dominance of crime/immigration policy and media interpretations of human trafficking in the UK and their influence upon public opinion. These questions require further research.

[11] Prostitution is legal and regulated in Hungary; in the United Kingdom soliciting is illegal, see European Parliament (2014). In Ukraine, prostitution is illegal however it remains widespread. The 2012 Study by the International HIV/AIDS Alliance in Ukraine (2013: 20) estimates that there were about 80,000 female sex workers in Ukraine in 2011.

Businesses and their role in preventing exploitation and human trafficking

Survey questions
Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- We need to identify and prosecute any company relying on labour provided by victims of trafficking
- Companies must ensure that their workers are not exploited and to pay them a living wage even if it may increase consumer prices
- Companies must ensure that workers employed by their suppliers are not exploited and paid a living wage even if may increase consumer prices
- Companies must be required by law to audit their suppliers to ensure that workers are not exploited

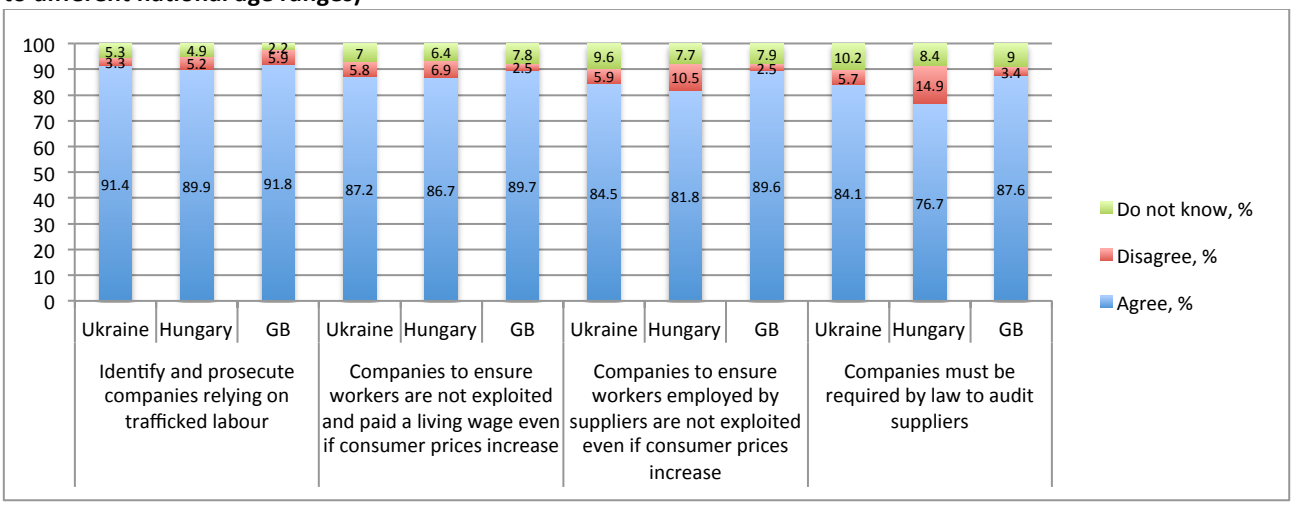
The survey included a series of questions to explore respondents' views on the role of businesses in preventing trafficking and labour exploitation generally. As noted in Part 1 of this research report, the role of businesses (in both public and private ownership) in creating demand for and relying on low-paid exploitable labour received little, if any, acknowledgement by policy makers generally. In the UK, for example, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition (governing in 2010-2015) refused to impose a legal duty on UK businesses to take proactive measures in addressing the impact of their business activities on the human rights of workers globally[12]. In Ukraine, although the anti-trafficking policy acknowledges that labour migrants from Ukraine, including victims of human trafficking, are exploited for their labour, no acknowledgement is made of the businesses' involvement in the exploitation of migrant workers, or of their potential contribution towards the anti-trafficking agenda. A similar situation exists in Hungary: the 2013-2016 anti-trafficking strategy overlooks the role of businesses in addressing human trafficking issues all together (Government of Hungary 2013).

This set of survey questions was designed to explore public opinion on whether businesses should be required to eliminate exploitation from their own supply chains and whether this responsibility should be extended to cover supply chains of their suppliers and subcontractors. Two of the questions asked whether respondents would agree to such measures even if the imposition of these measures may lead to higher consumer prices for goods and services. As mentioned earlier, responses to such questions should be interpreted with a degree of caution given that individual beliefs and intentions reported in public opinion surveys do not always translate into purchasing behaviour, and given the impact of 'social desirability' bias on responses within the context of surveys covering sensitive issues.

Responses at the national level

Responses at the national level are described in Figure 2.16 below.

Figure 2.16: Businesses, human trafficking and labour exploitation (%, national samples, not fully comparable due to different national age ranges)



There are high levels of agreement among Ukrainian respondents that businesses should be required to undertake extra measures in relation to human trafficking and labour exploitation: from 84% of respondents, who would want to see companies required by law to audit their suppliers, to 91% of respondents in support of measures to identify and prosecute companies that rely on labour provided by victims of trafficking. In Hungary, about 90% of respondents supported measures to prosecute companies relying on trafficked labour, followed by 87% of respondents who would

[12] The most recent 'concession' by the government to include 'the duty of disclosure' as part of its widely criticised Modern Slavery Bill has been proclaimed by the government as going 'further than any similar legislation in the world' (UK Government 2014a). The UK Government appears to have confused the duty to report and disclose with the duty to address and remedy.

support measures to ensure that companies pay a living wage to their workers. However, suggestions concerning companies directly engaging with their supplies to ensure that no workers were exploited received less support. In Great Britain, the majority of respondents supported all four measures with the lowest level of support recorded for making companies audit their suppliers (88%) and the highest level of support (92%) for identifying and prosecuting companies relying on trafficked labour. Table 2.8 provides details on the relationship between respondents' answers to this set of questions and their socio-demographic characteristics, and their ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (SPSS, chi-square test for association).

Table 2.8: Businesses, human trafficking and labour exploitation. National responses / socio-demographic characteristics relationship pattern

	Ukraine (N=1,000; age 15-59)				Hungary (N=1,000; age 18 and older)				Great Britain (N=1,000; age 16 and older)			
	Gender	Age	Education	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*
Identify and prosecute companies using labour provided by victims	No	No	No	NA**	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Companies to ensure workers are not exploited, paid a living wage even if prices ↑	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Companies to ensure workers employed by suppliers are not exploited, paid a living wage even if prices ↑	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Companies to audit suppliers to ensure workers are not exploited	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

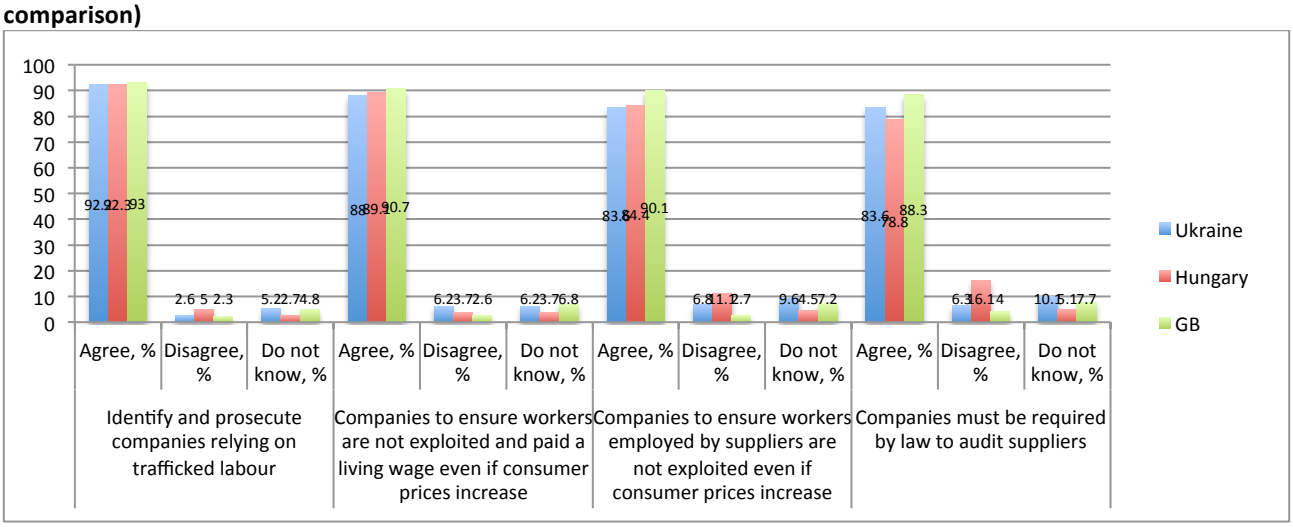
*Respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (see Part 1 of this research report)
**More than 20% of cells had expected count of less than 5; categories' combination not feasible

Responses from the Ukrainian sample do not appear to be patterned by respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking, or by their gender or age. There is a statistically significant relationship between respondents' education and their response to questions on companies ensuring that their workers are not exploited and are paid a living wage, and companies required by law to audit their suppliers. In Hungary, the response pattern is influenced by all four characteristics, apart from the last question where there does not seem to be a statistically significant relationship between respondents' answers on the one hand, and their age and occupation on the other hand. In Great Britain, respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking and their age are in a statistically significant relationship with respondents' answers; gender does not appear to be an influence, and there is a statistical association between respondents' occupation and their responses to the two out of the four questions.

Cross-national comparison

For respondents in the 18-59 age group, which allows a comparison between the countries, results did not differ significantly from complete national samples, and are represented in Figure 2.17 below.

Figure 2.17: Businesses, human trafficking and labour exploitation (%, 18 – 59 age group, cross-national comparison)



There appears to be no significant differences between respondents' answers in the three case study countries with respondents in Great Britain showing slightly higher levels of support of the suggested measures.

Prevention and raising awareness

Survey questions
Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

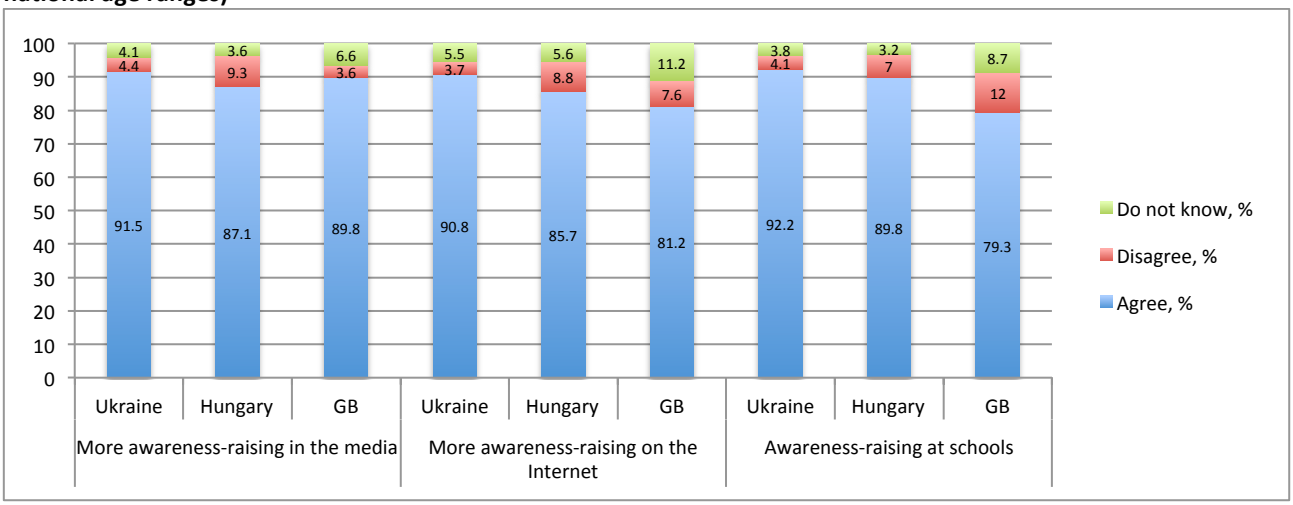
- There should be more awareness-raising campaigns about human trafficking in the mass media
- There should be more anti-trafficking campaigns and messages on the Internet
- Children need to be told about human trafficking at schools

To complement the findings on the sources of information that informed respondents' knowledge and understanding of human trafficking (reviewed in Part 1 of the research report), the survey included a series of questions to explore public perception of the need for and the most appropriate means of raising awareness of human trafficking.

Responses at the national level

Responses at the national level are described in Figure 2.18 below.

Figure 2.18: Raising awareness of human trafficking (%, national samples, not fully comparable due to different national age ranges)



In Ukraine, respondents demonstrate a significant level of support for awareness-raising initiatives (91-92%). This may be reflective of the manner in which human trafficking has been constructed by the government of Ukraine as a matter of low awareness among Ukrainian citizens of potential dangers associated with crossing international borders, including labour exploitation and violation of human rights of Ukrainian migrant workers. The Ukraine's State Targeted Social Programme on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings for the period until 2015 (Government of Ukraine 2015) emphasizes the role of raising awareness at various levels, including media campaigns, workshops and information campaigns at schools, libraries, hospitals and other public institutions as one of the key prevention activities. In Hungary, the majority of respondents agree that awareness-raising activities are required with the majority supporting awareness-raising at schools 90%, followed by the mass media (87%) and the Internet (86%). The Hungarian 2013-2016 anti-trafficking strategy (Government of Hungary 2013) emphasizes lack of awareness among victims and potential victims, on the one hand, and among 'police and judiciary actors', on the other hand, as an issue of concern. It identifies a range of awareness-raising measures to be directed at victims, potential victims, and 'front-line' professionals. It also singles out a specific group of 'people in extreme poverty…of Roma origin' and 'specific features of this social group', including 'their educational background, living circumstances and cultural conditions' in explaining that awareness raising directed at people of Roma origin requires 'specific means' (ibid.: 8).

In Great Britain, the lowest level of support, although still representing a substantial majority of respondents (79%), goes to awareness-raising at schools, increasing to 81% for awareness-raising via the Internet, and to 90% for awareness-raising via the mass media. The UK Human Trafficking Strategy, similarly to the strategy document in Hungary, mentions the need to raise 'awareness and vigilance in particular communities' (UK Government 2011: 8), however it falls short of specifying what particular communities it is most concerned with. The overall awareness-raising government commitment does not go beyond 'encouraging' 'organisations and agencies to ensure that officials who are likely to have any contact with the victims of trafficking are provided with awareness training' (ibid.:

9-10). In reapportioning the responsibility for human trafficking to non-UK actors - including criminals, 'foreign governments' and 'countries not considering trafficking as a priority, and therefore being reluctant to engage in disruption activity' – the UK Strategy also highlights the role of 'awareness-raising in source countries to reduce the supply of potential victims' (ibid.: 12-13). With regards to the awareness of human trafficking among the general public in the UK, the Strategy suggests that 'Many members of the public already care deeply about the plight of trafficking victims and about the impact it has on their communities' (ibid.: 8). No further references are provided to explain or support this claim. The Strategy provides for no further measures or activities to raise public awareness of human trafficking. In July 2014, the UK Government released a series of awareness aids, including a series of short videos[13], infographics, posters and wallet cards under the theme 'Slavery is closer than you think'. For more a detailed analysis of the key messages encoded into the Home Office's short videos - 'docufictions' – in which the boundary between reality and fiction is blurred, see Sharapov and Mendel (forthcoming 2015-2016).

Table 2.9 provides details on the relationship between respondents' answers to this set of questions, their socio-demographic characteristics, and ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (SPSS, chi-square test for association).

Table 2.9: Raising awareness of human trafficking. National responses / socio-demographic characteristics relationship pattern

	Ukraine (N=1,000; age 15-59)				Hungary (N=1,000; age 18 and older)				Great Britain (N=1,000; age 16 and older)			
	Gender	Age	Education	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*	Gender	Age	Occupation	THB DEF*
More campaigns in the mass media	No	No	Yes	NA**	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
More campaigns and messages on the Internet	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Children need to be told about it at schools	No	No	No	NA**	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

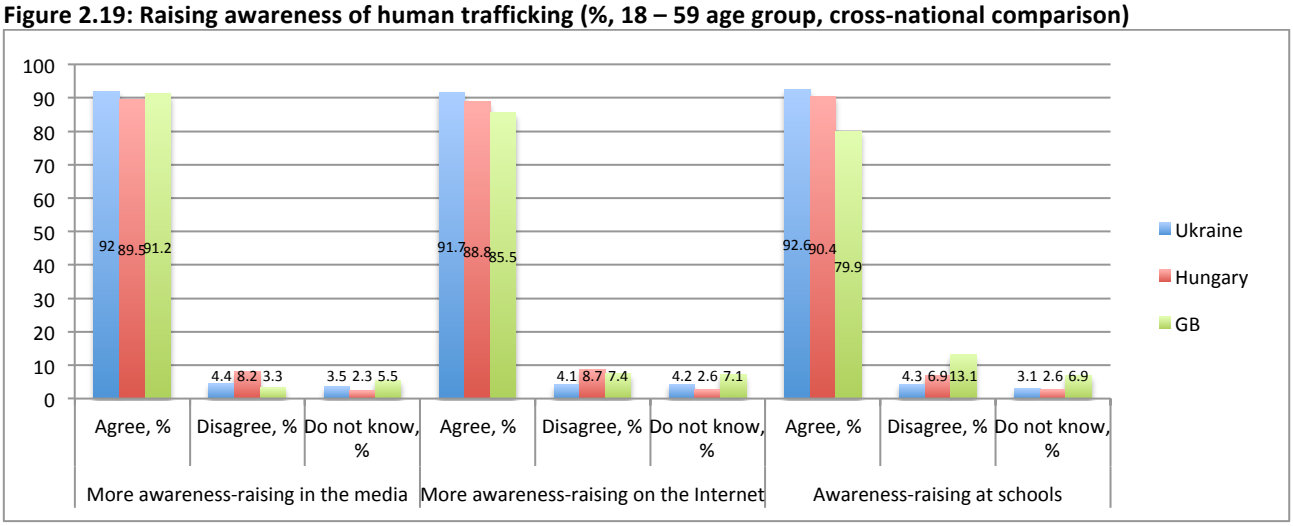
* Respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking (see Part 1 of this research report)
**More than 20% of cells had expected count of less than 5; categories' combination not feasible

In Ukraine, the picture of associations between socio-demographic characteristics and respondents' awareness is complex with no statistically significant relationship between respondents' gender and their answers, and a mixed pattern of association between age, education and respondents' ability to provide a definition of human trafficking. In Hungary, there was no interaction between respondents' gender and their answers, however their ability to provide a definition of trafficking interacted with respondents' opinion on raising awareness. In addition, significant relationship can be observed between respondents' age and occupation on the one hand, and their opinion on awareness raising via the mass media and the Internet. For the responses from Great Britain, a more complex pattern emerged, with all responses patterned by the ability of respondents to provide a definition of human trafficking; and a matrix of interaction between respondents' age, gender and occupation with their answers.

Cross-national comparison

For respondents in the 18-59 age group, which allows a comparison between the countries, results did not differ significantly from complete national samples, and are represented in Figure 2.19 below.

Figure 2.19: Raising awareness of human trafficking (%, 18 – 59 age group, cross-national comparison)



[13] 4 short videos are available on home office's youtube channel

The majority of respondents in all three countries agree that there should be more awareness raising initiatives in the mass media (90 - 92%) and on the Internet (86-92%). There are, however, some noticeable differences in respondents' opinion on awareness-raising at schools, with the highest level of support in Ukraine (93%) and the lowest level of support in Great Britain (80%). The reasons for this difference may require further investigation. One of the factors may be that in Ukraine, as predominantly a country of origin, children from vulnerable backgrounds have been identified by the government policy as a group at risk of human trafficking, and therefore as a primary target for government awareness raising campaigns.

Conclusion (part 2)

The analysis of the representative surveys of public understanding of human trafficking in these three countries, despite certain methodological and conceptual limitations, could provide an answer to at least three broad questions: (a) What does the general public know about human trafficking and what are the underlying attitudes? (b) To what extent does the general public's understanding of human trafficking reflect the dominant media and policy representations of trafficking as a problem? and, importantly, (c) What is missing from the public understanding of trafficking as a problem? The answer to the last question is key in appraising the extent and the nature of power relationships involved in policy and media productions of 'truth' about human trafficking.

As noted earlier in this report, such 'truths' continue to represent trafficking as a problem of crime, illegal immigration and prostitution that can only be eliminated by identifying and prosecuting 'criminals', and rescuing and rehabilitating narrowly defined 'genuine' victims. The location of human trafficking as we learn about it from specific media and policy representations vis-à-vis neoliberal reliance on unfree labour, and vis-à-vis broader issues of social, economic and, increasingly, environmental (in)justice does not, in most cases, enter policy, media, public or private discussions of human trafficking. Human trafficking, from this perspective, represents a domain where the intersections of power, knowledge and ignorance on the one hand, and who is privileged and disadvantaged by such knowledge and ignorance, on the other hand, can be studied in an attempt to highlight the role of economic and political power in the construction of what we come to accept as 'knowledge', and how we choose to act on such knowledge.

The outcomes of the survey recorded a number of cross-national differences between respondents' understanding of human trafficking. For some questions, the outcomes offer very narrow differences between the three countries; for other questions, public opinion remains markedly distinctive with responses from Hungary standing out for the worse, from the UK - for the good, and Ukraine being often in the middle. However, despite such differences there was a clear concordance in national responses for all questions reviewed above, when all of the three national majorities 'agreed' or 'disagreed' with all of the survey statements. The list below provides a summary of the majority responses to the questions asked, including the lowest and the highest shares of 'agree' responses.

- Anyone, including men, women and children, can be trafficked (93% in Great Britain and Ukraine – 94% in Hungary); however the majority of victims of trafficking are women trafficked for sexual exploitation (70% in Great Britain - 92% in Ukraine)
- Most victims come from poor countries (76% in Great Britain – 89% in Hungary) and most of them are irregular immigrants looking for work (56% in Great Britain – 84% in Ukraine).
- Human trafficking is a problem in respondents' countries (64% in Hungary – 77% in Great Britain) but it does not affect respondents directly (72% in Great Britain - 81% in Hungary).
- Respondents do not normally think if goods or services they purchase were produced with the involvement of forced labour (67% in Great Britain – 80% in Ukraine), but declared their preparedness to pay 10% more to ensure goods and services are produced without labour exploitation (48% in Ukraine - 73% in Great Britain) and to boycott companies that rely on exploited labour (65% in Ukraine - 86% in Great Britain).
- Organised criminals bear the main responsibility for human trafficking (81% in Great Britain - 86% in Ukraine).
- Victims of trafficking need to be provided with assistance (87% in Great Britain – 91% in Hungary); victims who crossed international borders need to be deported after a short recovery period (47% in Great Britain - 82% in Hungary), or allowed to stay if they face danger back home (69% in Ukraine – 78% in Hungary).
- There is a need for tougher border controls to stop victims from crossing borders (84% in Great Britain - 88% in Ukraine and Hungary), tougher law enforcement to tackle criminals (90% in Great Britain - 93% in Ukraine), all European countries should criminalise the purchase of sex (70% in Great Britain - 91% in Hungary), and countries of victims' origin should do more to increase standards of living as a way of preventing economic migration (82.3% in Great Britain - 91% in Ukraine).
- Companies relying on trafficked labour need to be identified and prosecuted (92% in Ukraine – 93% in Great Britain); companies need to ensure that their workers are not exploited and paid a living wage even if this may result in higher consumer prices (88% in Ukraine – 91% in Great Britain).

- More awareness-raising campaigns on human trafficking are required in the media (90% in Hungary – 92% in Ukraine), on the Internet (86% in Great Britain - 92% in Ukraine), and at schools (80% in Great Britain – 93% in Ukraine).

In responding to the second question on whether the predominant public understanding reflects a specific media and policy framing of human trafficking, the outcomes of the survey and the discussion presented in Part 1 and Part 2 of this research report suggest that this may be the case: the majority of respondents in the three countries understand trafficking as a crime involving, in most cases, sexually exploited women and children, irregular immigration, prostitution and abuse. The relationship between public opinion, government policies and mass media remains a contentious issue with no universally accepted or infallible quantitative and/or qualitative methodology available for such assessments. Nevertheless, the outcomes presented so far in this report suggest that media and policy representations of human trafficking exert a significant influence on public understanding of the phenomena, problematized by the governments and the media as ethereal yet, in the words of the UK Home Office, 'closer than you think' (UK Government 2014b).

The analysis of the survey data presented in this report also highlights the conspicuous absence of human trafficking as an issue of concern from the daily lives of 'ordinary' citizens-consumers. The outcomes of the survey suggest that the 'information deficit model', sometimes invoked by anti-trafficking 'stakeholders' in calling for more awareness campaigns, may be irrelevant in a situation where the majority of respondents appear to be aware of human trafficking and its exploitative contexts yet human trafficking remains understood as a phenomenon of unabated crime, 'illegal' immigration and sexual abuse and, therefore, remains outside of the sphere of everyday life and 'normal' reality. By drawing upon the frameworks of socially organised denial, developed by Norgaard (2006) in her analysis of public (non)response to climate change, and agnotology, developed by Proctor et al. (2008) as a study of ignorance production, one of the suggestions that emerge from the outcomes of this study is that the general public's non-response to human trafficking should be understood as a phenomenon of socially organised denial shaped and produced by political economy within the context neoliberal capitalism and its ideology of 'living well for less (at any price)'. Within this context, the importance of making and theorizing a link between human trafficking, unfree labour, consumption and profit-driven neoliberal accumulation should not be underestimated, whilst the role of the public response to social issues, including social movements, behavioral changes and public pressure on governments and corporations should not be discounted in our discussions of strategies to eradicate trafficking.

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