February 2021

# SORTING OUT CONCERN: EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD HUMAN TRAFFICKING

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Though the term "human trafficking" is relatively new, the problem of trafficking is not. Human trafficking has had a long history as a significant social problem and has been estimated to affect hundreds of thousands to millions of persons annually (Sanghera, 2005; Jones, 2010; Mace, Venneberg, and Amell, 2012). The Protocol to Prevent and Suppress Trafficking, especially in Women in Children, defines human trafficking as:

> "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;" (United Nations, 2004).

Human trafficking has been recognized as one of the largest growing criminal industries today (Mace, Venneberg, and Amell 2012; Petrunov 2011). Unlike drug and weapon trafficking, human trafficking requires less initial investment and carries less risk (Mace, Venneberg, and Amell 2012), as it is much more difficult to prosecute offenders and identify victims (Re, 2011). However, Kempadoo (2005) argues that, rather than perceiving themselves as victims of human trafficking, victims often view themselves as workers who have been misfortunate. In 2003, out of the 8,000 traffickers brought to court around the world, only 2,800 were convicted (Gueraldi 2013).

The dominant profile of human trafficking victims is women of color approximately 15 to 25 years of age (Gueraldi 2013). Gueraldi (2013) argues, and we agree, that race needs to be considered when studying trafficking. Victims typically come from lower socio-economic backgrounds, with low levels of education, and from communities that lack resources (Gueraldi 2013). Many laws have been created to minimize human trafficking around the world. But, most are inadequate in identifying, protecting and offering services for rehabilitation and restoration (Jones 2010; Re 2011; Kempadoo 2005).

Because human trafficking is an underground operation, the challenge in studying this issue include difficulty in identifying trafficked victims (Sanghera 2005; Re 2011). For example, a female trafficked for sex may appear to be a prostitute who is working by choice. Additionally, with the easy access to the Internet, prostitution has moved from the streets onto the Internet, so prostitutes and trafficking victims are often times not visible on the streets, like they

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previously were.  Likewise, a male victim trafficked for labor may appear to be a typical paid worker. Furthermore, victims trafficked into a foreign country may be at a greater risk if they are unable to speak the language and have few, if any, resources (Sanghera 2005).  Although there are challenges in studying human trafficking, we need to make sure that research and survey questions are clear and useful.

Sanghera (2005) argues, and we agree, that fighting human trafficking is a human rights issue, a moral issue, and should not be conflated with prostitution, immigration, or human smuggling. The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR: Article 13) states that everyone has (1) "the right to freedom of movement and residence with the borders of each state, and (2) "the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country" (United Nations 1948). Conflating human trafficking and migration results in reinforcing the false notion that women need men's protection and should not have freedom of movement. Furthermore, research shows that human trafficking is often conflated with sex trafficking, and portrayed as typically occurring to women and children, which has consequences (Jones 2010; Re 2011). First, Jones (2010) argues that by focusing only on women, men are not likely to be identified as victims of human trafficking. Men are also less likely to be protected and rehabilitated (Re 2011; Jones 2010), so, even though the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) is gender neutral, it targets women and girls, particularly for sex trafficking (Jones 2010).  Additionally, men are most vulnerable to trafficking for labor, with estimates indicating that 79% to 90% of all forced labor is performed by males (Jones 2010). Furthermore, Jones (2010) claims that most of forced labor takes the form of farm labor, and many are subject to other abuses, such as beatings and rape. Jones (2010) argues that, because men are not discussed within the human trafficking discourse, there are specific, detrimental consequences for men. Specifically, only 1% of programs funded to eradicate human trafficking are focused on men, meaning that men have a harder time accessing victim resources and rehabilitation. As a consequence, labor trafficking is largely ignored, and sexual exploitation becomes the principle agenda. Thus, some feminists and lawmakers try to combat the problem of human trafficking by trying to bring all prostitution to a halt. Sanghera (2005) argues that trying to stop prostitution is unrealistic because not all prostitutes are trafficked, and not all of those who are trafficked are prostitutes.

Trafficking is a global phenomenon, with Germany coming in as the top destination country for trafficked persons, followed by the United States, Italy, the Netherlands, Japan, Greece, India, Thailand and Australia (Schauer and Weaton 2007). Research conflicts regarding the organization of the human trafficking black market. Researchers suggest that the human trafficking market in the United States is more often ran by individual traffickers, rather than an organized ring,

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which researchers previously thought was the case (Schauer and Weaton, 2007; Wilson and Dalton, 2007). Independent traffickers work together to manage their own turf, setting prices, establishing work schedule, and negotiating turf. Despite this, two law enforcement studies find that human trafficking in perpetrated by large organized rings (Wilson, Walsh, and Kleuber, 2006; and Estes and Weiner, 2001)

Sex trafficking has captured much of the public's attention (Kara 2009), but human trafficking is, more broadly, a question of forced or coerced labor, which violates Article 23 of the UN Declaration of Human rights: "Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity" (United Nations 1948). Sex work is one form of that labor, but domestic work, agricultural work, child care, textile manufacturing, restaurant/kitchen work are all sites where human trafficking may be found, among others (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002). The factors that are common to all of these types of trafficking are (1) its hidden, invisible nature, (2) the powerlessness of the trafficked persons compared to those trafficking them and using their labor, and (3) a fundamental lack of understanding by the general public of the nature, prevalence, and severity of the issue of human trafficking. It is on this third issue, a lack of understanding, that we focus our attention in this paper.

We examine European attitudes of human trafficking using one of the only surveys ever to ask people what they think about the subject of human trafficking. One question in particular in the Eurobarometer 2003 asks citizens of the European Union about their level of concern for human trafficking. While this survey is now 12 years old, it can still teach us invaluable lessons about the links between people's attitudes toward human trafficking and other types of what we call *cross-border social problems*, like illegal immigration and drug trafficking

We try to accomplish three things in this paper. First, we make a case for why paying attention to individual attitudes toward human trafficking is worthwhile. Second, we use quantitative analysis to show how survey design and question wording can prime people to think about human trafficking in a very specific way, in this case about immigration. We pay special attention to the issue of attempting to guess what people were thinking when asked about concern for human trafficking. After discussing the results of our analyses, we propose alternative ways to collect data on attitudes toward human trafficking. Third, and finally, we call for better education on human trafficking, particularly because human trafficking is an even larger problem than people might think, given the important, but typically narrow, focus on sex trafficking.

**Why the Focus on Attitudes?**

Sociologists typically present the persistence of human trafficking as a simple economics equation. In his study, Kara (2009) examines the supply-side factors

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that drive women and girls into trafficked sex slavery, and the demand-side factors that keep traffickers and brothels in business. Kara (2009) concludes that without solving the underlying issues of poverty, economic inequality, and gender inequality, there will continue to be a steady supply of women and girls (and often boys) who end up tricked, trapped, sold, or coerced into sex slavery. While Kara (2009) looked only at the sex trafficking industry, the same arguments can apply to any type of trafficked labor. The risk of ending up trapped, trafficked, and enslaved often outweighs the costs of staying put, staying marginalized, and staying hungry. And, the notion that those who demand cheap or free labor is going to go away through some change of heart by traffickers and unscrupulous business owners is naïve at best. Capitalism itself demands that businesses lower costs while increasing output, and the rapid pace of the globalization of capitalism means that there is little to no governing structure to enforce any sort of "rules of the game." While inequality continues to increase, the marginalized will continue to migrate to countries even though it increases their marginalization in their new country, at best, and can come at great risk, at worst, including ending up in a trafficking situation.

While concerned individuals and groups continue to work on the supply-and-demand issues of human trafficking, it is worth asking: "what can governments do?" It seems that governments can do three main things, although each of these has myriad components. First, governments can work to *prevent* human trafficking within their borders and across their borders. As Kara (2009) notes, and as we have seen tragically with the European migrant, refugee, and trafficking crisis in 2014-2015, attempts at prevention really just divert the larger problem onto someone else's soil. Second, governments can *regulate* labor by incentivizing good business practices, and simultaneously driving up the costs of doing bad business on the backs of traffickers. This is the solution that Kara (2009) pushes. If the fines for being caught using trafficked and coerced labor are so high that the risk becomes greater than the benefits incurred through labor exploitation, then fewer traffickers and employers will accept the risks. Of course, regulation cannot solve the underlying supply-side issues of poverty, such as gender inequality, and powerlessness; however, it can tamp down the demand side. And third, country governments can work together and with international organizations to *rescue and resettle* trafficked persons, giving them new opportunities to work legally, safely, and without wage-theft. However, governments, particularly democratic governments, cannot make strides toward resettling trafficked persons without the consent of those they govern.

Anytime the questions of extending visas, resettling, providing assistance, granting refugee status, extending workers' rights, providing healthcare, and providing education for new immigrants, refugees, and trafficked persons arises, there are going to be mixed responses. On the one end is the "borders are just

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social constructions" tack taken by those like billionaire investor, and Hungarian native, George Soros with regards to the 2015 refugee crisis in Europe. On the other end is a strict "way of life" argument made by Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban that seeks to protect the status quo, deport illegal immigrants and refugees, and severely limit the aid to such persons. In a recent national poll, 84% of Hungarians backed the Prime Minister's plan for dealing with the refugees coming from Syria, while only 13% of Hungarians supported Soros's "open borders-type" agenda ("Orban vs. Soros" 2015).

Beyond these very recent and actually ongoing examples, attitudinal data is particularly important in open, democratic societies for governance and policy development more generally (Bachner and Wagner Hill 2014; Nielson 1946). Democratic governments can only ignore public opinion for so long before they are voted out and replaced. Neilson (1946) argues that a better government results when attitude data is used for policy-making. So, in this context, attitudes about human trafficking have the potential to influence anti-human trafficking legislature and policies.

But what do people think about when they think about human trafficking? Do they see victims? Do they think about illegal immigration, and all of the alleged social problems that come along with it? Do they think about the criminal element and the danger that comes with forced and coerced labor and illegal moneymaking? Do they feel fear for their own families and children? While we cannot answer all of these questions in this paper, we can demonstrate what happens on large-scale surveys when people are primed to think a certain way about human trafficking. And we argue that in the face of misinformation and poor data, governments struggle to *prevent* human trafficking, *regulate* forms of labor, particularly illegal sex work, and *rescue* and *resettle* victims of trafficking.

**Sorting out Concern: Individual Evaluations of Cross-Border Social Problems**

To examine the issue of conflation of human trafficking with immigration, and other cross-border social problems, we examine the Eurobarometer 2003, along with country-level factors. Bishop, Morgan and Erickson (2013) use these data to examine concern about human trafficking among European citizens, and, is apparently the only study to use these data for this purpose. In this study, Bishop et al. (2013) argue that greater concern about human trafficking is a measure of greater awareness about human trafficking. They go a step further and argue that both concern about human trafficking, and awareness of the issue, can be treated as concern for human trafficking victims. Specifically, Bishop et al. (2013) argue that 'awareness' and 'concern' have different meanings. As they say: "given that the dataset does not conceptualize concern and most of the literature talks about awareness, we decided to use concern as a proxy for awareness" (P 132).

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We find this assumption to be quite problematic. We argue in this paper that concern means something more than awareness and does not necessarily mean concern for the victims. You can be aware of something and not be concerned about it. For example, many Americans are aware of social problems such as overcrowding, the environment, surveillance, and genetically modified foods and some individuals are not concerned about them.  Secondly, and most importantly, we believe that there are two different meanings for the word concern in this context.  Specifically, the interviewer prompts the respondent prior to being asked about specific cross-border social problems by saying, "Let's talk about another topic: immigration and the right of asylum" (European Opinion Research Group 2003), so human trafficking was set up in a particular way (issues of immigration and asylum) and phrased as "concern about the issue" not "concern for the victims". Due to the cross-national nature of immigration and the right of asylum, we believe that this sets the stage for understanding each of the listed cross-national social problems as a state or regional (European Union) problem. Therefore, we decided to analyze these data again in comparison with attitudes toward other explicitly cross-border social problems.

**Data**

The Eurobarometer 2003 data is used to examine how characteristics of individuals explain their level of concern for human trafficking, drug trafficking and illegal immigration. We then add in the geographic reference points, which are measured as the latitude and longitude for the capital city of each country in our sample, which we obtained from Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD 2015**).** Finally, we include measures of the share of the foreign-born population in each country from Africa and Asia, as reported to the OECD (Dumont and Lemaître 2005). Table 1 provides a summary of descriptive statistics and operationalization for all variables, and Table 2 displays the correlations.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

*Individual-Level Measures from Eurobarometer*

We use three dependent variables in our analyses to examine how the same set of predictors work comparatively for three types of cross-border social problems. Specifically, we examine concern about (1) Human Trafficking, (2) Drug Trafficking and (3) Illegal Immigration. The questions measuring concern for each of these were included in a module of 14 types of social problems total, but we selected these three as being the most clearly 'transnational', or cross-border, social problems. Respondents were then asked, "How much concern do you feel about each of the following problems?" and given the options "a lot of concern", "some concern", "little concern" and "no concern". Following Bishop et al. (2013), we operationalized each measure as a dichotomous variable with one representing "a lot of concern", and zero representing the rest of the categories.

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Figure 1 graphically displays proportion of respondents in each country-sample expressing a lot of concern about the three cross-border social problems.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Overall, respondents were most concerned about illegal immigration, and so countries are ordered from lowest to highest in terms of proportion highly concerned about illegal immigration. Over 80% of Greeks reported a high degree of concern about illegal immigration, while on the low end, less than 30% of respondents from Luxembourg reported a lot of concern about illegal immigration.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

In general, levels of concern for each of the three problems tend to cluster together. The general pattern of degree of concern is for illegal immigration, followed by human trafficking, and then drug trafficking. However, some exceptions do appear. In Italy, Spain and France, respondents report being more concerned about human trafficking than illegal immigration. And, those in the Scandinavian countries are much less concerned about drug trafficking than might be expected given their concern about illegal immigration, as are the Portuguese. Looking at Table 2, we see that at the individual level, concern about human trafficking is correlated with concern about illegal immigration at 0.488, and with drug trafficking at 0.453. Drug trafficking is correlated with illegal immigration at 0.406. On the surface, these concerns might appear low, but recall that we eliminated some of the variation in levels of concern by operationalizing these as dichotomous variables, with the only distinction between "a lot of concern" and "not a lot of concern." But, the important contribution of this paper is not demonstrating strong similarity in level of concern across the three measures, but in demonstrating how predictors of each of the three operate across models similarly.

At the individual level, we predict each cross-border social problem with nine variables. Following the coding scheme of Bishop et al. (2013) for eight of the variables, we replicate and extend their results. Gender is a dichotomous variable, with women coded as one. Age is a continuous variable of years. We code relationship status as a series of three dummy variables: married, cohabiting, and single (i.e. not married or cohabiting). The single category is the reference group. Type of residential area is coded as three dichotomous variables "small town", "medium town" and "urban area", with small town as the reference group. Income is a 12-cateogry variable of low to high income. Unlike Bishop et al. (2013), we do include the political scale variable, which is a 10-category scale with low values indicating respondents farther to the Left, and high values indicating respondents farther to the Right.

The next set of measures are also replications from Bishop et al. (2013:121-122). They developed three "immigrant attitudes" factors from

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questions on the Eurobarometer. First is a "helping immigrants" factor, where higher values indicate that respondents feel responsibility for helping immigrants. Second is "blaming immigrants," with higher values indicating a scapegoating mentality toward immigrants for social problems. Finally, the "poor immigrants" factor measures the degrees to which respondents feel like immigrants are trying to move because of poverty.

*Country-Level Measures*

We do deviate substantially, and we think appropriately, from Bishop et al. (2013) with our country-level measures. They used three dichotomous variables to examine position of each country in the sample as "Northern", "Middle" or "Southern", and found that those in both Southern and Northern countries felt more concern about human trafficking than those in Middle Countries. André and Donkers (2017) finds that proximity matters when it comes to attitudes towards immigrants. To decrease the subjectivity of this type of coding, we simply used latitude and longitude of capital city for each country to measure position. We predict that those countries farther north (farther from Africa) will feel less concern about each of the cross-border social problems, and that those countries farther west (farther from Eastern Europe and Asia) will feel less concern. Therefore, as values of latitude increase, concern should decrease, but as values of longitude increase, concern should increase.

Finally, instead of percent of the population that is immigrants, and number of immigrants in the population (Bishop et al. 2013), we include more specific measures of where the foreign-born population in each country come from. There is a great deal of immigration in Europe that moves citizens from one European country to another, particularly as the European Union standardizes policies for emigration and immigration across its member nations. We argue that using simple measures of "percent immigrant residing in country" masks the important causal relationship between immigration and concern. In fact, Bishop et al. (2013) found that respondents living in countries with high percentages of immigrants reported less concern, but that respondents living in countries with higher numbers of immigrants per million people had significantly more concern. These results seem contradictory, and the first is quite counterintuitive. From an immigrant perspective, research finds that non-European immigrants report more discrimination once they move to Europe, but the amount of discrimination varies by country of origin (André and Dronkers, 2017). Therefore, using data reported to the OECD from European censuses conducted in or around the year 2000 (Dumont and Lemaître, 2005), we calculated the percent of the foreign-born living in each country that are from Africa, and the percent that are from Asia. As the shares of each of these populations increase, we expect level of concern about cross-border social problems to increase.

**Methods**

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We use a dichotomous dependent variable of concern about human trafficking, drug trafficking and illegal immigration. A logistic regression, therefore is the most appropriate method (Pampel 2000; Menard 2002; Long 1997). We conduct the same regressions for each of the three dependent variables, starting with individual demographics, then adding in attitudes toward immigrants, followed by the addition of latitude and longitude, and finally the addition of African and Asian share of the foreign-born population. All 12 models are reported in Table 3, including odds ratios, standard errors, and relevant fit statistics. It is important to note that models 10, 11 and 12 are conducted without the Italian sample because Italy did not report data on its foreign-born population to the OECD.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

## Results

Looking at Models 1, 2, and 3, we find that women are more likely to report a lot of concern about human trafficking and illegal immigration than men, but with regards to drug trafficking, women are not significantly different from men. Older respondents are significantly more likely to report a lot of concern about all three issues. Across all models, married people have higher levels of concern about human trafficking, drug trafficking, and illegal immigration than single people. Cohabiting people are not significantly different from single people in baseline models when it comes to any of the three issues. However, once the attitude scales and longitude and latitude are controlled for, cohabiting people look more like married people, in that they have higher concern for human trafficking and drug trafficking. Once we control for the percent of the foreign-born population from Africa and Asia, cohabiting people only have significantly more concern for drug trafficking, as compared to single people.

The size of the residential area is not strongly associated with likelihood of expressing a lot of concern about the issues. The only significant difference is that those living in medium size towns are significantly *less* concerned about drug trafficking than those living in small towns, but they are significantly more concerned about illegal immigration than those living in small towns, but only slightly so. There are no significant differences between those living in urban areas and small towns. Across all three social problems, we found that those with higher incomes were significantly less likely to express a lot of concern. The effects of political scale produce some very interesting results. The farther Right a respondent is, the less likely he or she is to express a lot of concern about human trafficking. However, the reverse is true for drug trafficking and illegal immigration: those farther to the Right are significantly more likely to express a lot of concern than those on the Left.

Next, we add the immigrant attitudes variables in Models 4, 5, and 6. We find that people with "helping immigrants" attitudes are significantly more concerned about human trafficking and illegal immigration but are significantly

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less concerned about drug trafficking. Those with "blaming immigrants" attitudes are significantly more concerned about all three issues. And finally, those with "poor immigrants" attitudes are significantly more concerned about human trafficking and drug trafficking, but there is no relationship with illegal immigration.

Models 7, 8 and 9 add in latitude and longitude. As expected, as latitude increases, likelihood of expressing a lot of concern about human trafficking, drug trafficking and illegal immigration decreases. Longitude had no relationship with human trafficking or drug trafficking, but as longitude increases, the likelihood of expressing a lot of concern about illegal immigration increases. After controlling for both latitude and longitude, the effect of living in an urban area becomes slightly significant, with those living in urban areas expressing more concern than those living in small towns.

Finally, Models 10, 11, and 12 include the African and Asian share of the foreign-born share of the foreign-born. As African share of the foreign-born increases, concern about human trafficking significantly increases. However, the opposite is true for drug trafficking: as African share of foreign born increases, concern about drug trafficking decreases. Surprisingly, the share of foreign-born that is African has no relationship with likelihood of expressing a lot of concern about illegal immigration. The Asian share of foreign-born has a consistent relationship with all three cross-border social problems: as the proportion of Asians increases, the likelihood of expressing a lot of concern increases. And, after controlling for both African and Asian shares of the foreign born, the effect of longitude becomes more significant. Countries farther to the east report significantly higher concern about human trafficking and illegal immigration, but significantly less concern about drug trafficking

**The Slippage between Human Trafficking and Illegal Immigration**

We draw three main conclusions from the results detailed above. First, there is a significant "proximity" effect when it comes to distance from Africa and the Middle East/Asia. Generally speaking, the farther away one is from either of these regions, the less one feels concern for any of the issues. We believe that this is an "out of sight, out of mind" issue that will make it hard for governments in the North and West of Europe to seriously act on human trafficking. Second, is the effect of political leanings. Those farther to the Right feel significantly *more* concern about illegal immigration and drug trafficking than those on the Left, and significantly *less* concern about human trafficking than those on the Left. This bears repeating. It is not just that those on the Right are not significantly different from those on the Left with regards to human trafficking. They are significantly less likely to be concerned about the issue, period. Why might this be? We argue that this is a question of blame and personal responsibility. With drug traffickers and illegal immigrants, there is a clear delineation (for those further to the Right)

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on exactly what laws are being broken, and who can and should be held responsible. With human trafficking, it is less clear what the solution to the issue is. In fact, for those farther to the Right, it *may* be that they see human trafficking as a type of reframing of migration (legal or illegal), or refugee-status seeking by those on the Left. More research is warranted on the subject of political leaning and attitudes toward human trafficking. Third, and finally, we see considerable overlap between concern for human trafficking, illegal immigration, and drug trafficking. When the Eurobarometer primed respondents by saying "Let's talk about another topic: immigration and the right of asylum" before asking about levels of concern, the focus was shifted from individual trafficked persons, immigrants, or drug traffickers, and moved to the level of concern for the community, society, and European Union. We call for researchers to be very careful in how they interpret attitude data, and to avoid reading into peoples' thought processes as much as possible. Furthermore, we call for a new large-scale survey in Europe—and beyond—that asks people more clearly how concerned they are about human trafficking at each level: for the trafficked persons, for their own families, for their societies, and for the world.

Since these data were collected, the state of the trafficking market and law enforcement strategies have changed significantly. Researchers suggest that the market is one of the fastest growing criminal enterprises (Mace, Venneberg, and Amell 2012; Petrunov 2011). Additionally, T-visas have been issued with increased frequency each year along with reports to the National Hotline (Department of Justice 2015). Much of the trafficking recruitment, sales, and transactions have moved from plain view to the internet (Sanghera 2005). More importantly, law enforcement agencies are beginning to recognize trafficked individuals as victims instead of criminals (Farrell, Pfeffer & Bright, 2015).

**A Call for Education on Human Trafficking**

As demonstrated above, public attitudes matter because they often influence political change in an open and democratic society. So, collecting data about cross-national social problems, like human trafficking, which have potential to influence legislation or policies, are extremely important. Furthermore, the discourse around these issues matters. Education on human trafficking is needed for equal services for men and boys, but also further education is needed for the public to be able to identify potential male human trafficking victims. The need for education to prevent human trafficking cannot be overstated. Furthermore, empirical research is a necessary and integral component in the process of informing the public and distinguishing these sometimes overlapping, but often conflated issues.

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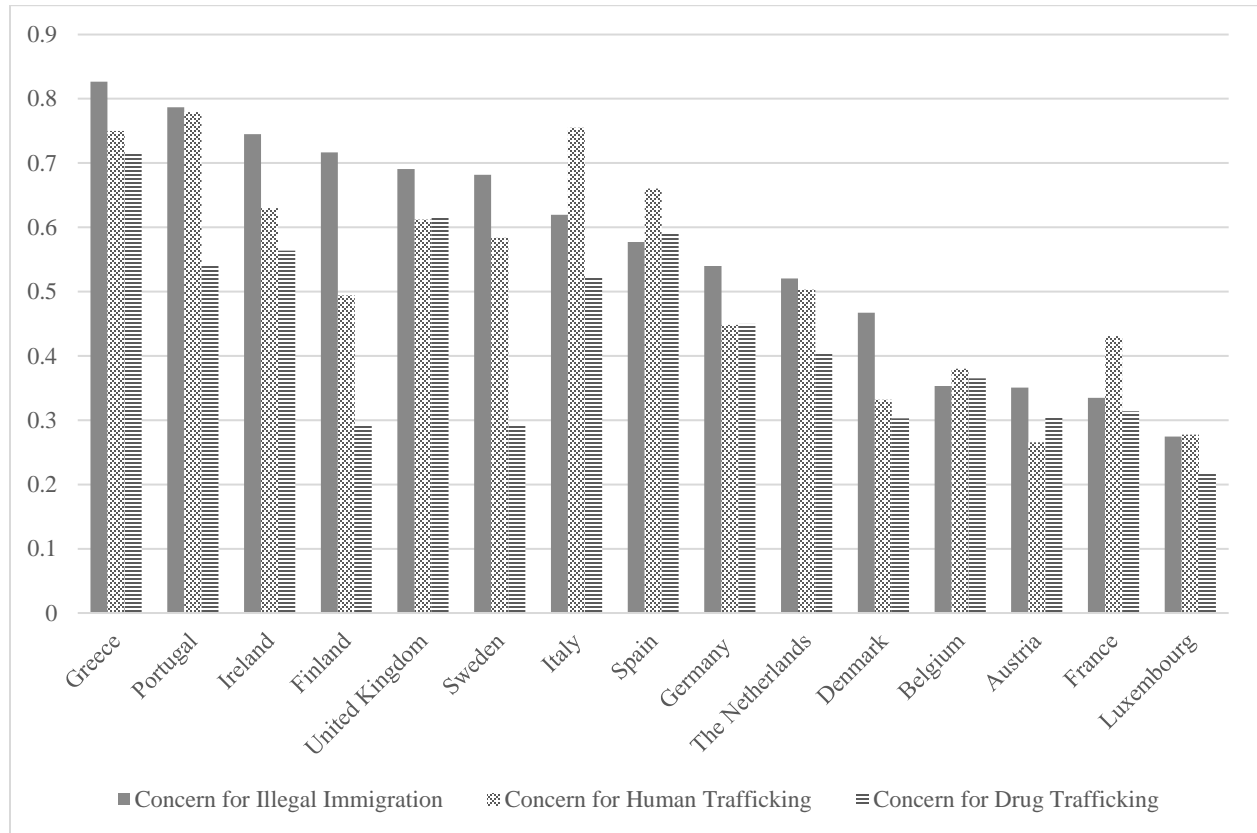Figure 1. Levels of Concern for Cross-border Social Problems

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Operationalizations

| Variable | Description | Mean | Std. Dev | Min. | Max. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Dependent Variables* | | | | | |
| Concern for Human Trafficking | Coded as 1 if respondent expresses "a lot of concern", 0 otherwise | 0.525 | ---- | 0 | 1 |
| Concern for Drug Trafficking | Coded as 1 if respondent expresses "a lot of concern", 0 otherwise | 0.433 | ---- | 0 | 1 |
| Concern for Illegal Immigration | Coded as 1 if respondent expresses "a lot of concern", 0 otherwise | 0.585 | ---- | 0 | 1 |
| *Independent Variables* | | | | | |
| Women | Women coded as 1, men as 0 | 0.490 | ---- | 0 | 1 |
| Age | Age in years | 46.178 | 16.987 | 15 | 92 |
| Married | Coded as 1 if respondent is Married, 0 otherwise (reference category is single, i.e. not married or cohabiting) | 0.512 | ---- | 0 | 1 |
| Cohabiting | Coded as 1 if respondent is Cohabiting, 0 otherwise (reference category is single, i.e. not married or cohabiting) | 0.110 | ---- | 0 | 1 |
| Medium Town | Coded as 1 for Medium Town (Small town is reference) | 0.397 | ---- | 0 | 1 |
| Urban Area | Coded as 1 for Urban Area (Small town is reference) | 0.275 | ---- | 0 | 1 |
| Income | 12-category income variable | 6.814 | 3.444 | 1 | 12 |
| Political Scale | 10-category political scale, where 1 is farthest to the Left and 10 is farthest to the Right | 5.229 | 2.088 | 1 | 10 |
| Helping Immigrants Attitude | Factor variable combining the following questions from the Eurobarometer 2003 survey: V176, V177, V180, V186, V179, V174, V183, V185 (Bishop et al. 2013) | 0.029 | 0.980 | -3.094 | 1.660 |
| Blaming Immigrants Attitude | Factor variable combining the following questions from the Eurobarometer 2003 survey: V178, V184, V175, V173, V182 (Bishop et al. 2013) | -0.063 | 1.020 | -3.343 | 1.467 |
| Poor Immigrants Attitude | Factor variable combining the following questions from the Eurobarometer 2003 survey: V172, V181 (Bishop et al. 2013) | -0.016 | 1.024 | -3.307 | 1.349 |
| Latitude of Capital City | Geographic reference point of location of capital city | 50.973 | 6.687 | 37.980 | 60.170 |
| Longitude of Capital City | Geographic reference point of location of capital city | 9.964 | 9.812 | -9.140 | 24.940 |
| African Share of Foreign Born | The percent of the foreign-born population in each country from Africa (Dumont and Lemaître 2005) | 14.573 | 15.046 | 1.713 | 53.703 |
| Asian Share of Foreign Born | The percent of the foreign-born population in each country from Asia (Dumont and Lemaître 2005) | 13.456 | 10.161 | 2.588 | 32.455 |

Table 2. Correlations of Dependent and Independent Variables

| | Human Traffick-ing (1) | Drug Traffick-ing (2) | Illegal Immigra-tion (3) | Women (4) | Age (5) | Married (6) | Cohabit-ing (7) | Medium Town (8) | Urban Area (9) | Income (10) | Political Scale (11) | Helping Immi-grants Attitude (12) | Blaming Immi-grants Attitude (13) | Poor Immi-grants Attitude (14) | Lati-tude of Capital City (15) | Longi-tude of Capital City (16) | African Share of Foreign Born (17) | Asian Share of Foreign Born (18) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (2) | 0.453 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (3) | 0.488 | 0.406 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (4) | 0.068 | -0.022 | 0.039 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (5) | 0.095 | 0.125 | 0.163 | -0.020 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (6) | 0.057 | 0.093 | 0.101 | -0.067 | 0.240 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (7) | -0.038 | -0.047 | -0.064 | -0.014 | 0.245 | -0.360 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (8) | -0.011 | -0.033 | 0.004 | -0.005 | 0.017 | -0.004 | 0.025 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| (9) | 0.002 | 0.001 | -0.015 | 0.005 | 0.066 | -0.113 | 0.007 | -0.500 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| (10) | -0.052 | -0.045 | -0.071 | -0.073 | 0.134 | 0.313 | 0.071 | 0.035 | -0.022 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| (11) | -0.023 | 0.085 | 0.056 | -0.030 | 0.065 | 0.058 | -0.004 | -0.008 | 0.034 | 0.015 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| (12) | 0.098 | -0.154 | 0.055 | 0.024 | 0.022 | -0.009 | 0.002 | 0.015 | 0.031 | 0.036 | -0.143 | 1 | | | | | | |
| (13) | 0.081 | 0.351 | 0.139 | -0.043 | 0.170 | 0.098 | -0.061 | -0.018 | -0.069 | -0.031 | 0.208 | -0.354 | 1 | | | | | |
| (14) | 0.088 | 0.083 | 0.031 | 0.002 | 0.051 | 0.049 | -0.057 | -0.050 | 0.010 | 0.028 | -0.034 | 0.232 | 0.147 | 1 | | | | |
| (15) | -0.142 | -0.211 | -0.025 | 0.000 | 0.019 | -0.140 | 0.138 | 0.134 | -0.065 | -0.030 | 0.042 | 0.035 | -0.196 | -0.259 | 1 | | | |
| (16) | -0.052 | -0.082 | 0.062 | -0.003 | 0.042 | -0.041 | 0.065 | 0.028 | -0.044 | -0.147 | 0.068 | -0.017 | -0.089 | -0.145 | 0.434 | 1 | | |
| (17) | 0.076 | 0.016 | -0.036 | 0.035 | -0.034 | -0.014 | -0.032 | -0.027 | 0.064 | -0.031 | -0.036 | 0.025 | 0.036 | 0.140 | -0.399 | -0.677 | 1 | |
| (18) | -0.027 | -0.067 | 0.040 | -0.025 | 0.012 | -0.058 | 0.113 | 0.080 | 0.037 | 0.039 | 0.054 | 0.090 | -0.105 | -0.164 | 0.558 | 0.137 | -0.175 | 1 |

Table 3. Logistic Regression Models Predicting Concern for Human Trafficking, Illegal Immigration, and Drug Trafficking (Odds Ratios Presented)

| | (1) Human Trafficking | (2) Drug Trafficking | (3) Illegal Immigration | (4) Human Trafficking | (5) Drug Trafficking | (6) Illegal Immigration | (7) Human Trafficking | (8) Drug Trafficking | (9) Illegal Immigration | (10) Human Trafficking | (11) Drug Trafficking | (12) Illegal Immigration |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Women | 1.272** | 0.939 | 1.225** | 1.320** | 0.959 | 1.210** | 1.329** | 0.958 | 1.216** | 1.337** | 0.982 | 1.226** |
| | (0.055) | (0.042) | (0.054) | (0.071) | (0.055) | (0.067) | (0.072) | (0.055) | (0.067) | (0.074) | (0.058) | (0.069) |
| Age | 1.007** | 1.010** | 1.014** | 1.007** | 1.006** | 1.014** | 1.009** | 1.009** | 1.014** | 1.009** | 1.009** | 1.014** |
| | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Married | 1.251** | 1.365** | 1.540** | 1.280** | 1.385** | 1.512** | 1.206** | 1.298** | 1.479** | 1.216** | 1.293** | 1.453** |
| | (0.064) | (0.071) | (0.080) | (0.081) | (0.093) | (0.099) | (0.078) | (0.088) | (0.097) | (0.081) | (0.091) | (0.099) |
| Cohabiting | 1.009 | 0.990 | 1.034 | 1.084 | 1.103 | 1.100 | 1.203+ | 1.255* | 1.084 | 1.155 | 1.279* | 1.040 |
| | (0.078) | (0.080) | (0.080) | (0.103) | (0.114) | (0.105) | (0.116) | (0.132) | (0.104) | (0.113) | (0.138) | (0.102) |
| Medium Town | 0.986 | 0.883* | 1.093+ | 1.000 | 0.960 | 1.073 | 1.059 | 1.018 | 1.087 | 1.034 | 1.042 | 1.058 |
| | (0.050) | (0.046) | (0.057) | (0.063) | (0.064) | (0.069) | (0.068) | (0.069) | (0.071) | (0.068) | (0.073) | (0.071) |
| Urban Area | 1.020 | 0.946 | 1.098 | 1.027 | 1.133+ | 1.087 | 1.029 | 1.126 | 1.107 | 1.013 | 1.127 | 1.054 |
| | (0.057) | (0.054) | (0.063) | (0.072) | (0.085) | (0.078) | (0.073) | (0.085) | (0.080) | (0.074) | (0.088) | (0.078) |
| Income | 0.971** | 0.978** | 0.956** | 0.968** | 0.970** | 0.952** | 0.968** | 0.970** | 0.958** | 0.966** | 0.958** | 0.954** |
| | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.008) | (0.009) | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.009) | (0.008) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) |
| Political Scale (higher=farther Right) | 0.971** | 1.090** | 1.047** | 0.965** | 1.009 | 1.034* | 0.974+ | 1.022 | 1.031* | 0.972* | 1.022 | 1.026+ |
| | (0.010) | (0.012) | (0.011) | (0.013) | (0.014) | (0.014) | (0.013) | (0.014) | (0.014) | (0.013) | (0.015) | (0.014) |
| Helping Immigrants Attitude | | | | 1.316** | 0.886** | 1.307** | 1.340** | 0.892** | 1.313** | 1.317** | 0.874** | 1.308** |
| | | | | (0.041) | (0.029) | (0.042) | (0.043) | (0.029) | (0.042) | (0.043) | (0.030) | (0.043) |

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Table 3. (Continued)

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Blaming Immigrants Attitude | | | | 1.251** | 2.071** | 1.363** | 1.204** | 2.003** | 1.372** | 1.216** | 1.949** | 1.390** |
| | | | | (0.038) | (0.071) | (0.042) | (0.037) | (0.070) | (0.043) | (0.038) | (0.070) | (0.045) |
| Poor Immigrants Attitude | | | | 1.098** | 1.111** | 0.967 | 1.024 | 1.030 | 0.967 | 1.022 | 1.044 | 0.961 |
| | | | | (0.031) | (0.033) | (0.028) | (0.030) | (0.032) | (0.028) | (0.030) | (0.033) | (0.029) |
| Latitude of Capital City | | | | | | | 0.953** | 0.952** | 0.988* | 0.948** | 0.929** | 0.972** |
| | | | | | | | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Longitude of Capital City | | | | | | | 1.004 | 0.998 | 1.017** | 1.009* | 0.984** | 1.019** |
| | | | | | | | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| African Share of Foreign Born | | | | | | | | | | 1.006* | 0.983** | 1.000 |
| | | | | | | | | | | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| Asian Share of Foreign Born | | | | | | | | | | 1.015** | 1.018** | 1.017** |
| | | | | | | | | | | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.003) |
| N | 8712 | 8742 | 8750 | 5875 | 5884 | 5885 | 5875 | 5884 | 5885 | 5603 | 5611 | 5612 |
| -2 Log likelihood | -5975.824 | -5821.752 | -5809.673 | -3933.869 | -3592.132 | -3807.100 | -3876.241 | -3528.119 | -3793.407 | -3703.141 | -3332.193 | -3601.333 |
| AIC | 11969.649 | 11661.505 | 11637.345 | 7891.738 | 7208.264 | 7638.200 | 7780.483 | 7084.238 | 7614.813 | 7438.282 | 6696.386 | 7234.666 |
| BIC | 12033.301 | 11725.188 | 11701.036 | 7971.880 | 7288.424 | 7718.362 | 7873.981 | 7177.758 | 7708.336 | 7544.378 | 6802.506 | 7340.788 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

$+ p<.10$  $* p<.05$  $** p<.01$

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