Human Trafficking: Factors that Influence Willingness to Combat the Issue

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Abstract

Human trafficking involves severe violations of human rights and social action is required to combat it. Past research has identified emotional reactions to victims of trafficking, as well as the perceived cost and efficacy of actions, as significant predictors of willingness to get involved. We surveyed 216 Australians (70% female) to assess their perceptions of sex and labor trafficking and actions to reduce them. Results demonstrated that women reported greater personal distress (but not empathy) for victims than men, which was associated with greater willingness to take action. Women also perceived available actions to be more efficacious than men, which predicted willingness, while perceived cost of actions did not. Implications for promoting social action to reduce human trafficking are discussed.

Keywords: *Human Trafficking, Empathy, Distress, Cost, Outcome-Efficacy, Social Action*

Human Trafficking: Factors that Influence Willingness to Combat the Issue

The United Nations (UN; 2004) defines human trafficking as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion . . . for the purpose of exploitation" (p.4). It is a transnational and organised commodity where the exploitation of human beings can take on many different forms (UNODC, 2004). In this paper, we focus specifically on human trafficking in the form of sexual exploitation (HTSE) and in the form of forced labor (HTFL). The former refers to the recruitment, harbouring, transportation, provision or obtaining of an individual for a commercial sex act; that is, any sex act for which anything of value is given to, or received, by another person (Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act, 2000). In contrast, HTFL is referred to as involuntary work or service that is enacted under menace of penalty. According to the International Labor Office (ILO; 2005), this does not include situations involving low wages or poor working conditions; rather it is a severe violation to one's rights and restriction of freedom. While violating the human rights of those involved, human trafficking continues as a global trend due to corrupt governments, organised crime, enormous profitability, and the increasing number of poverty stricken and vulnerable countries (Mameli, 2002).

There are numerous initiatives currently being put into place to combat human trafficking (e.g., Anti-Slavery Project, 2010; ILO, 2012; UNODC, 2008; 2009). Yet, their focus is often at a government and policy level, not at an individual or community level, where attitudes toward the issue and actions can be measured. As Snyder and Omoto (2007) have argued, as well as being social phenomena that can be studied at the collective and community level, social actions required to solve problems facing society can also be considered to be individual phenomena "in that they involve the actions of individuals,

reflecting their individual concerns, their personal values, their own motives, and their particular goals" (p. 941). From this perspective, it becomes important to understand and to assess how individuals think and feel about the various behaviors that can be undertaken to combat human trafficking, as a way of identifying how both individual and collective social actions might be promoted. Moreover, research into human trafficking from a psychological perspective is scarce (Putt, 2007). Therefore, in line with a recent report from the American Psychological Association (APA; 2014) highlighting a need for psychologists to help communities to become aware of and to engage with the problem, we designed the current study to investigate factors that may influence willingness to engage in community activities to combat human trafficking. However, first, we must know how people in the community currently perceive the issue and its victims.

Awareness of Human Trafficking

It stands to reason that people may vary in their levels of awareness of the problem of human trafficking; indeed, awareness-raising is one of the most common activities that anti-trafficking organizations undertake (see Foot, Toft, & Cesare, 2015). However, many of the facts and figures about human trafficking are disputed (see Baker, 2015). For example, there is little agreement about the number of victims affected by HTSE and HTFL (compare ILO, 2012, and UNODC, 2009) and some argue that certain types of trafficking may be under-reported. For example, UNODC suggested that HTFL may involve a 'visibility bias' because victims work in hidden locations, whereas HTSE may be more visible, given its direct link to the public via clients.

Therefore, people in the community may vary in what they know or believe about human trafficking. To the extent that people may be unaware of the magnitude of the problem, they may be unlikely to feel motivated to act to combat the problem. More importantly, even for those who are aware of the issues, taking action may be difficult if ways

to get involved are unclear. For example, in a recent survey of 18,000 Australians' attitudes toward human trafficking (Childwise/The Body Shop, 2010), respondents reported a high level of awareness of people being trafficked (91%). However, more than two thirds of participants (68%) did not know how to take action should they become aware of a possible case of human trafficking. For this reason, we can only tentatively predict that levels of awareness will be associated with willingness to take action.

Characteristics of the Victims of Human Trafficking

Studies from experimental social psychology looking at interpersonal helping more broadly (rather than at social action per sé) suggest that potential helpers may use the characteristics of victims to determine whether they should receive help. Primarily, this work has suggested that helpers are more likely to assist those for whom they are able to cognitively take their perspective, an ability which is boosted by shared group memberships and other similarities (e.g., Batson, 1991). However, at present, our knowledge about who is trafficked remains somewhat unclear, and depends on which statistics and sources are examined. Victims of HTFL, more often men than women and adults than children (ILO, 2012), are frequently detected in Africa, the Middle East, and South and East Asia (UNODC, 2010). In contrast, women are the predominant victims of HTSE (ILO, 2012; Skinner, 2008), coming mostly from Europe, Central Asia and the Americas (UNODC, 2010).

Bearing these reports in mind, and recognising that when a victim is seen as an in-group member rather than an out-group member, observers are more likely to consider that the same fate might befall them (Stapel, Reicher, & Spears, 1994), we expect that women will report higher levels of concern about HTSE and willingness to take action than men. Women may be more likely to identify with the victims of HTSE, as they do with the victims of rape (e.g., Lerner & Miller, 1978), than men. However, men may demonstrate greater concern about HTFL and willingness to act than women, given the prevalence of male

victims. These predicted effects depend on people being aware of the actual gender differences in victims of these two broad types of human trafficking, but we concede that it is not entirely clear that they are aware and the figures do vary from source to source (e.g., Baker, 2015).

Factors that Influence Social Action

Although surveys suggest that strong negative attitudes toward human trafficking are common, prosocial attitudes may not always translate into prosocial action (Snyder, 1993). Both motivation and opportunity or ability may be necessary for individuals to act on their attitudes (e.g., Fazio, 1990). As Snyder and Omoto (2007) pointed out, there are numerous factors that help to heighten motivations to engage in social action. Given the expanse of this literature, we focus on only a subset of these factors here: emotional reactions to the plight of victims (e.g., Batson, 1991; Zaki, 2014); personal cost involved in helping (e.g., Dovidio, Piliavin, Gaertner, Schroeder, & Clark, 1991); and perceptions of the likely effectiveness (or outcome efficacy) of social action (e.g., Hofstetter, Sallis, & Hovell, 1990).

Emotional reactions. How emotional arousal is experienced or interpreted is important as it may shape the nature of helping behaviours. Following Stotland's (1969) seminal research on empathy as an emotional phenomenon, Batson (1991) proposed that witnessing a person in need can lead to two distinct emotional responses: empathy and personal distress. Empathy (or empathic concern) is an other-oriented emotional response that is congruent with the perceived plight of the person in need, whereas personal distress is a self-oriented emotional response that involves direct feelings of discomfort (Batson, 1987). There is general consensus within the literature that empathy is an important motivator of prosocial behaviour (Zaki, 2014). Batson (1991) argued that empathy is associated with the desire to reduce another's distress or need and is therefore more likely to lead to altruistic behaviour. Numerous studies have examined self-reported situational empathy finding strong

support for its positive association with prosocial behaviour (e.g., Batson, Eklund, Chermok, Hoyt, & Ortiz, 2007; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987). Therefore, if feelings of empathy are evoked when thinking about victims of HTSE or HTFL, then this should lead to prosocial behaviour and willingness to help these victims.

Gender differences are often found in reports of empathic concern, with women reporting higher levels than men (e.g., Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983; Hoffman, 1977; Van der Graaff et al., 2014). Empathy has typically been regarded as a feminine strength. Eagly's (1987) social role theory defines two dimensions relevant to societal expectations and stereotypes about gender: communion and agency. The former characterises attributes expected of women such as nurturance, emotional expressivity and domestic activities, whereas the latter defines the role of men to include assertiveness, independence and public activities. In other words, women are expected to be more concerned than men about the feelings of others and therefore, to the extent that they have internalized these expectations, women should be more likely to respond with empathy when thinking about a victim of HTSE or HTFL.

People who predominantly feel personal distress, an aversive feeling, in reaction to seeing a person in need may become more self-focused and motivated to engage in social action in order to alleviate their own distress (Batson, 1991). There has been mixed support in the literature for a relationship between personal distress and prosocial behaviour (e.g., Batson, 1991; Trommsdorff, Friedlmeier, & Mayer, 2007). An early study by Batson et al. (1981) found that when escape from helping was easy, people with high levels of situationally-induced personal distress would choose not to give help. However, when escape was difficult, personally distressed participants opted to provide help. More recently, Grynberg, Heeren and Luminet (2012) examined distress feelings and willingness to reduce distress via either avoiding the person in need, or providing support to them. They found that

levels of distress were positively correlated with desires for avoidance, but unrelated to offers of support. Further, research on adults has shown that women may be more distressed than men at the onset of a distress-eliciting event and may remain distressed for a longer period than men (Garner & Estep, 2001). Moreover, Davis (1980) reported gender differences in dispositional tendencies to experience personal distress with women reporting higher levels than men (in line with their higher reports of dispositional empathy). Therefore, to the extent that personal distress does motivate social action to assist victims of human trafficking (and it may not), then women may be more willing to engage than men.

The costs involved. The decision to become involved in helping behaviour may be influenced by the perceived costs of action. For example, Piliavin**,** Rodin, and Piliavin (1969) suggested that the decision to help or not to help is dependent on three factors: arousal, perceived costs, and perceived rewards. Although arousal may be elicited by exposure to victims of human trafficking and their plight, it may be most necessary for the kinds of emergency intervention helping to which the model was generally applied (see Dovidio et al., 1991, for a review). However, cost-benefit analyses may also be influential on less spontaneous and more carefully planned helping behaviours. That is, potential helpers may follow a decision making process of weighing up the personal costs and rewards that may result from the act of helping, or the decision not to help, for both themselves and the person in need. Help is more likely to be given when a person decides that intervention involves low costs of helping and/or high costs of not helping (Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981). Helping is likely to be perceived as costly to the helper if it involves money or time, and not helping is judged to be costly when it may cause the person in need significant pain and suffering (Piliavin et al., 1969; Piliavin, Piliavin, & Rodin, 1975). Given that most people view human trafficking negatively and as a burden on victims that should be ended, willingness to get involved in actions to help may be largely a product of the perceived costs

of acting for the potential helper. For the purpose of the current study, these costs will be assessed in terms of the effort required to take part in social action.

Outcome efficacy. Appropriate attitudes and even the provision of less costly opportunities to act do not guarantee behaviour: expectations that behaviours will be successful in producing desired outcomes may also be necessary (Bandura, 1977, 1986; Zimmerman, 2000). Outcome efficacy is a central component of expectancy-value theory (Atkinson, 1957) which suggests that behaviour is more likely to the extent that its expected outcomes are both highly valued and highly probable (see Feather, 1982, for a review). In order to engage people, actions to combat human trafficking must be judged as likely to assist victims or to stop the industry. However, it may not always be clear how individual actions can assist or stop a problem that is occurring on a global scale. A few behaviours stand out as possibilities. For example, there is a global push for consumers to purchase 'fair trade' products as a way of stopping the demand for, and therefore the supply of, goods produced as a result of HTFL (e.g., Latta, 2014). The avenues to help stop HTSE are not as clear. Nevertheless, social actions that raise awareness and create a sense of community around the need to stop human trafficking may help to create momentum; fundraising appeals may raise money to support victims in practical ways. Such opportunities to help have been outlined by international organisations (e.g., ILO, 2012; UNODC, 2008), but it is not clear whether these actions are seen as efficacious in the community and whether there are individual differences in perceptions of outcome efficacy. We hypothesised that greater perceptions of outcome efficacy would be associated with higher willingness to engage in social action.

The Present Study

Human trafficking is a growing industry, where advances in technology have catered to traffickers (Hughes, 2001). Studies examining attitudes toward human trafficking are lacking. Whereas it is possible to draw parallels to similar research areas such as on reactions

to rape victims (e.g., Hertzog, 2008) or on empathy for those requiring help (e.g., Batson et al., 1997), the trafficking of individuals may lead to different reactions due to both its physically invasive nature and the fact that victims are often at a physical and psychological distance from potential helpers (e.g., Cryder, Loewenstein, & Scheines, 2013). By focusing the current research on the two main areas of trafficking, HTSE and HTFL, insight can be gained into people's understanding of these problems and allow us to identify specific factors important for individuals to get involved in social action.

Based on the above review of the literature, we proposed the following hypotheses. First, given the more public nature of HTSE and past surveys (Childwise & the Body Shop, 2010) we predicted that participants would be more aware of HTSE than HTFL. Second, in line with research on identification with victims (Lerner & Miller, 1978) and reported gender differences in victims of the two types of trafficking, we predicted that women would perceive HTSE as more serious, concerning and important than HTFL, whereas men would show the opposite pattern. Third, we hypothesised that women would report higher levels of both empathy and personal distress when thinking about victims of HTFL and HTSE (e.g., Davis, 1980; Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983; Hoffman, 1977) and that these greater emotional reactions would be associated with greater willingness to engage in prosocial action (e.g., Batson, 1991). Finally, based on the arousal: cost-reward model (Dovidio et al., 1991) and value-expectancy model (Feather, 1982), we hypothesised that perceived costs of social action would be negatively correlated, and that perceptions of the outcome efficacy of social action would be positively correlated, with willingness to engage in social action to combat human trafficking.

Method

Participants

A total of 216 participants (60 men, 151 women, 5 unspecified; M_{age}=28.29, *SD*=12.20) were recruited via social networks, a news story in the local paper, snowballing techniques, and a university participant registry. Participants were Australian (80%) and most had completed (or were completing) a tertiary level of education or above (83.40%). All were provided with the opportunity to go into a lottery to win one of eight AU$50 vouchers.

Measures

Participants completed an online questionnaire that included demographic questions, along with other measures not reported here[1], and the following scales:

Perceptions of trafficking. To gauge participants' perceptions of human trafficking for sexual exploitation (HTSE) and human trafficking for forced labor (HTFL), statements referring to levels of awareness, relevance, concern, seriousness, and importance were provided for each form of trafficking. A 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *very low*, 5 = *very high*) was used, where participants were asked to respond to statements such as: "The level of awareness you feel you have". Given the high correlations between judgments of concern, seriousness, and importance (ranging from .53 to .87), we combined these into scales that we labelled "strength" (HTSE alpha = .79; HTFL alpha = .85).

Perceptions of the victims of trafficking. Definitions of HTSE and HTFL were provided to the participants[2]. Participants were then required to select what they believed to be the typical victim's gender (female or male), age[3] (< 12, 12-19, 20-40, 40-65, > 65), and

[1] Participants also completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), Global Belief in a Just World Scale (Lipkus, 1991), and Systems Justification Scale (Kay & Jost, 2003) at the start of the study. Due to space considerations and because individual differences were not the central focus of the current paper, we have omitted these measures which were not systematically related to willingness to get involved to combat either labor or sex trafficking (all r values < .09 and p values > .24). Further details are available upon request from the authors.

[2] *Labor trafficking* is involuntary work or service that is enacted under menace of penalty that violates one's rights and the restriction of freedom. Products associated with this are coffee, chocolate, clothing, fish. *Sex Trafficking* is the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision or obtaining of an individual for a commercial sex act. Products associated with this are pornography, prostitution, escort services.

[3] These ages were determined by Erikson's stages of development across the lifespan (Erikson, 1959)

ethnicity (African, Asian, Australian, European, North American, or South American) for each form of trafficking.

Emotional reactions. Fourteen adjectives describing different emotional states, including six previously used to measure empathy (*sympathetic*, *soft-hearted*, *warm*, *compassionate*, *tender*, and *moved*; Batson, 1991) and eight previously used to measure distress (*alarmed*, *grieved*, *troubled*, *distressed*, *upset*, *disturbed*, *worried*, and *perturbed*; Batson, 1991), were presented. For each adjective, participants were asked to indicate how much (1=*not at all*, 5=*a lot*) they experienced each emotion when thinking about the victims of HTSE and HTFL respectively. The six empathy adjectives (HTSE α=.82; HTFL α=.85) and eight distress adjectives (HTSE α=.93; HTFL α=.95) were averaged to produce scale scores.

Willingness to take action. A list of 10 possible actions to help combat trafficking was presented to participants. These 10 behaviours were chosen from human trafficking activist websites to capture a range of social actions promoted to combat human trafficking. In selecting these actions, we sought to include some that seemed to involve less effort or cost (e.g., 'liking' a page on Facebook) and some that seemed to involve more effort or cost (e.g., organising a local fete) to ensure sufficient variability on this dimension (which was assessed by participants, as described below). Participants were asked to rate how willing they would be to take part in each of the behaviours to combat HTSE (α=.83) and HTFL (α=.87) on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1=*not at all*, 5=*extremely*). The actions are listed in Table 5, along with their cost, efficacy, and willingness ratings.

Outcome efficacy. The same list of 10 actions to help combat trafficking was presented to participants. They were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1=*not at all*, 5=*a lot*) the degree to which they believed taking part in each of the behaviours would contribute to helping to find a solution to the problem of human trafficking (α=.84).

Cost. The same list of 10 actions was presented and participants were asked to rate the degree of cost/effort each activity would entail (α=.68) on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *not at all*, 5=*a lot*).

Procedure

Participants were invited to an online survey taking approximately 30 minutes to complete. All participants underwent standard informed consent procedures that were approved by a university ethics committee. Participants were first required to fill out demographic information, and then complete a series of questions in relation to both sex and labor trafficking in the order presented above. For the majority of scales, participants were asked to provide responses about their reactions to both HTSE and HTFL with these two types of trafficking listed side by side with separate Likert scales for each type; HTSE was always on the left. The exception was for the outcome efficacy and cost measures which were collected with regard to the social actions but not separately for the two types of trafficking (instead efficacy and cost were side by side, with cost on the left). At the end of the survey, participants were debriefed and offered a chance to participate in the prize draw.

Results

Data Screening

In screening our data and checking statistical assumptions, we discovered that several variables were not normally distributed. Both HTSE strength and HTFL strength were skewed such that most participants felt that these issues were very important and serious; we applied inverse transformations to these variables. Personal distress was also negatively skewed such that most participants reported higher levels of distress for both HTSE and HTFL; we reflected these variables and applied a square root transformation. In all analyses, we used transformed variables but we report the raw descriptive statistics and original direction of variables to keep things clear for readers. A very small number of random

missing data were replaced with the grand mean of the item for the entire sample. In some cases, participants failed to complete all scales; differences in degrees of freedom in the tests below are a result of these missing scales.

Perceptions of Human Trafficking

A series of 2 (gender) x 2 (trafficking type) mixed model analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted to investigate participants' perceptions of human trafficking. As predicted, there were significant main effects of trafficking type on *awareness*, $F(1, 207) = 6.93$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, with all participants more aware of HTSE than HTFL. Please see Table 1 for descriptive statistics. Additionally, there was a main effect of trafficking type on *relevance*, $F(1, 207) = 6.32$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, such that participants perceived HTFL to be more relevant to them than HTSE. Furthermore, we found a marginally significant main effect of gender on *relevance*, $F(1, 207) = 3.77$, $p = .054$, $\eta^2_p = .02$, with women reporting perceiving trafficking to be more relevant than men overall. We also found a main effect of trafficking type on *strength*, $F(1, 207) = 54.15$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .21$, such that HTSE was seen as more serious, important and concerning than HTFL. Furthermore, we found a significant main effect of gender on *strength*, $F(1, 207) = 13.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .06$, with women reporting trafficking overall to be more serious, important and concerning than men. Contrary to our predictions that women would have stronger reactions to HTSE than men, and that men would show stronger reactions to HTFL than women, there were no significant interactions between trafficking type and gender on any of the above variables. Correlations between these and other study variables are presented in Tables 2 (HTSE) and 3 (HTFL). Awareness, relevance, and strength of concern were all significantly correlated with willingness to take social action for both types of trafficking (as shown in Tables 2 and 3).

Characteristics of the Victims

In order to gauge the characteristics people associate with victims of sex trafficking and labor trafficking, we asked respondents who they believed would be the most 'typical' victim based on age, gender, and ethnicity. Figures 1, 2 and 3 show the reported differences across trafficking type. To our participants, a 'typical' victim of HTSE is female, between 12-19 years of age, and Asian. In comparison, a 'typical' victim of HTFL is male, aged between 12-19, and Asian. There were no significant gender differences in the patterns of expected victim characteristics (for all χ^2 tests, $p > .05$). There were no significant effects of perceived victim demographic characteristics on willingness to take social action for either HTSE or HTFL (all $p > .05$). These latter null effects may be the result of consistent agreement about the characteristics of victims and therefore low experimental power to find differences across demographic categories.

Empathy and Personal Distress

We employed separate mixed model ANOVAs to assess the effects of gender on participants' emotional reactions (empathy, personal distress) when thinking about victims of sex trafficking and of labor trafficking. See Table 4 for descriptive statistics. With regard to HTSE, we found a significant main effect of emotional reaction type, $F(1, 209) = 63.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .23$, with participants reporting higher levels of personal distress than empathy. We also found a significant main effect of gender, $F(1, 209) = 6.61$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, with women reporting stronger emotional reactions than men. These main effects were qualified by a significant interaction, $F(1, 209) = 18.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .08$, demonstrating that women reported significantly more personal distress than men ($t = -3.99$, $p < .001$, $d = .58$), but they did not differ in empathy ($t = -0.64$, $p = .52$, $d = .10$).

With regard to HTFL, we again found a significant main effect of emotional reaction type, $F(1, 207) = 51.40$, $p < .001$ $\eta^2_p = .20$, with participants reporting higher levels of

personal distress than empathy. Further, we found a significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 207) = 10.32$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2_p = .05$, with women reporting stronger emotional reactions than males. Again, these effects were qualified by a significant interaction, $F(1, 207) = 9.18$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2_p = .04$, demonstrating that women's reported levels of personal distress were significantly higher than men's ($t = -3.84$, $p < .001$, $d = .58$) and women's reported levels of empathy were also significantly higher than men's ($t = -2.13$, $p = .03$, $d = .32$) although the latter difference was smaller.

The similarity of these patterns is likely due to the strong, positive correlations between levels of empathy and personal distress reported for victims of HTSE ($r = .64$, $p < .001$) and HTFL ($r = .74$, $p < .001$). Awareness of human trafficking and strength of concern about the issues were positively correlated with both empathy and personal distress (see Tables 2 and 3). Moreover, these emotional reactions were strongly and similarly related to willingness to get involved in social action. We found significant positive correlations between empathy and willingness to combat HTSE ($r = .28$, $p < .001$) and HTFL ($r = .39$, $p < .001$). We also found significant positive correlations between personal distress and willingness to combat HTSE ($r = .39$, $p < .001$) and HTFL ($r = .43$, $p < .001$). However, it is still possible that, when included together in the same model, that either empathy or personal distress could prove to be the more important predictor of willingness to get involved.

To investigate potential differences in willingness to engage in social actions, we conducted a mixed 2 (gender) x 2 (trafficking type) ANOVA. There was a marginally significant main effect of trafficking type, $F(1, 180) = 3.16$, $p = .08$, $\eta^2_p = .02$, such that participants reported slightly higher levels of willingness to engage in social action to combat HTSE ($M = 3.02$, $SD = .83$) compared to willingness to engage in social action to combat HTFL ($M = 2.97$, $SD = .90$). Further, we found a significant main effect for gender between participants, $F(1,180) = 7.73$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .04$, where females reported higher levels of

willingness to engage in social activities to combat HTSE (*M* = 3.12, *SD* = .79) and willingness to engage in social activities to combat HTFL (*M* = 3.09, *SD* = .85) than males (HTSE *M* = 2.77, *SD* = .89; HTFL *M* = 2.68, *SD* = .95). Therefore, given the strong gender differences in personal distress as well as willingness to engage in social action, we included gender as a predictor in our models.

All models were analysed using MPLUS version 7.11 (Muthén & Muthén, 2013) and the maximum likelihood robust procedure (Yuan & Bentler, 2000). The first series of path models tested whether the effects of gender on willingness to get involved were mediated by emotional reactions. As personal distress and empathy were reported separately for both victims of HTSE and victims of HTFL, we were able to analyse the relationship between these variables and willingness to combat each type of trafficking. Willingness to combat HTSE and HTFL were significantly correlated ($r = .90$, $p < .001$), and thus the results going forward must be interpreted with caution. For efficiency's sake, we have included all parameter estimates on the same diagram; please see Figure 4.

The first path model focused on HTSE was an excellent fit with the data ($\chi^2 = 149.84$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$, *CFI* = 1.00, *TLI* = 1.00, *SRMR* = .00, *RMSEA* = .00 [90% CI = .00, .00]), showing that gender indirectly influenced willingness to combat sex trafficking through its effects on levels of personal distress, and not through levels of empathy, reported by the participant. Women reported higher levels of personal distress than men ($a^1 = .29$, *SE* = .06, $p < .001$), and levels of distress were associated with willingness to engage in activities to combat sex trafficking ($b^1 = .39$, *SE* = .08, $p < .001$). There were no gender differences in reported empathy towards victims of HTSE ($a^2 = .05$, *SE* = .07, $p = .49$) and empathy did not influence willingness to combat HTSE ($b^2 = .04$, *SE* = .07, $p = .63$). Based on 10,000 bootstrap samples, a bias-corrected bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect of gender through distress ($a^1b^1 = .11$) did not include zero (.04 - .18), whereas the indirect

effect of gender through empathy (a^2b^2 = .00) did (-.01 - .02). Further, there was no evidence that gender directly influenced participants' willingness to combat HTSE independent of its effects on emotional reactions (c = .10, *SE* = .07, *p* = .18).

The second path model focused on HTFL was also an excellent fit with the data (χ^2 = 228.76, *df* = 6, *p* < .001, *CFI* = 1.00, *TLI* = 1.00, *SRMR* = .00, *RMSEA* = .00 [90% CI = .00, .00]), again showing that gender indirectly influenced willingness to combat labor trafficking through its effect on reactions of personal distress, and not through the level of empathy reported by the participant. Women reported higher levels of personal distress than men (a^1 = .27, *SE* = .06, *p* < .001), and levels of distress predicted willingness to engage in activities to combat labor trafficking (b^1 = .37, *SE* = .11, *p* < .0001). In contrast, although women reported higher levels of empathy than men (a^2 = .18, *SE* = .07, *p* = .01), levels of empathy were not associated with greater willingness to combat labor trafficking (b^2 = .07, *SE* = .10, *p* = .47). Based on 10,000 bootstrap samples (Mackinnon & Lockwood, 2004) a bias-corrected bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect of gender through distress (a^1b^1 = .10) was entirely above zero (.03 - .18), however the indirect effect of gender through empathy (a^2b^2 = .01) did include zero (-.03 - .05). There was no evidence that gender directly influenced participants' willingness to combat HTFL independent of its effects on emotional reactions (c = .10, *SE* = .07, *p* = .13).

Efficacy and Cost

Table 5 presents participants' perceptions of the outcome efficacy and cost of 10 social actions to combat human trafficking, as well as their willingness to engage in these actions. Perceived outcome efficacy was positively correlated with willingness to combat HTSE (*r* = .60, *p* < .001) and HTFL (*r* = .71, *p* < .001), as was the perceived effort/costs required to undertake action: HTSE (*r* = .35, *p* < .001) and HTFL (*r* = .31, *p* < .001). Furthermore, perceived outcome efficacy and cost were positively correlated (*r* = .47, *p* <

.001); perceptions of efficacy and cost were not gathered separately for the two types of trafficking.

To investigate potential differences in perceptions of the social actions, we conducted a mixed 2 (gender) x 2 (efficacy, cost) ANOVA. There was a significant main effect of efficacy vs. cost, $F(1, 198) = 7.33$, $p = .007$, $\eta^2_p = .04$, such that participants reported higher levels of cost (M= 3.33, SD = .59) than perceived outcome efficacy (M = 3.24, SD = .77). Further, we found a significant main effect for gender between participants, $F(1,198) = 4.29$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .02$, where females reported higher levels of cost and perceived outcome efficacy (M_{cost} = 3.34, SD = .71; $M_{efficacy}$ = 3.34, SD = .60) than males (M_{cost} = 3.00, SD = .86; $M_{efficacy}$ = 3.30, SD = .58). The interaction between gender and perceptions of activities was statistically significant, $F(1, 198) = 6.99$, $p = .009$, $\eta^2_p = .03$ demonstrating that women's reported perceptions of outcome efficacy (M = 3.34, SD = .71) were significantly higher than men's (M = 3.00, SD = .86; t = 2.83, p = <.01, d = .43) whereas both women's (M = 3.34, SD = .71) and men's (M = 3.30, SD = .58) reported levels of perceived cost were not significantly different (t = .42, p = .68, d = .07).

Given the significant gender differences in perceptions of the efficacy and cost of social actions, as well as the positive correlations between these perceptions and willingness to take action, we investigated whether perceptions of efficacy or cost were more or less likely to mediate the effects of gender on willingness to act. In order not to overcomplicate our models, and because efficacy and cost were not assessed separately for HTSE and HTFL, we did not include other variables in this model. Again, we used MPLUS to model the relationships between these variables. The model, which was good fit with the data (χ^2 = 350.32, df = 10, p < .001, CFI = .97, TLI = .86, $SRMR$ = .05, $RMSEA$ = .06 [90% CI = .08, .25]) showed that gender indirectly influenced willingness to combat trafficking through its effect on perceptions of the efficacy of social action, rather than through the perceived cost of

action. As shown in Figure 5, women perceived the list of activities to be more efficacious than men (a^1 = .15, *SE* = .07, *p* = .04), and efficacy perceptions were associated with willingness to engage in activities to combat trafficking (b^1 = .76, *SE* = .06, *p* < .001). Gender did not influence perceptions of the costs of social action (a^2 = -.004, *SE* = .07, *p* = .95) and there was also no influence of perceived cost on willingness to engage in activities to combat trafficking (b^2 = -.06, *SE* = .09, *p* = .53). Based on 10,000 bootstrap samples, a bias-corrected bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect of gender through efficacy (a^1b^1 = .12) did not include zero (.02 - .51), whereas the indirect effect of gender through cost (a^2b^2 = .00) did (-.03 - .04). Further, there was no evidence that gender directly influenced participants' willingness to combat human trafficking independent of its effects on perceived efficacy and cost (c = .05, *SE* = .05, *p* = .30).

Overall Prediction of Willingness to Take Action

Finally, to determine the most important predictors overall, we decided to include all of our measures (apart from gender) in two linear regression models, with willingness to combat HTSE and HTFL regressed, respectively, on all predictor variables entered simultaneously (see Table 6). The end result was that awareness, strength, personal distress, empathy, efficacy, and cost explained 44% of the variance in willingness for HTSE (r^2 = .44; *F*(7, 177) = 19.66, *p* < .001) with awareness (beta = .20, *t* = 3.24, *p* = .001) and outcome efficacy (beta = .44, *t* = 6.57, *p* < .001) as the only significant predictors. Whereas the same regression model for willingness for HTFL explained 55% of the variance (r^2 = .55; *F*(7, 174) = 30.11, *p* < .001) but only outcome efficacy (beta = .60, *t* = 9.49, *p* < .001) was a significant predictor. Readers should take note that there was some multicollinearity across these sets of predictors; as such, the individual coefficient estimates may not be especially reliable. (The highest variance inflation factor was associated with personal distress in both analyses: 2.20 for HTSE and 2.75 for HTFL). However, it seems safe to conclude that perceived outcome

efficacy of actions is a key factor influencing willingness to get involved to combat human trafficking.

Discussion

The aim of the present study was to examine perceptions of HTSE and HTFL and the individual-level factors that may be related to willingness to become involved in social action to reduce human trafficking. Our focus was on awareness and perceptions of trafficking as a relevant and serious issue (including an understanding of the demographic characteristics of the victims), emotional reactions to thinking about human trafficking and its victims, and the perception of individual social actions and willingness to undertake them. All of these predictors have been explored with regard to prosocial behavior in past social psychological research and we predicted that we would find similar relationships between attitudes, empathy and personal distress, judgments of cost and outcome efficacy, as had been found in research on helping behavior more generally.

Overall, our participants were more *aware* of HTSE and they perceived it to be more *serious, concerning* and *important* than HTFL. However, both forms of trafficking were rated close to the top of the scale on strength of concern. In contrast, participants perceived HTFL to be more *relevant* to them personally compared to HTSE. Awareness, relevance and strength all had significant positive correlations with willingness to take action against both forms of trafficking. However, perceived characteristics of victims (upon which there was strong consensus across participants for both types of trafficking) were unrelated to willingness to take action. We also found that the gender of our participants was related to many of their reactions to human trafficking. For example, women perceived trafficking to be more *serious, concerning, important* and *relevant* than men; however, these gender differences were not moderated by trafficking type.

Men and women also differed in their reports of emotional reactions to human trafficking, with a similar pattern found for both HTSE and HTFL. Women reported higher levels of personal distress (but not empathic concern) than men. Levels of personal distress were, in turn, associated with greater willingness to combat both forms of trafficking in a model that also contained empathic concern as another possible mediator. In line with our predictions, willingness to combat trafficking was also influenced by perceptions of the outcome efficacy of social action and women had stronger perceptions of outcome efficacy than men. In contrast, the perceived costs involved in social action did not influence intentions to act. Overall, when we examined all of our predictors of willingness to take action together, we found that perceived outcome efficacy had the strongest effects (although awareness was also significant for HTSE). We now place these results into the context of past research and theory.

Perceptions of the Victims of Human Trafficking

Consistent with other surveys (i.e., Childwise & The Body Shop, 2010), participants reported a higher level of awareness of HTSE and a higher level of concern for the victims of HTSE, which was also judged to be more important and serious than HTFL However, these differences were relatively small. Nevertheless, in line with the UNODC (2009) report, there may have been less awareness of HTFL because of a 'visibility bias': for some consumers; the victims of HTFL may be "out of sight, out of mind." Moreover, the media's portrayal of human trafficking tends to focus heavily on HTSE which likely increases the salience of the issue (Denton, 2010). Despite this, our participants still perceived HTFL to be more relevant, perhaps because they could see how they might be benefiting from the products of people working in "sweat shops" rather than the illicit sex industry.

Characteristics of the Victims

Our results did not support previous research on identification with victims (e.g., Lerner & Miller, 1978; Stapel et al., 1994) that suggested that participant gender might influence whether HTSE or HTFL was seen as more concerning and serious than the other. Instead, women showed greater concern for the victims of both types of trafficking than men. Even so, participants in our study did expect the typical victim of HTSE to be female and the typical victim of HTFL to be male. In addition, victims of trafficking were thought to reside mainly in Asia and to be uniformly young, in their teens. Such perceptions were most likely shaped by the media (e.g., Denton, 2010) and public discourse (McMahon, 2011). Given the close proximity of Asia to Australia, this expected victim ethnicity is not surprising. However, according to UNODC (2012), victims are actually trafficked from over 127 countries with the majority being from developing countries. Overall, however, any differences in perceptions of the characteristics of victims did not translate into differences in willingness to help; this may have been a result of lack of variability in these perceptions. In the end, it seems, our participants may have been generally accurate in their perceptions of victims, although the available data are contentious (e.g., Baker, 2015).

Empathy and Personal Distress

There was partial support for our hypotheses relating to emotional reactions of empathy and personal distress following exposure to information about HTSE and HTFL. Both empathy and distress were positively correlated with willingness to take social action to stop both types of trafficking. Reports of empathy and distress were also higher for those who reported being aware of human trafficking and for those who reported stronger levels of concern (and seriousness and importance) about the issues. However, we also found gender differences showing that women reported higher levels than men of personal distress but not empathic concern in reaction to both types of trafficking. This lack of difference in empathy

is inconsistent with dispositional gender differences often reported (Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983; Van der Graaff et al., 2014), but consistent with some studies of situationally-induced empathy that have not found gender differences (e.g., Batson et al., 1997). It is possible that levels of empathy were lower in our study (around the midpoint of the scale) due to the lack of specific detail about individual victims in our definitions of trafficking (e.g., Cryder et al., 2013); this may have suppressed some of the relationship between empathy and willingness to help.

More intriguing are the gender differences in personal distress that we found (consistent with Davis's (1980) dispositional results), that mediated gender differences in willingness to take action while empathy did not. For women in particular, the thought of human trafficking may be simply too distressing to bear, leading to motivation to reduce it. Batson's (1991) empathy-altruism model suggests that personal distress generally leads to self-oriented egoistic motivation to help another person in order to reduce one's own distress rather than altruistic motivation to help another without regard for the self. However, in subsequent research, Batson et al. (1997) distinguished between direct personal distress and distress felt for the other, finding that perspective-taking instructions typically used to boost empathy also boosted distress for the other (but not necessarily for the self). Although the measures in the current study do not allow us to differentiate these two forms of distress, it seems to us that given the highly invasive and rights-violating nature of the crimes committed against victims of human trafficking, that distress for the other might be paramount in determining willingness to act, particularly for women (who are the typical victims of the more salient HTSE). Future research is necessary to investigate this possibility.

The Cost Involved

Based on the arousal-cost-reward model (Dovidio et al., 1991), we hypothesised that when the perceived cost of helping behaviour was high, willingness to engage in social action

would decrease. However, perceived costs of social action were positively correlated with willingness to get involved to combat both types of trafficking. Furthermore, in our models examining whether perceived costs and outcome efficacy mediated the effects of gender on willingness to act, perceived cost was not related to intentions for social action. Such a finding is not in line with the literature (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Piliavin et al., 1969) where there is strong evidence to suggest that as the perceived cost of the helping behaviour increases, willingness to become involved in social action will decrease.

However, these results need to be interpreted with caution. On the one hand, the results may indicate that people are willing to become involved in social action to fight human trafficking despite the associated cost. On the other hand, there is the possibility that cost did not play as big a role in influencing participants' willingness to engage in social action because participants were aware that they would not actually have to take part in the activities. As a result, participants may have reported greater willingness to engage in high cost activities that may have also appeared to have a high chance of being successful at reducing the problem of human trafficking. Other studies that convince participants that they would have to follow through with their intentions and actually engage in future behaviours may show costs to have a more significant effect on decisions to act (e.g., Batson et al., 1991).

Outcome Efficacy

In line with previous research (Bandura, 1977; Hofstetter et al., 1990), we found that perceived outcome efficacy played an important role in predicting willingness to undertake social action. Our results showed that when the perceived efficacy of actions to help victims of HTSE and HTLF was high, willingness to help increased. Indeed, perceived outcome efficacy was the strongest predictor of willingness to get involved when all variables were included in regression analyses. Moreover, we found a gender difference revealing that

women saw our list of social actions as potentially more efficacious than men. Thus, gender was indirectly influential on willingness to engage in these actions in an effort to combat trafficking by way of the reported differences in perceived outcome efficacy.

That participants would be more willing to engage in actions that they thought would be successful is not surprising given past literature (e.g., Bandura, 1986). However, it is not entirely clear why women might see our list of actions as more efficacious than men. In addition, perceptions of efficacy were positively correlated with perceptions of trafficking (either type) as serious, important, and concerning (i.e., strength). To some degree then, our gender difference may be the result of wishful thinking, in that women were more likely to see trafficking as problematic. To the extent that reactions to HTSE are driving these effects (which we cannot know since we did not ask about efficacy and cost separately for the two types of trafficking), then the status of women as likely victims may make them more willing to believe that a solution to the problem can be found. More so, their shared identity with victims of trafficking may lead to more willingness to engage in activities to combat the human trafficking (Stapel et al., 1994). This will be an important area for future research to investigate.

Informing Solutions to Combat Human Trafficking

Informed by the results of our study, we believe that campaigns to combat HTSE and HTFL that promote individual and community-level social action would likely benefit from emphasising the distressing situations that victims find themselves in. This seems counter-intuitive, as there may be a tendency for people to seek to escape from such messages rather than help (e.g., Batson, 1991), but future research can test this possibility. Our results do suggest that distress, perhaps particularly distress for the other, is a strong correlate of willingness to get involved and helps to explain gender differences in intentions. Although women have typically reported higher levels of dispositional empathy and personal distress

(e.g., Davis, 1980), we know that it is possible to influence men to experience these emotional states under certain conditions (see Batson, 1991). Our minimal descriptions of human trafficking may not have afforded men the same opportunity to become distressed in the absence of dispositional tendencies. However, with a more vivid description of trafficking, we would expect that personal distress would predict willingness to help for men as well as women.

However, increasing distress without providing people with a pathway for action (to reduce their distress) is unlikely to be successful (e.g., Lewin, 1936). Even people with positive attitudes toward social action do not always act in line with their beliefs (e.g., Snyder, 1993), perhaps because they do not always know how to act. In our study, we provided participants with a list of actions that they could undertake to fight human trafficking, finding that perceived outcome efficacy of these actions played an important role in predicting willingness to take action. As such, we believe that providing information about how to act and about how successful such actions can be, particularly with regard to a seemingly intractable problem such as human trafficking, is likely to be crucial in promoting willingness to get involved. We recognise however that in choosing to focus on individual-level responses to the problem of human trafficking, we have neglected a rich and growing research literature on collective action. For example, we see great value in recent work on social identification with opinion-based groups as a stimulator of collective action (e.g., McGarty, Bliuc, Thomas, & Bongiorno, 2009) and in research that examines the relationships between social identification, group based emotions (such as outrage), and perceptions of collective efficacy as influences on social action (e.g., Thomas, Mavor, & McGarty, 2011). These perspectives can undoubtedly be applied to the problem of human trafficking. Nevertheless, we still believe (in line with Snyder & Omoto, 2007) that social action is

simultaneously a collective and an individual phenomenon and that individual differences in responses to social problems are an important influence on decisions to become involved.

In conclusion, these findings are an important first step in the process of providing a psychological perspective on efforts to combat human trafficking. Psychological research in this area is limited, yet human trafficking is an ongoing global problem, increasing in demand and profit each year (UNODC, 2009). Future research is a must (see APA, 2014, for the report) and that future research will swiftly need to move beyond increasing willingness to get involved to actually testing the effectiveness and outcome efficacy of different forms of involvement. Only then can we make real progress toward reducing the scourge of human trafficking.

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	Female (*N* = 150)		Male (*N* = 59)		All (*N* = 209)	
Perceptions	Sex Trafficking	Labor Trafficking	Sex Trafficking	Labor Trafficking	Sex Trafficking	Labor Trafficking
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
Awareness	2.71 (1.16)	2.50 (1.16)	2.81 (1.25)	2.64 (1.21)	2.74 (1.19)	2.54 (1.17)
Relevance	2.57 (1.06)	2.65 (1.08)	2.19 (1.20)	2.42 (1.22)	2.46 (1.11)	2.59 (1.12)
Strength	4.71 (0.43)	4.51 (0.58)	4.45 (0.79)	4.13 (0.94)	4.64 (0.57)	4.40 (0.72)

Table 1

Perceptions of human trafficking by gender and trafficking type

Note. Possible range 1-5.

Table 2
Correlations between measures focused on sex trafficking

Measures	Relevance	Strength	Personal Distress	Empathy	Cost	Efficacy	Willingness
Awareness	.18**	.22**	.23**	.25**	.06	.23**	.36**
Relevance		.18**	.19**	.12	.08	.19**	.17*
Strength			.56**	.47**	.02	.24**	.25**
Personal Distress				.64**	.21**	.38**	.39**
Empathy					.02	.20**	.28**
Cost						.47**	.35**
Efficacy							.60**

Notes. $N = 216$. **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$.

Table 3

Correlations between measures focused on labor trafficking

Measures	Relevance	Strength	Personal Distress	Empathy	Cost	Efficacy	Willingness
Awareness	.27**	.13	.25**	.24**	.08	.31**	.31**
Relevance		.15*	.26**	.26**	.15*	.28**	.28**
Strength			.56**	.54**	.00	.28**	.37**
Personal Distress				.74**	.21**	.39**	.43**
Empathy					.06	.30**	.37**
Cost						.47**	.31**
Efficacy							.71**

Notes. $N = 216$. ** $p < .01$, *$p < .05$.

Table 4

Levels of personal distress and empathy by gender and trafficking type

	Females		Males		All	
	Sex Trafficking	Labor Trafficking	Sex Trafficking	Labor Trafficking	Sex Trafficking	Labor Trafficking
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
Personal Distress	3.97 (0.93)	3.63 (1.03)	3.37 (1.12)	3.01 (1.12)	3.81 (1.01)	3.47 (1.09)
Empathy	3.25 (0.93)	3.11 (0.95)	3.16 (0.96)	2.80 (0.97)	3.22 (0.93)	3.02 (0.95)

Note. N = 211. Possible range 1-5.

Table 5

Perceived cost, outcome efficacy and willingness to get involved in activities to combat human trafficking

Rank ordered from low cost to high cost	Cost	Efficacy	Willingness to become involved SE & FL	Willingness to become involved SE	Willingness to become involved FL
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
'Like' a FB page	1.86 (1.24)	2.37 (1.24)	3.16 (1.56)	3.17 (1.59)	3.16 (1.57)
Sign a Petition	2.46 (1.28)	2.79 (1.22)	4.03 (1.19)	4.08 (1.21)	4.02 (1.24)
Reduce buying products associated with trafficking	2.92 (1.38)	3.41 (1.24)	3.72 (1.25)	3.74 (1.34)	3.69 (1.33)
Gain more knowledge	3.09 (1.15)	3.41 (1.24)	3.66 (1.29)	3.61 (1.31)	3.70 (1.32)
Become more vigilant	3.17 (1.24)	3.73 (1.23)	3.51 (1.20)	3.52 (1.23)	3.50 (1.27)
Become a telephone assistant to aid research	3.67 (1.14)	3.16 (1.10)	2.27 (1.32)	2.27 (1.34)	2.26 (1.36)
Start an action group	3.87 (1.06)	3.05 (1.09)	2.10 (1.14)	2.13 (1.21)	2.05 (1.15)
Be involved in a fundraiser	3.94 (1.06)	3.22 (1.14)	2.26 (1.19)	2.31 (1.24)	2.21 (1.23)
Create a festival	4.05 (1.01)	2.93 (1.13)	2.31 (1.26)	2.38 (1.34)	2.25 (1.27)
Provide assistance and victim care	4.16 (1.00)	3.79 (1.27)	2.91 (1.26)	2.94 (1.28)	2.87 (1.33)
Average	3.32 (0.59)	3.22 (0.77)	2.99 (0.84)	2.97 (0.89)	3.01 (0.83)

Note. $N = 186$. Possible range 1-5.

Table 6

Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Willingness to Act to Combat Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation and Forced Labor

	Trafficking Type					
	Sexual Exploitation			Forced Labor		
Predictor	β	*t*	*p*	β	*t*	*p*
Awareness	.20	3.24	.001	.06	1.00	.32
Relevance	-.003	-0.05	.96	.04	0.76	.45
Strength	.01	0.07	.95	.09	1.29	.20
Empathy	.05	0.71	.48	.06	0.71	.48
Personal Distress	.12	1.45	.15	.09	1.05	.29
Cost	.11	1.74	.09	.02	0.28	.78
Efficacy	.44	6.57	<.001	.60	9.49	<.001

Note. Transformed versions of strength and personal distress were used in these analyses but the direction of the effects is presented according to the original response scales.

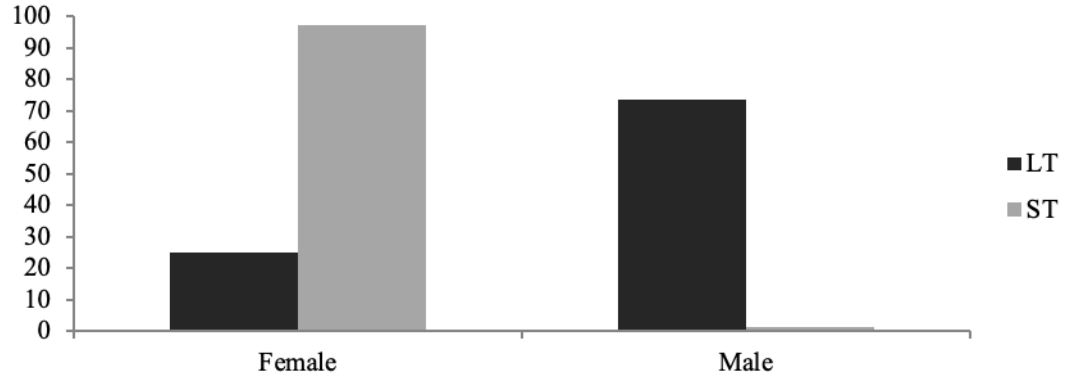

Figure 1. Perceived victim gender by trafficking type (%).

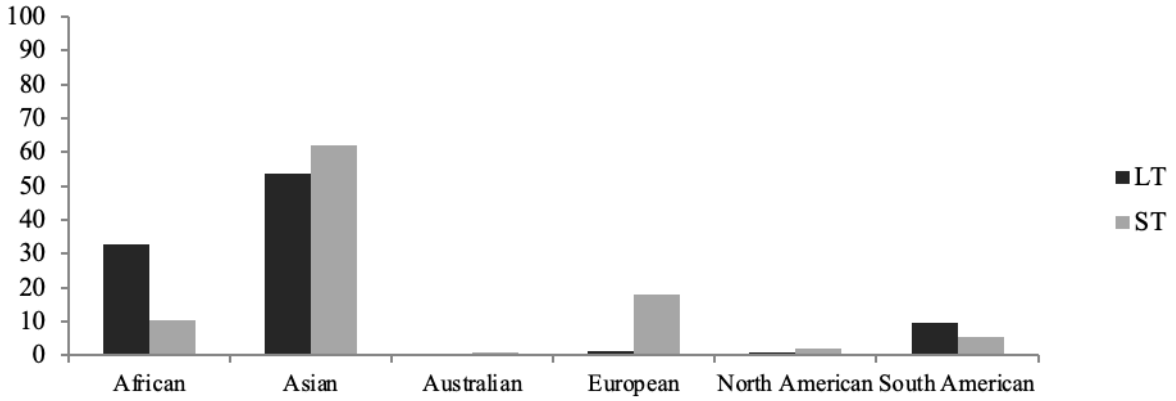

Figure 2. Perceived victim ethnicity by trafficking type (%).

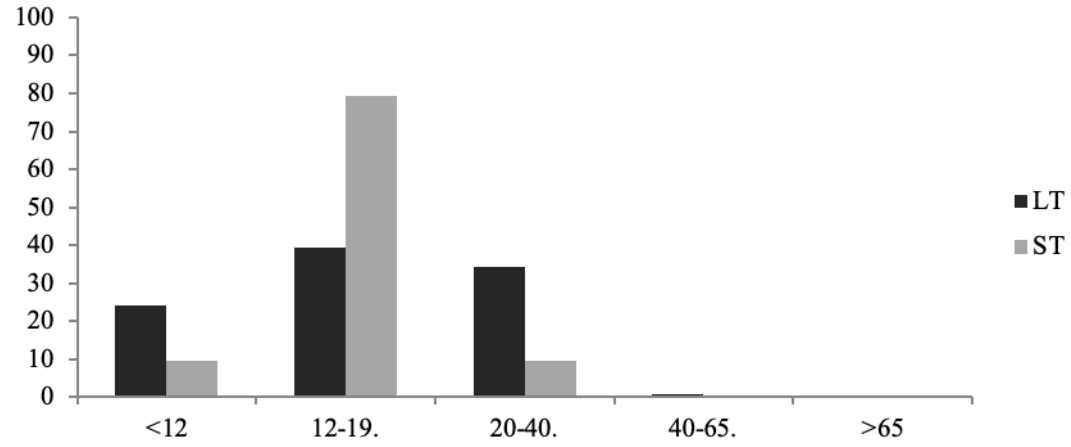

Figure 3. Perceived victim age by trafficking type (%).

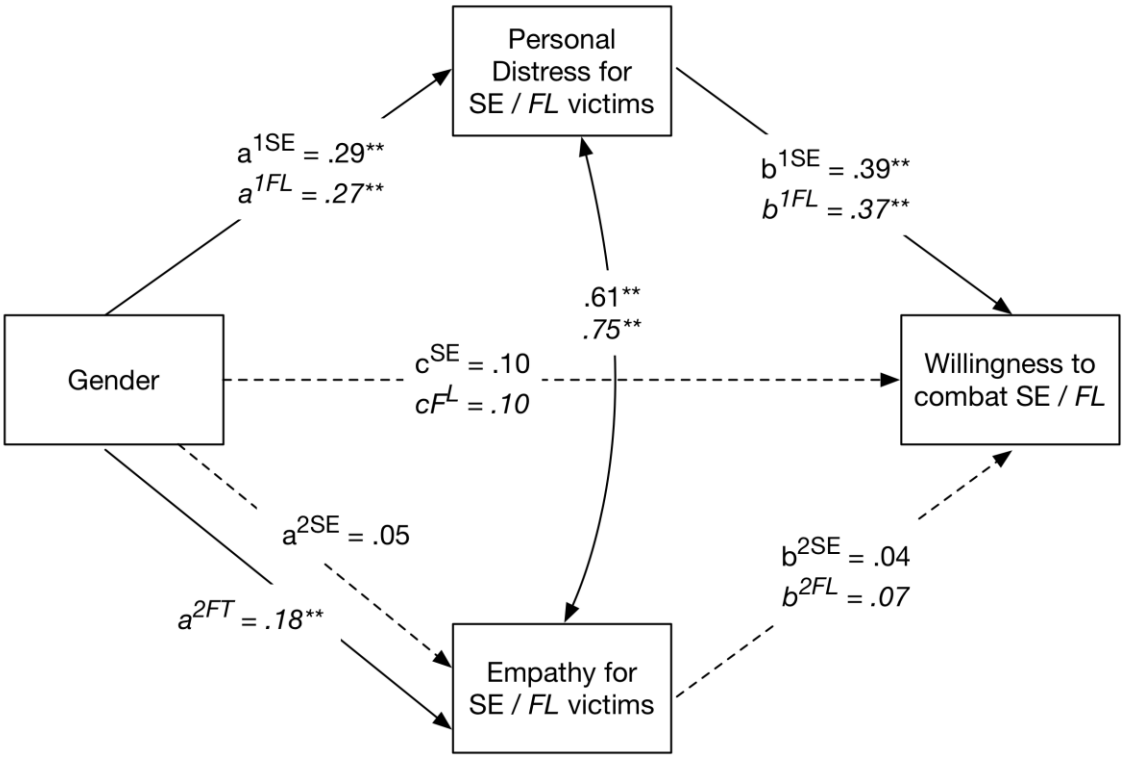

Figure 4. Effects of gender on willingness to combat trafficking as mediated by emotional reactions. Estimates for human trafficking for sexual exploitation (SE) are in normal type; estimates for human trafficking for forced labor (FL) are italicized.

Note. $^{**}p < .01$, $^{*}p < .05$

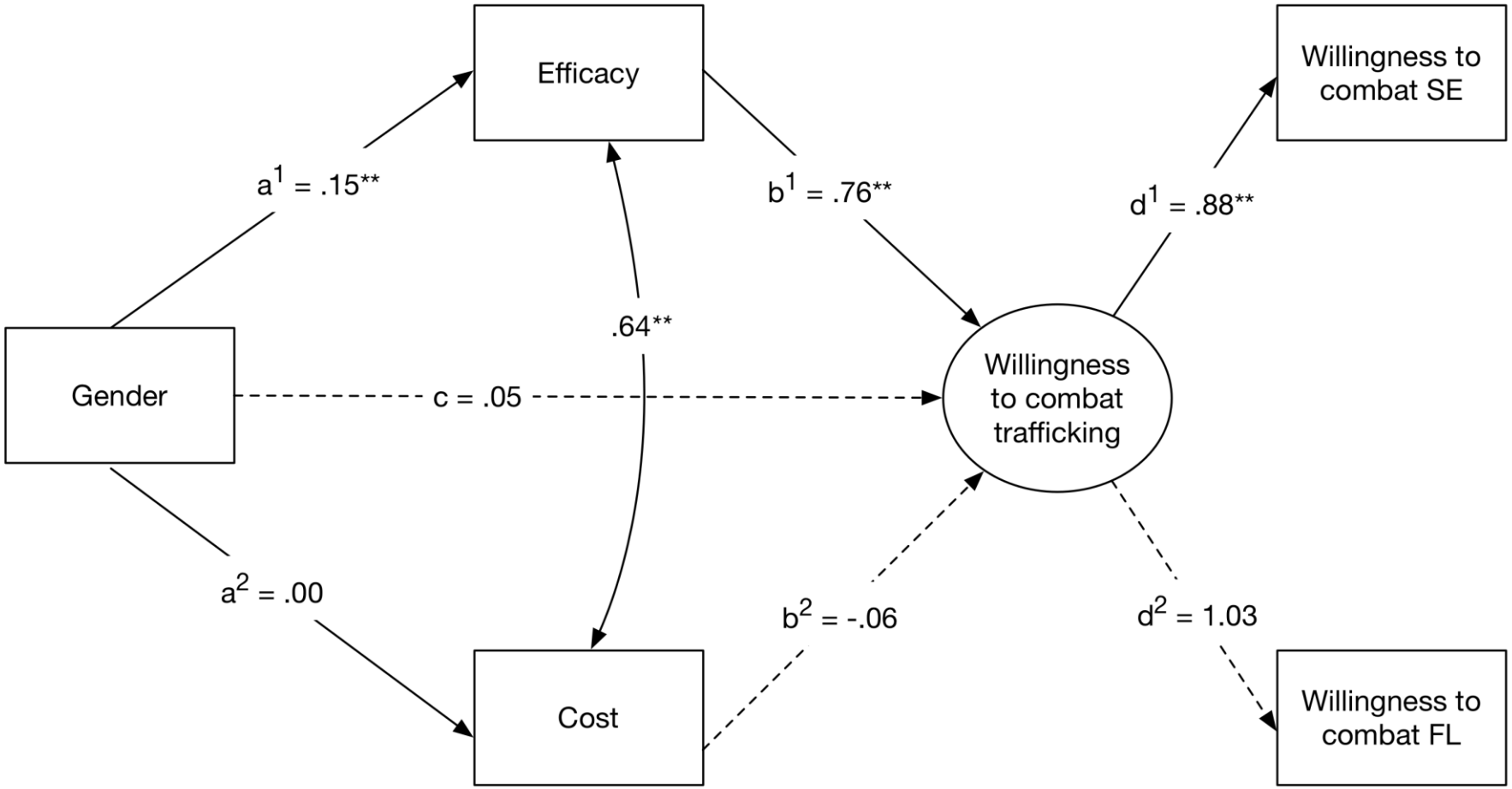

Figure 5. Effects of gender on willingness to combat human trafficking as mediated by perceived outcome efficacy and cost.

Notes. SE = Human trafficking for sexual exploitation, FL = Human trafficking for forced labor.

***p* < .01 **p* < .05.