The Effects of Awareness-Raising Police Trainings to Combat Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking: An Experimental Study in Nepal

Margaret Boittin, J.D., Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Law
Osgoode Hall Law School, York University

Nicole Hinton, M.A.
Program Manager, Human Trafficking Vulnerability Survey
LAPOP, Vanderbilt University

Cecilia Hyunjung Mo, MPA/ID, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Political Science
University of California, Berkeley

Georgina Pizzolitto, M.A.
Research Analyst
LAPOP, Vanderbilt University

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Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Title: The Effects of Awareness-Raising Mass Media Campaigns to Combat Child Labor, Forced Labor and Human Trafficking: An Experimental Study of Law Enforcement Officers in Nepal

Abstract

This study focuses on the attitudes and behavior of police officers around child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking (CFT). Since police officers are responsible for maintaining law and order in the community, they play a particularly important role in preventing and responding to CFT. It is thus critical to invest resources to increase law enforcement efficacy in recognizing and responding to CFT issues.

The study is based on a randomized controlled trial that surveyed over 1,000 law enforcement officers in Nepal. The survey was conducted in the Central Development region of Nepal, and participants were selected to be a representative sample of police officers in that region. Data collection occurred from July to October 2017. Respondents were interviewed to assess their baseline knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and practices pertaining to child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking. In addition, a randomized controlled trial was implemented to assess the effects of an anti-CFT training on these baseline measures. The study builds off of a similar study focused on the general population in Nepal.[3]

Baseline knowledge levels pertaining to CFT show that it is necessary to increase knowledge about CFT in general, as well as the laws that govern it. Similarly, there is room to increase levels of concern and sympathy for victims. In addition, law enforcement officers in Nepal tend to underestimate the prevalence of human trafficking in their own locality, as opposed to in the country as a whole. These findings all point to the need for more law enforcement officer training programs to increase their knowledge, concern, and sympathy around human trafficking, and also to specifically highlight the importance and significance of CFT locally.

Our study examined the effects of three types of campaigns focused on raising greater awareness among law enforcement officers: (1) poster campaigns; (2) danger narratives; and (3) empowerment narratives. Study participants were randomly assigned either to a control group, which received no campaign, or a poster campaign, or a story that emphasized the dangers of CFT, or a story that instead focused on individuals who make empowered choices around CFT. Results of the randomized controlled trial show that while it is difficult to meaningfully increase CFT knowledge, concern, and sympathy through awareness campaigns, when designed appropriately, awareness campaigns can make a positive impact on police officer knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and practices. Details of our primary findings are outlined below: [4]

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[3] Results from this study are discussed in: Archer, Boittin, and Mo. 2016. "Reducing Vulnerability to Human Trafficking: An Experimental Intervention Using Anti-Trafficking Campaigns to Change Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs, and Practices in Nepal." Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00MBT4.pdf.

[4] Unless otherwise noted, the percentage point differences highlighted here are all statistically significant.

- Empowerment narratives are more effective than danger narratives. For example, the empowerment narrative increased knowledge that an individual found guilty of trafficking can be fined NRS 200,000 by 10.58 percentage points in relation to the control group, a statistically significant difference. The danger narrative only increased this knowledge by 4.81 percentage points, a difference that is not statistically significant.
- It is simple to increase knowledge on penalties of human trafficking, but not procedural knowledge (e.g., how to handle suspects and how to recognize human trafficking). For example, none of the awareness campaigns had a statistically significant impact on knowledge that human trafficking does not require movement across borders.
- Slight backlash stemming from campaign materials occurred. The need to prioritize human trafficking decreased when law enforcement officers were exposed to the poster (by 3.81 percentage points) and the danger narrative (by 4.82 percentage points).
- No change occurred in perceptions of the scope of the human trafficking problem, either locally and nationally due to any of the studied campaigns.
- Exposure to narratives translated into greater concern that members of the police officer's jurisdiction are at risk of being trafficked. In relation to the control group, risk perceptions increased by 4.25 percentage points for respondents treated with the danger narrative, and 3.76 percentage points for those treated with the empowerment narrative.
- The narrative campaigns that emphasized male victimhood resulted in greater concern among officers that men and boys are at risk of being trafficked. For example, the danger narrative increased concern by 10.62 percentage points for men, and the empowerment narrative increased concern by 10.50 percentage points for men. Not surprisingly, since these narratives did not emphasize female victimhood, no change was observed in concerns for women and girls being at risk for trafficking.
- Narratives can have unintended consequences. Among law enforcement officers, narratives about human trafficking victims that chart how individuals become trafficked could result in an increase in victim blaming. The danger narrative increased victim blaming by 5.41 percentage points, and the empowerment narrative increased victim blaming by 3.82 percentage points.
- Narratives can nevertheless be powerful. Law enforcement officers were more likely to blame manpower agencies than an individual's reckless behavior for trafficking after receiving a story that showed a manpower agency connecting an individual with an abusive employer. For example, the danger and empowerment narratives increased perceptions of the responsibility of manpower agents by 10.17 and 13.94 percentage points, respectively.

The results of this study show the challenges of improving law enforcement officers' CFT-related knowledge, concern, and sympathy, and the need for additional law enforcement training programs in Nepal to make appropriate KABP shifts. Law enforcement officers play a large role in the community, and increased awareness and empathy for members of the community on an issue that so many Nepalis expressed as important would be beneficial for all parties.

Introduction: Background and Objectives

Millions of women, men, and children are currently victims of child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking (CFT) worldwide (Bales, Trodd & Williamson 2009; International Labour Organization and Walk Free Foundation 2017; International Labour Organization 2017;). As the gravity of CFT has risen to prominence, state and non-governmental actors, as well as activists and researchers, have invested more resources in their efforts to reduce the occurrence of CFT globally. One particular focus of the anti-CFT community has been tied to raising greater awareness of the problem: individuals who know more about what CFT is, how it occurs, whom it affects, and resources available to CFT victims are viewed to be more likely to identify its occurrence, prevent it from arising, and be in a position to prevent or disrupt it.

Given their responsibilities to maintain law and order in the community, police officers play a particularly important role in preventing and responding to the incidence of CFT. Investing resources to increase their efficacy in recognizing and responding to CFT issues is thus critical. This study focuses on this key population, and examines the effects of a brief mass media campaign pertaining to CFT on the attitudes of police officers in Nepal.

Mass media, especially "entertainment education," is frequently used as a tool for social change (e.g., Paluck and Green 2009, Rosin 2006, Singhal et al. 2004). Entertainment-education programs (e.g., comic books, radio soap operas, and street theater) convey messages about public health, gender rights, conflict resolution, or development strategies into a story that combines realism and entertainment. The theory, which draws on psychological social learning research (Bandura 2000), is that media can "both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behavior" (Singhal and Rogers 2004, 5). Yet proper evaluations that provide comprehensive information on the effects of mass media campaigns around CFT have been largely non-existent due to major challenges with respect to capacity, time, and resources (Thainiyom 2011). To date, the most comprehensive effort to rigorously evaluate the effects of anti-CFT programs focuses on the general civilian population in Nepal (Archer et al. 2016). This report builds on this research by focusing on the effects of mass media campaigns on a second key population: law enforcement officers. Building from this research, our report offers novel insights into the responses and attitudes of law enforcement officers, and their response to anti-CFT campaigns intended to raise greater awareness and knowledge.

In particular, the study examines the effects of a brief anti-CFT mass media campaign on the knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and practices (KABP) of police officers in Nepal. Over 1,000 law enforcement officers, who were selected to be a representative sample of police officers in the Central Development region of Nepal, were surveyed. Each study participant was randomly assigned to either a control group, which received no awareness campaign, or one of three treatment groups, which received either a fact-based anti-trafficking message, a narrative anti-trafficking message focused on the dangers of human trafficking, or a narrative anti-trafficking campaign underscoring stories of empowerment around human trafficking.

The report is organized as follows. Chapter 1 of the report describes the research methods and randomization procedure. Chapter 2 presents information about police officers' baseline KABP as pertains to CFT, and compares these baseline KABP levels to that of the general population. Chapter 3 discusses the results of the experiment, shedding light on the impact of anti-CFT mass media campaigns on police officers' KABP pertaining to CFT. The final chapter explores the policy implications of these results.

Chapter I. Methods and Randomization

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 describes the research methods and randomization procedure used in the study. It describes study participants, the sampling frame, questionnaire design, study intervention, outcomes examined, and statistical methods used.

PART I: STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Study participants are law enforcement officers in Nepal. These state agents are at the frontlines of efforts to reduce the incidence of child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking (CFT). When they recognize CFT in their communities, or receive reports from citizens about its occurrence, they are in a position to intervene, assist victims, and punish perpetrators. What follows is a brief overview of the structure of the police force in Nepal, and the procedures that were followed to access this population.

The Inspector General of Police (IGP) is the head of the Nepal Police. Each district of Nepal has a corresponding Superintendent of Police (SP) who, in larger districts, is assisted by a Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP). District police offices are divided into three units: administration, crime investigation, and other police work. Each of these units is headed by an Inspector, and further divided into various smaller sub-units, also led by either an Inspector, Sub-Inspector or Assistant Sub-Inspector. Head Constables and Constables assist those at the Inspector ranks in all aspects of their duties.

The administration unit is generally responsible for all human resources concerns within the district. It keeps a record of complaints, cases, and meeting minutes, and issues letters and reports from the district office. The crime investigation unit performs the bulk of policing work as it files and otherwise manages all cases brought to its attention. Some of the sub-units within crime investigation include complaints filed by civilians, issues relating to women and children, prison management, and community policing. The third, "other," police unit manages issues tied to operational documents; missing documentation related to citizenship, land ownership, passports, and migration; mobilizing the police force during special events; and sustaining communication between the district office and police stations.

Each district office oversees all police stations within its jurisdiction. Nepal's districts are sub-divided into municipalities and village development committees (VDCs). In most cases, municipalities are larger in size, and each municipality has two or three police stations, while VDCs are smaller and with each VDC generally have one police station. Populations for the typical municipality is greater than 10,000 residents, and the population of each VDC is usually less than 10,000 residents. Each police station has a station head, who generally holds the rank of either Inspector, Sub-Inspector, or Assistant Sub-Inspector. Head Constables and Constables make up the remaining officers at the police station level.

Study access to law enforcement officers was secured through the IGP's formal endorsement of the project. With crucial assistance from the US Embassy in Nepal, our research team received a letter of support from the IGP office. This letter provided us with access to police officers at all study district offices and police stations, which enabled the research team to achieve a high response rate and low levels of attrition. The results of the study and the campaign materials are being shared with the IGP office to be used as they see fit as they consider future anti-CFT trainings for their law enforcement officers.

PART II: SAMPLING FRAME

The study sample covers five districts in Province 3 of the Central Development Region in Nepal, of which four districts (Bhaktapur, Kavrepalanchowk, Dhading, and Makawanpur) are in the Hill region and one district is in the Terai region (Chitwan). These districts were chosen based on reported levels of human trafficking that were amongst the highest in Nepal.[5] They were also districts of interest, as these districts were included in a related study on the effects of mass media campaigns targeting the general population.[6]

The population of interest includes all law enforcement personnel within district police offices and local police stations for each of these five districts. A total of six local police stations were excluded from the study due to accessibility difficulties—two stations each from Kavrepalanchowk, Dhading, and Chitwan.[7]

Given these parameters and constraints, data collection occurred in a total of 120 district offices/police stations. Table I-1 provides the breakdown of police station counts by district.

Table I-1. Police Station Counts by District

Districts	Number of District Police Offices and Police Stations	Number Excluded from the Study	Total Study Sites
Bhaktapur	16	-	16
Kavrepalanchowk	31	2	29
Dhading	26	2	24
Makwanpur	29	1	28
Chitwan	25	2	23
		Total Study Sites	**120**

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[5] This is based on data from the 2010/2011 Nepal National Living Standards Survey, which contains questions about migration and trafficking, and the 2003-2013 database of the Women's Cell of the Nepal Police Department that documents the quantity of trafficking incidents at the district-level.
[6] Results from this study are discussed in: Archer, Dan, Margaret Boittin, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. 2016. "Reducing Vulnerability to Human Trafficking: An Experimental Intervention Using Anti-Trafficking Campaigns to Change Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs, and Practices in Nepal." USAID Research and Innovation Grants Working Paper Series. Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00MBT4.pdf
[7] These stations are located in very remote areas. The roads leading to them are very bad (mostly dirt roads), and during rainy season, it is impossible to drive there. Rivers on the way to these areas regularly flood during monsoons, creating further accessibility issues.

Our sample drew from all ranks of the police force and included individuals in the ranks of Inspector, Sub-Inspector, Assistant Sub-Inspector, Head Constable, and Constable. The sample targeted 40% of all male officers and 75% of all female officers within each police station. We oversampled female police officers as they make up a minority of the police force. As noted in Table I-2 below, only 9% of police officers in the study districts were female at the time of data collection.

These male and female police officers were selected at random at the district and police station levels to ensure equal probability of selection, and hence, a representative sample of police officers. To design our sampling frame, each district office provided us with current counts of law enforcement by gender and rank for each district office and local police station. Our sampling frame included a total of 2,421 officers (see Table I-2). Of this population, our study targeted 1,056 officers to ensure at least 1,000 completed surveys (see Table I-3).

Table I-2. Total Number of Officers by District

Districts	SPs	DSPs	Other Officers (male)	Other Officers (female)	Total
Bhaktapur	1	3	665	82	751
Kavrepalanchowk	1	1	332	23	357
Dhading	1	1	310	25	337
Makwanpur	1	1	466	45	513
Chitwan	1	2	409	51	463
Total	**5**	**8**	**2,182**	**226**	**2,421**

Table I-3. Target Sample by District

Districts	SPs	DSPs	Other Officers (40% male)	Other Officers (75% female)	Total
Bhaktapur	1	3	266	62	332
Kavrepalanchowk	1	1	133	17	152
Dhading	1	1	124	19	145
Makwanpur	1	1	186	34	222
Chitwan	1	2	164	38	205
Total	**5**	**8**	**873**	**170**	**1,056**

Our final sample included 1,065 officers, as seen in Table I-4. Our team in the field used the most recent roster for each police station upon arrival to draw the sample. These counts varied slightly from our initial targets due to officer transfers among stations that occurred after we received police force size information from the district offices. Given the updated counts, we slightly exceeded our target of 1,000 police officers, as we implemented our target sampling goal of 40% of all male officers and 75% of all female officers (excluding SPs and DSPs). We were also able to survey all Superintendents and Deputy Superintendents as planned.

Table I-4. Final Sample by District

Districts	SPS	DSPs	Other Officers (40% male)	Other Officers (75% female)	Total
Bhaktapur	1	3	274	63	337
Kavrepalanchowk	1	1	133	15	148
Dhading	1	1	125	15	140
Makwanpur	1	1	185	35	220
Chitwan	1	2	169	38	207
Total	**5**	**8**	**886**	**166**	**1,065**

The field team carried out the random draw process as follows. Upon arrival at the police station, the enumerator requested the names of all male and female officers, created a list for each gender, and assigned each officer a number. The enumerator then wrote each number down on small pieces of paper. The pieces of paper were neatly folded and put inside one box for males and one box for females to draw the sample at random. The SP or DSP drew the required number of pieces of paper from each box based on the targets of 40% of all male officers and 75% of all female officers within each police station. Once the numbers were drawn, the enumerator created a participant sheet. The enumerators also requested that the SP or DSP draw additional numbers, making up 10% of male officers and female officers, from each box to generate a backup list. The list of names was written in the order of numbers that were drawn. This backup list of law enforcement officers was used to identify police officers to survey after three failed attempts to contact a selected officer. The photos below illustrate the sampling process.

Figure I-1: Sampling Process

Response Rate

Based on the updated police rosters received in the field, the response rate of the study was 97.17%, with a non-response rate of 2.83% (31 law enforcement personnel). Non-response was therefore minimal, and driven by availability concerns rather than refusals to participate in the study. Thirty officers were not in the area (i.e. had transferred, were on holiday, had personal issues, etc.). One respondent was in the area, but the enumerator attempted to reach them three times unsuccessfully.

PART III: QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN (OUTCOMES)

The study questionnaire was designed to take about one hour for all police officers, with the exception of the Superintendent of Police (SP) and Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP). In order to maximize the likelihood that these high-rank officers would agree to participate, we designed a shortened survey for them that lasted about 30 minutes, which did not include the mass media treatment described below.

The survey covered the following topics: demographics (gender, age, education, ethnicity, religion, and household information); police employment (history of, case types, and resources); policing experiences and attitudes (police-community relations, police misconduct, and crime in neighborhood); the mass media intervention described below; and attitudes, knowledge and behaviors related to CFT (including questions about prevalence and concern, perceptions of victimhood, human trafficking policy, and causes of CFT).

We piloted all questions extensively with police officers prior to starting data collection. In response to several rounds of piloting, we changed question wording, shortened the questionnaire, and rearranged question order.

PART IV: INTERVENTIONS AND RANDOMIZATION

In order to examine the effects of mass media campaigns on norms and behaviors of police officers as it pertains to child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking (CFT), law enforcement officers were randomly assigned to either a control group, with no mass media campaign, or one of three treatment groups, each of which included a different mass media campaign. One treatment group received a poster about CFT. The second one received the CFT poster and a video campaign emphasizing the dangers of CFT. The third one received the CFT poster and a video campaign that instead emphasized stories of empowerment around CFT.

The flow diagram below provides details on the study's enrollment, allocation, and analysis procedure. Data collection occurred from July 24, 2017 to October 6, 2017. The allocated intervention took place on the same day as the survey, following the pre-survey and preceding the post-survey.

Law Enforcement Study Flowchart of Trial Design[8]

Enrollment

Assessed for eligibility (n=1096)

Excluded (n=31). Reasons:
- Transferred, were on holiday, had personal issues (n=30)
- Absent (n=1)

Randomized (n=1065)

Allocation

Allocated and Received Control intervention (n=252)

Allocated and Received Poster intervention (n=272)

Allocated and Received Poster + Danger Narrative intervention (n=247)

Allocated and Received Poster + Empowerment Narrative intervention (n=294)

Analysis

Analysed (n=252)

Analysed (n=272)

Analysed (n=247)

Analysed (n=294)

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[8] Assessment for study eligibility was determined according to the sampling procedures discussed above.

Treatment Development

The treatment was designed and developed based on an extensive assessment of the media campaign landscape in Nepal. This assessment considered the forms of media that are most accessible to the population as well as new approaches to awareness campaigns that are entering the media market. Additional details of the development process of the campaign materials can be found in Archer et al. (2016).[9]

Based on this research, the team developed content for an anti-CFT awareness campaign for law enforcement officers, including a fact-based campaign in the form of a poster and a narrative audio-visual campaign that told the story of an individual who was a victim of labor trafficking. The story was based on real life survivor testimony collected by members of the research team in combination with case files and media reports of CFT survivors. All campaigns were extensively piloted with community organizations and survivor groups to ensure their quality and relatability.[10]

The Fact-Based Poster

The content of the poster was taken directly from the Human Trafficking and Transportation Control Act (2007) and the Constitution of Nepal. The Human Trafficking and Transportation Control Act is the principal law that criminalizes human trafficking in Nepal. To ensure that the poster was framed and presented appropriately for a law enforcement audience, it was piloted with a focus group of former police officers, as well as with police officers who participated in pilot rounds of the survey.

The following is the English translation of the poster text[11]:

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[9] For more information on the assessment of media campaign landscape in Nepal and treatment design, see Chapter 2 of Archer, Dan, Margaret Boittin, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. 2016. "Reducing Vulnerability to Human Trafficking: An Experimental Intervention Using Anti-Trafficking Campaigns to Change Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs, and Practices in Nepal." USAID Research and Innovation Grants Working Paper Series. Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00MBT4.pdf

[10] The narrative campaign was originally developed for the study referenced in the previous footnote.

[11] The Nepali version of the poster is included in Appendix A.

CHARACTERISTICS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN NEPAL

- Human trafficking is a form of modern-day slavery where people profit from the control and exploitation of others.
- Exploitation includes:
    o Forced labor or servitude
    o Forced prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation
    o Slavery or practices similar to slavery
    o Removal of organs
- Anyone can be a victim of sex, labor, or organ trafficking: men, women, and children.
- More than 1 out of 3 Nepali trafficking survivors are children.
- About 250,000 Nepalis are currently trafficked domestically or internationally (Source: The Global Slavery Index, Gallup 2016).
- The prevalence of human trafficking in Nepal is amongst the highest in the world (Source: The Global Slavery Index, Gallup 2016).

PENALTIES FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING
Source: Human Trafficking and Transportation Control Act, 2064

The penalties for engaging in human trafficking in Nepal are as follows:
- 20 year imprisonment and a fine of NPR 200,000[12] for selling or buying a human being
- 10-15 years imprisonment and a fine of NPR 50,000-100,000[13] for forcing someone into prostitution
- 10 years imprisonment and a fine of NPR 200,000-500,000[14] for organ trafficking
- 10-15 years imprisonment and a fine of NPR 50,000-100,000[15] for trafficking a person to a foreign country to force them into prostitution
- 15-20 years imprisonment and a fine of NPR 100,000-200,000[16] for trafficking children abroad.
- 10 years of prison and a fine of NPR 50,000-100,000[17] for domestic trafficking.
- 10-12 years imprisonment and a fine of NPR 100,000[18] for domestic child trafficking
- Accomplices in these crimes are punishable by half of the penalties mentioned above for the culprits.

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[12] This is equivalent to USD 1,831. The exchange rate as of 2 July 2018: USD 1 for NRD 109.23.
[13] This is equivalent to USD 457.75-915.50. The exchange rate as of 2 July 2018: USD 1 for NRD 109.23.
[14] This is equivalent to USD 1,831-4,557.50. The exchange rate as of 2 July 2018: USD 1 for NRD 109.23.
[15] This is equivalent to USD 457.75-915.50. The exchange rate as of 2 July 2018: USD 1 for NRD 109.23.
[16] This is equivalent to USD 915.50-1,831. The exchange rate as of 2 July 2018: USD 1 for NRD 109.23.
[17] This is equivalent to USD 457.75-915.50. The exchange rate as of 2 July 2018: USD 1 for NRD 109.23.
[18] This is equivalent to USD 915.50. The exchange rate as of 2 July 2018: USD 1 for NRD 109.23.

RECOGNIZING THE SIGNS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

- Did the person travelling abroad for work have all his/her identification and other documents in his/her own possession, or were they under someone else's control?
- After travelling abroad, did he/she get employment (salary and other benefits) as previously agreed and expected?
- Was he/she forced into sexual activities as part of employment?
- Is he/she under the age of 18?
- Did he/she need to pay any amount to the employer as part of his/her salary?
- Was he/she directed by the employer to only say favorable things about the employer to the police, immigration, or any other law enforcement agency?
- Was he/she free to leave his/her job at any time he/she wanted?
- Did the employer force him/her to live inside certain premises, and prevent him/her from leaving with guards or electric equipment?
- Was he/she free to go from one place to another without any obstruction?
- Was he/she free to contact his/her family or relatives?
- Was he/she free to meet people and worship/conduct rituals as per his/her religion and traditions?

WHAT ARE THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING VICTIMS?

- The Human Trafficking and Transportation Control Act, 2064 of Nepal grants the following rights to human trafficking victims:
    - The right to get an interpreter and legal support/aid
    - The right to compensation
    - The right to confidentiality
    - The right to security
    - The right to self defense

WHAT ARE THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING SUSPECTS?

- The Constitution of Nepal grants the following rights to all individuals, including suspects of human trafficking:
    - Right to information
    - Right to remain silent
    - Right against torture
    - Right to consult with an attorney
    - Right to legal support/aid
    - Right to the presumption of innocence
    - Right to compensation if he/she becomes a victim of torture

The Narrative Video Campaign

The CFT narrative tells the story of an adult male who is a victim of cross-border labor trafficking. The general population study was comprised of six stories; however, given survey length constraints, we limited the treatment in this law enforcement study to one story. This story was chosen for three reasons. First, it reflects a common form of human trafficking in Nepal. Second, it challenges the stereotypical narrative of human trafficking commonly found in campaigns of a women being trafficked for sex. Finally, during piloting, police officers identified it as being engaging and relevant to their work.

Treatment Conditions: Danger versus Empowerment Narratives

In order to test the effects of different types of narratives on norms and behaviors pertaining to CFT, we designed one narrative to focus on the danger signs around human trafficking, and one to instead emphasize the empowerment of survivors. The danger (fear-based) appeal emphasized the terrible realities of being trafficked, with tell-tale signs of a character's powerlessness in harmful and dangerous situations. The empowerment-based appeal underscored instead the character's self-efficacy and ability to take ownership over their decision-making capabilities.

To create each of these appeals, the research team found crux events within the narrative at which point the protagonist's behavior would bifurcate to conform to either narrative style. The main challenge here was to preserve enough of the skeleton framework of the story to ensure that the story arcs remained comparable. Too great a deviation from the core narrative would have separated the protagonist in the parallel treatments too much and could bias the results.

The story focuses on Suraj, a farmer who hears from a friend about a lucrative restaurant job in the Persian Gulf. He signs up with a manpower agency at considerable personal expense. Upon arrival, he finds that the job is actually in construction, and involves slave-like conditions. In the danger version of the story, Suraj leaves Nepal without a work contract. After surrendering his passport and experiencing the actual working conditions, he becomes depressed. He feels like a failure and worries about bringing shame on his family. Rather than go home, he decides to hang himself. In the empowerment version, before leaving Nepal Suraj demands a contract from the recruitment agency and demonstrates an awareness of his rights. On his way to the Gulf, he sees an anti-trafficking hotline number advertised at the airport. When faced with poor working conditions, he decides to call the hotline for assistance, and is able to return safely to his family. The full empowerment and danger scripts are found in Appendix B.

PART V: OUTCOMES

The following 6 hypotheses, which outline our outcomes of interests and noted in our Pre-Analysis Plan, are tested in this study.

1. <u>Hypothesis 1</u>: Exposure to human trafficking training materials will increase **knowledge** of human trafficking among police officers. More specifically, it will:

a. increase knowledge of what human trafficking is (e.g., that men can be victims of human trafficking and that individuals can be trafficked for labor – not just for sex)
b. increase knowledge of what penalties are attached to trafficking
c. increase knowledge of the appropriate procedural responses to trafficking cases.

2. <u>Hypothesis 2</u>: Exposure to human trafficking training materials will increase **concern** for and prioritization of human trafficking among police officers.

3. <u>Hypothesis 3</u>: Exposure to human trafficking training materials will increase **sympathy** towards trafficking victims (e.g., reduction of victim blaming) among police officers. More specifically, it will:
    a. increase sympathy towards individuals forced to sell sex
    b. increase sympathy towards victims of labor trafficking.

4. <u>Hypothesis 4</u>: There will be heterogeneous treatment effects by rank and gender among police officers:
    a. There will be greater treatment effects on knowledge and empathy among lower-ranked officers (with baseline levels[19] of knowledge lower for lower-ranked officers compared to high-rank officers)
    b. There will be greater treatment effects on empathy for male victims among male officers than among female officers (with baseline levels of sympathy for male victims lower for male officers compared to female officers).

5. <u>Hypothesis 5</u>: Baseline knowledge[20] of what human trafficking is, perceptions of local prevalence, and concern for prioritization among law enforcement will be comparable to that of the general population.

6. <u>Hypothesis 6</u>: Effects will vary according to whether a positive (empowerment) or negative (danger) appeal is used in the training materials.

PART VI: STATISTICAL METHODS

Experimental Design

In this study, we implemented a randomized controlled trial experimental design. Respondents were randomly assigned either to a control group, or one of three treatment groups described above (poster; poster+empowerment narrative; poster+danger narrative) through our SurveysToGo survey platform. Given that random assignment was programmed within our survey platform, the population in each of the four conditions should be similar on all dimensions, except for receipt of the treatment.

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[19] Baseline levels refers here to those respondents in the control group.
[20] Baseline levels refers here to those respondents in the control group.

In order to verify that the randomization procedure was successful, we tested whether there was balance among key pre-treatment variables across all treatment conditions. Namely, we collected data on a number of demographic and professional characteristics prior to the respondent being treated with the intervention. Table 1 in Appendix C shows our randomization procedure was successful in balancing these key demographic and professional characteristics. As described below, while unnecessary, we also controlled for these variables in our model specification to increase the precision of our estimates.

Model Specification

Per our pre-analysis plan, we conducted linear regression analysis with standard errors clustered at the Village Development Committee (VDC) level[21] and a vector of demographic and professional controls to improve the precision of our estimates, and district fixed effects:

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_T T_{iv} + \gamma \Gamma_{iv} + \delta_d + \epsilon_{iv} \tag{1}$$

where Y_i denotes our outcome measures of interest for respondent i. $\underline{T}_{iv}$ is a vector of binary variables indicating the treatment condition for respondent i in VDC v. Γ_{iv} denotes a vector of demographic and professional control variables including gender, age, caste, religiosity, marital status, income, education-level, and rank. δ_d is an indicator variable for district fixed effects (districts (d) include multiple police stations but have a single superintendent and one to three deputies). Finally, ϵ_{iv} are robust standard errors clustered at the VDC level.

We also explored heterogeneous treatment effects by gender and rank. We conducted a series of subgroup analyses, assessing the treatment effect by gender and rank separately. We also considered a specification that adds an interaction term to the main analyses. Namely, we estimated:

$$Y_{iv} = \alpha + \beta_T T_{iv} + \beta_G M_{iv} + \beta_{TG} T_{iv} M_{iv} + \gamma \Gamma_{iv} + \delta_d + \epsilon_{iv} \tag{2}$$

where M_{iv} denotes our moderator variable, either gender (1=male; 0 = female) or rank (1=low rank; 0=high rank). Again, standard errors were clustered at the station-level, and we included a vector of demographic controls to improve the precision of our estimates.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the study's research design and sample. Chapter 2 provides baseline descriptive statistics pertaining to key study variables, and also compares the responses of police officers to those of the general population study on key variables pertaining to CFT. In Chapter 3, we will return to models shown in Equations 1 and 2 for our analysis of the experiment to test the hypotheses outlined above.

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[21] Results do not change when standard errors are not clustered.

Chapter II.

Results and Discussion Part I:
Police Officer Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs, and Practices around Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents baseline information about police officer knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and practices (KABP) pertaining to child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking (CFT). Descriptive statistics are presented by gender and rank. They are also compared to the responses of the Nepal general population.[22]

The chapter first examines the levels of knowledge that the police have around CFT, followed by a discussion of the overall levels of their concern for human trafficking and sympathy towards human trafficking victims. Levels of knowledge among law enforcement officers are not as high as they could be, given the prevalence of human trafficking in Nepal and the fact that police officers play a crucial role in reducing its occurrence. Similarly, levels of concern and sympathy are at times low, revealing attitudes that might not lead police officers to prioritize the issue of human trafficking in their communities.[23,24] The findings from our analyses point to the need for police trainings.

KNOWLEDGE OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

The study assessed baseline police officer knowledge of CFT through three questions: a general knowledge question, an exploration of the reasons why people are trafficked, and an examination of knowledge of both human trafficking laws and of the law more generally. Overall, baseline knowledge levels among police officers are mixed, and suggest that this population would benefit from additional training covering basic information on human trafficking, its causes, and the laws that govern it.

General Knowledge of Human Trafficking

General knowledge with respect to what qualifies as human trafficking and who can be trafficked are at times fairly low, and suggest that law enforcement officers could benefit from additional training

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[22] This section comparing baseline results of the police and the general population addresses Hypothesis 5 in the study, as discussed in the "Part V: Outcomes" section of Chapter 1.
[23] Each hypothesis outlined in Chapter 1, which was specified in the study's Pre-Analysis Plan, has its own section in this report.
[24] Unless otherwise noted, significance levels are calculated at the 0.05 level.

on how to recognize human trafficking.[25] Although there are no gender differences around general knowledge of human trafficking, in some instances there are differences by rank.

As shown in Figure II-1, reassuringly, law enforcement officers overwhelmingly recognize that men can be trafficked (94.4%) and that sex trafficking is not the only form of human trafficking (89.7%). Nevertheless, over 5% of law enforcement officers believe that only women can be trafficked and about 10% of law enforcement officers think that human trafficking is limited to labor involving sexual exploitation. Given the roles that law enforcement officers can play in preventing and responding to human trafficking, it is important to further reduce these misconceptions so that all police officers know that men can be trafficked, and that forced labor may also qualify as human trafficking.

Among the four topics we consider, police officers' knowledge is weakest pertaining to domestic trafficking and the relationship between prostitution and sex trafficking. Namely, less than half (48.4%) of police officers correctly recognize that transnational movement is not a requirement for human trafficking. One of the potential consequences of this misinformation is the inability to recognize internal domestic human trafficking as human trafficking. In addition, a non-trivial subset of law enforcement officers (39.8%) holds the belief that those who initially consented to enter into prostitution cannot then subsequently be trafficked. This raises the concern that many law enforcement officers will simply not recognize victims of human trafficking as true victims if they initially consented to enter into prostitution, regardless of whether that consent was actually forced or whether they continue to give consent to selling sex. The significant knowledge gaps on these two dimensions also raise the possibility of other important areas of uncertainty, as this study only explored four dimensions of the definition of human trafficking.

Women appear to have similar levels of knowledge as their male officer counterparts (see Figure II-2). Interestingly, however, there is a substantively significant gender gap when asked whether or not someone who knowingly enters into prostitution can be trafficked. Female police officers are almost 10 percentage points less likely to answer the question correctly.

In contrast to gender differences, police officers' knowledge levels vary more by rank. As might be expected, superintendents are more knowledgeable than constables for all four questions of interest. Superintendents are also at least as knowledgeable as inspectors for three out of the four questions. The differences for these two comparisons between superintendents and constables/inspectors are, however, only statistically significant for two questions: 1) human trafficking requires movement across national borders (false), and 2) men can be trafficked (true). The one exception where superintendents rank lower is for the question on whether those who knowingly entered into prostitution can be trafficked. Inspectors are better able to answer the question correctly than both superintendents and constables. However, this difference is only statistically significant between inspectors and constables.

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[25] The questions that assess knowledge are listed in the box below. The bolded answers are the correct responses to each statement.

Figure II-1: General Knowledge of Human Trafficking

HT requires movement across state or national borders
- Incorrect 51.6%
- Correct 48.4%

Men can be trafficked
- Incorrect 5.6%
- Correct 94.4%

Can't be trafficked if knowingly entered into prostitution
- Incorrect 39.8%
- Correct 60.2%

The only type of HT is sex trafficking
- Incorrect 10.3%
- Correct 89.7%
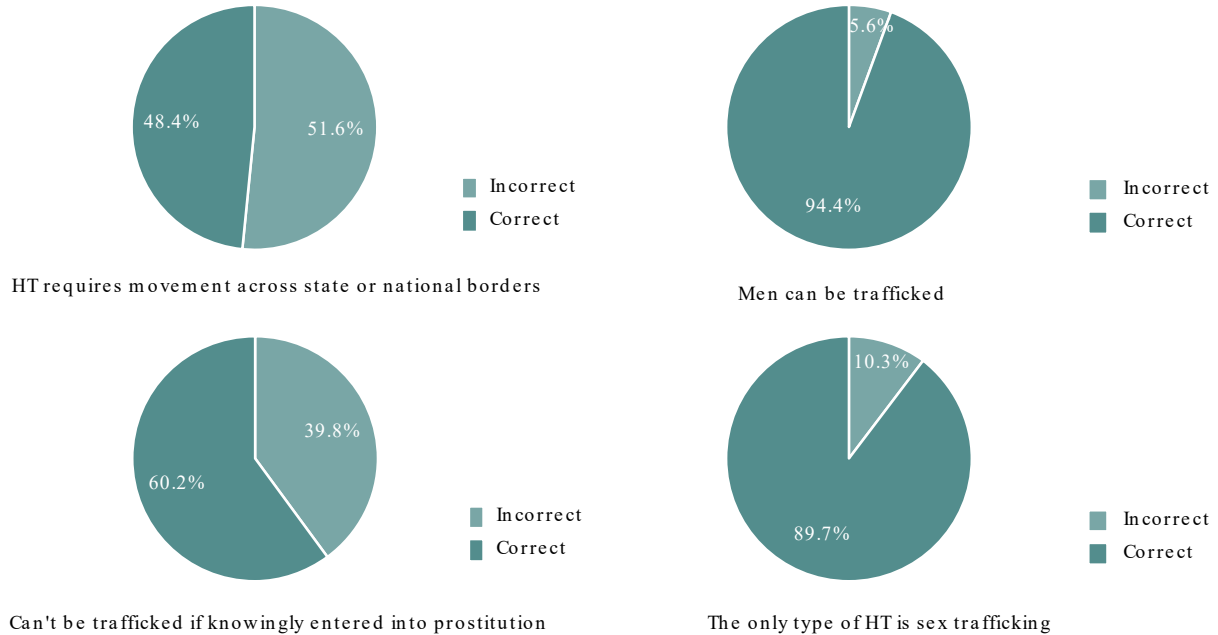
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

For each of the following statements about human trafficking in Nepal, I would like you to tell me whether you think it is true or false. It is fine if you do not know the correct answer to these. Please provide your best guess.

Know7_1. Human trafficking requires movement across state or national borders
(1) True
(2) False
Know7_3. Men can be trafficked
(1) True
(2) False
Know7_4. You can't be trafficked if you knowingly entered into prostitution.
(1) True
(2) False
Know7_5. The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking.
(1) True
(2) False

Despite their higher rank, inspectors are not necessarily more knowledgeable about CFT than constables. Constables performed better than inspectors in recognizing that human trafficking is not limited to sex trafficking and that human trafficking does not require movement across borders. However, the difference between the two ranks is only significant for recognizing other forms of trafficking. Inspects, on the other hand, are significantly more likely to recognize that man can be victims of trafficking as well as individuals who willing enter prostitution.

Figure II-2: General Knowledge on Human Trafficking by Gender and Rank

Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

Reasons Why People Become Trafficked

As illustrated in Figure II-3, respondents highlighted a variety of causes of human trafficking in the following way: lack of information (76.6%); unemployment (44.5%); reckless behavior of the victim (23.8%); and other reasons (18.0%)—a category that includes economic reasons, gender and ethnic discrimination, drug gangs, etc.).[26] Of study participants, 17.5% mentioned family pressure and 11.3% noted poor wages as causes of human trafficking. Only 4.3% of respondents mentioned weak laws as an issue, which demonstrates confidence and trust in their own work as law enforcement officers, as well as in the regulations they are responsible to enforce. Overall, the emphasis on lack of information as a key reason suggests that respondents recognize the importance of increasing awareness—the primary motivation for designing the study described in these pages.

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[26] Categories are not mutually exclusive, since this was an "all that applied" question. Consequently, percentages do not add up to 100%.

**Figure II-3: Principal Reasons Why
People Become Trafficked**

Lack of information\Education — 76.6%
Unemployment — 44.5%
Reckless behavior of the victim — 23.8%
Other reasons — 18.0%
Family pressure to earn money — 17.5%
Poor wages — 11.3%
Weak laws/law enforcement — 4.7%

Average
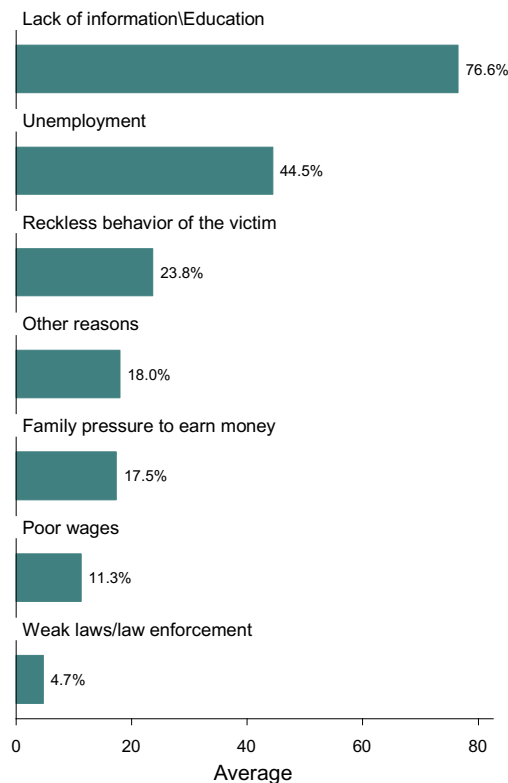
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

HT25. What do you think are the principal reasons people become trafficked? [Don't read the response options; Mark all that apply]

(1) Lack of information/lack of education   (2) Poverty   (3) Poor wages
(4) Unemployment   (5) Reckless behavior by the victims
(6) Weak laws / law enforcement   (7) Gender discrimination
(8) Drug gangs   (9) Ethnic discrimination
(10) Family pressure to earn money   (11) Other

The two most frequently suggested reasons for why people become trafficked – lack of information and unemployment—have no statistically significant gender differences. Nearly 76% of males and 88.4% of females identified lack of information or education as the main reason why people are trafficked. For unemployment, 43.9% of males and 51.2% of females underscored its importance.

Responses to these questions do, however, vary by respondent rank. All superintendents stated that lack of information or education is a principal cause of trafficking. Comparatively, only 86.5% of inspectors selected this reason, as did only 72.5% of constables. This latter difference between inspectors and constables is statistically significant. Superintendents, inspectors, and constables all selected unemployment as the second most common reason for trafficking at respective rates of 40%, 52.9%, and 42.7%.

Figure II-4: Principal Reasons Why People Become Trafficked by Gender

Male

Reason	Percentage
Lack of information\Education	75.7%
Unemployment	43.9%
Reckless behavior of the victim	23.1%
Other reasons	18.8%
Family pressure to earn money	17.9%
Poor wages	11.5%
Weak laws/law enforcement	5.1%

Female

Reason	Percentage
Lack of information\Education	88.4%
Unemployment	51.2%
Reckless behavior of the victim	31.6%
Other reasons	8.9%
Family pressure to earn money	11.7%
Poor wages	8.5%
Weak laws/law enforcement	0.0%
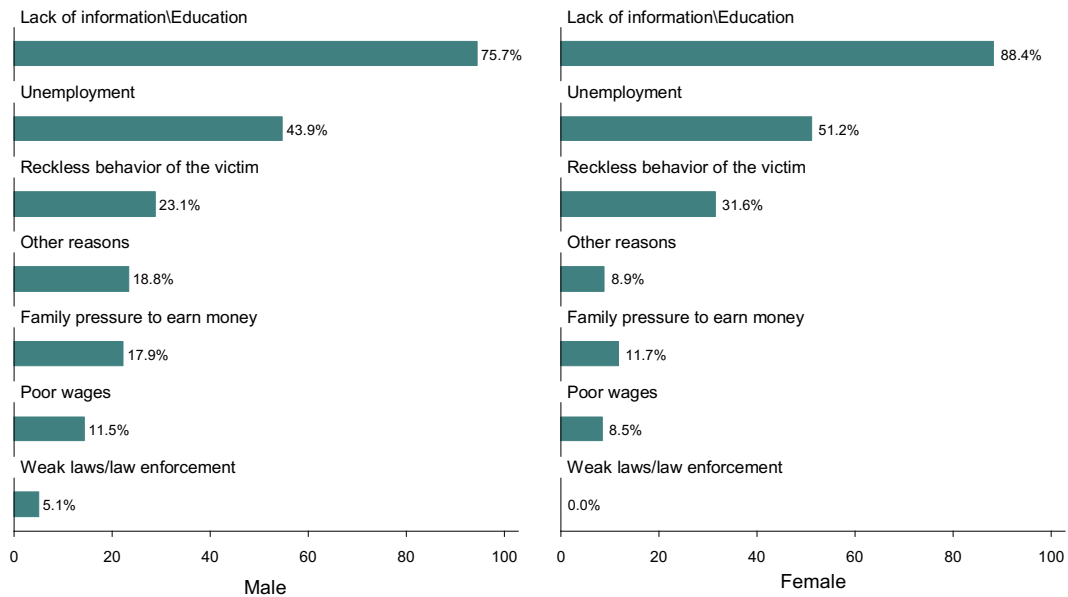
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

Figure II-5: Principal Reasons Why People Become Trafficked by Police Rank

Superintendents

Reason	Percentage
Lack of information\Education	100.0%
Unemployment	40.1%
Reckless behavior of the victim	16.2%
Other reasons	20.4%
Family pressure to earn money	28.5%
Poor wages	0.0%
Weak laws/law enforcement	8.1%

Inspectors

Reason	Percentage
Lack of information\Education	86.5%
Unemployment	52.9%
Reckless behavior of the victim	26.0%
Other reasons	26.7%
Family pressure to earn money	15.6%
Poor wages	8.9%
Weak laws/law enforcement	6.8%

Constables

Reason	Percentage
Lack of information\Education	72.5%
Unemployment	42.7%
Reckless behavior of the victim	23.7%
Other reasons	15.7%
Family pressure to earn money	17.2%
Poor wages	12.6%
Weak laws/law enforcement	4.0%

Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

Legal Knowledge

As displayed in Figure II-6, the majority of law enforcement officers have accurate knowledge of the sanctions that can be applied to human traffickers. That said, there are still significant knowledge gaps with regard to human trafficking laws and penalties—a finding that is problematic given that the police are responsible for enforcing these laws.

Almost 72% of all officers correctly identified that an individual found guilty of human trafficking can be sentenced to 20 years in prison. In addition, 86.1% of respondents correctly recognized that traffickers can be fined up to NPR 200,000 (USD 1,831). Nearly a third of officers falsely believed life imprisonment to be a punishment of human trafficking. Only 66.8% officers correctly responded that life imprisonment is *not* a sanction that can be applied to those guilty of human trafficking.

Figure II-6: Knowledge on Human Trafficking Laws

Sentenced of 20 years in prison if found guilty of HT

A fine of NRS 200,000 is applied to a person found guilty of HT

Sentenced to life of imprisonment if found guilty of HT
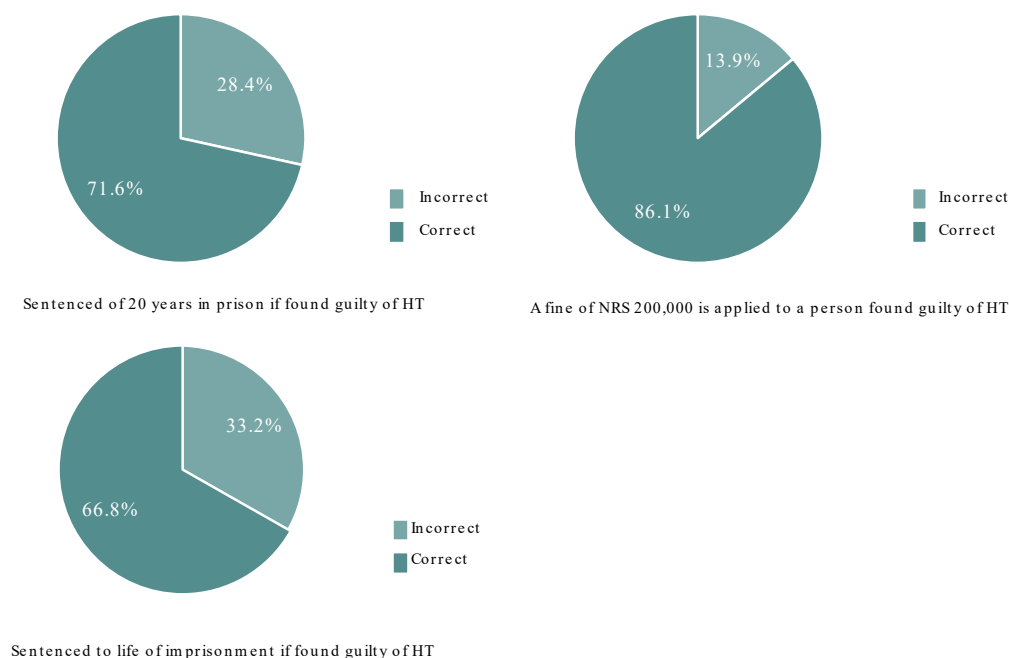
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

Which of the following sanctions can be applied to an individual who is found guilty
of human trafficking?
Know6_1: 20 years in prison
(1) True
(2) False
Know6_2: Fine of NPR 200,000
(1) True
(2) False
Know6_5: Life imprisonment
(1) True
(2) False

Knowledge of sanctions for human trafficking does not vary by gender of the respondent as illustrated in Figure II-7. The only statistically significant differences by rank appear in the question on whether or not traffickers can be sentenced to life in prison: while 91.3% of superintendents responded correctly to this question, only 74.8% of inspectors and 62.6% of constables did so.

Figure II-7: Knowledge on Human Trafficking Laws by Gender and Police Rank
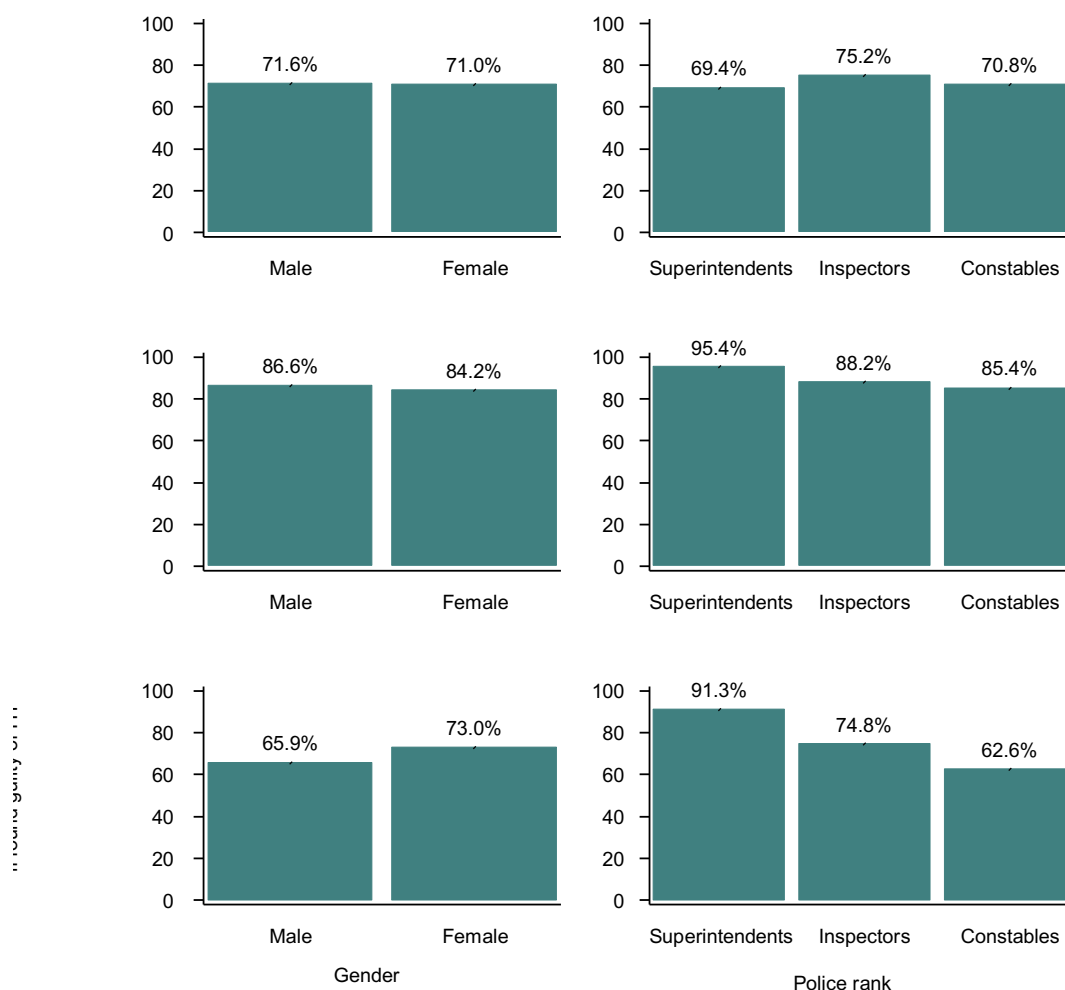
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

In addition to assessing specific knowledge of sanctions that can be applied for trafficking an individual, the study also assessed the general legal knowledge of respondents.[27] It asked respondents whether all contracts signed by both parties are legal, a false statement, and whether a suspect has the right to remain silent during questioning, a true statement. As shown in Figure II-8, only about one third of officers answered the first statement correctly and two thirds answered the second statement

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[27] According to the Pre-Analysis Plan, the general legal knowledge section included a question about whether courts can create laws. Due to a translation issue, the question did not do a good job at assessing respondent legal knowledge, and for this reason, it is dropped from the analysis and this report.

correctly. This finding once again highlights the need to increase Nepalese police officers' knowledge of not only human trafficking and its regulation, but also the law more generally.

Figure II-8: Knowledge About General Laws

	Incorrect	Correct

All contracts signed
by both parties are legal

Criminal suspects have a right to not answer
when questioned by law enforcement
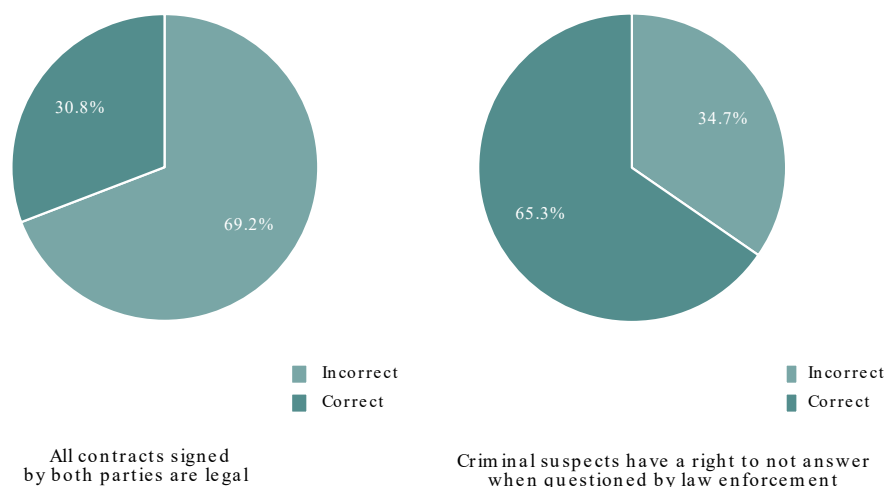
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

Please tell me whether, according to the laws in Nepal, the following statements are true or false
know14_1: All contracts signed by both parties are legal
(1) True
(2) False
know14_2: Criminal suspects have a right to not answer when questioned by law enforcement agencies
(1) True
(2) False

Again, legal knowledge levels do not vary by gender but vary by rank (see Figure II-9). Pertaining to the question about the right to remain silent, all superintendents responded correctly. Less than three quarters of inspectors answered correctly, and only 61.5% of constables did so. These differences are all statistically significant. The superintendents correctly answered the question about contracts better than inspectors and constables, these differences are not statistically significant.

Figure II-9: Knowledge About General Laws by Gender and Police Rank
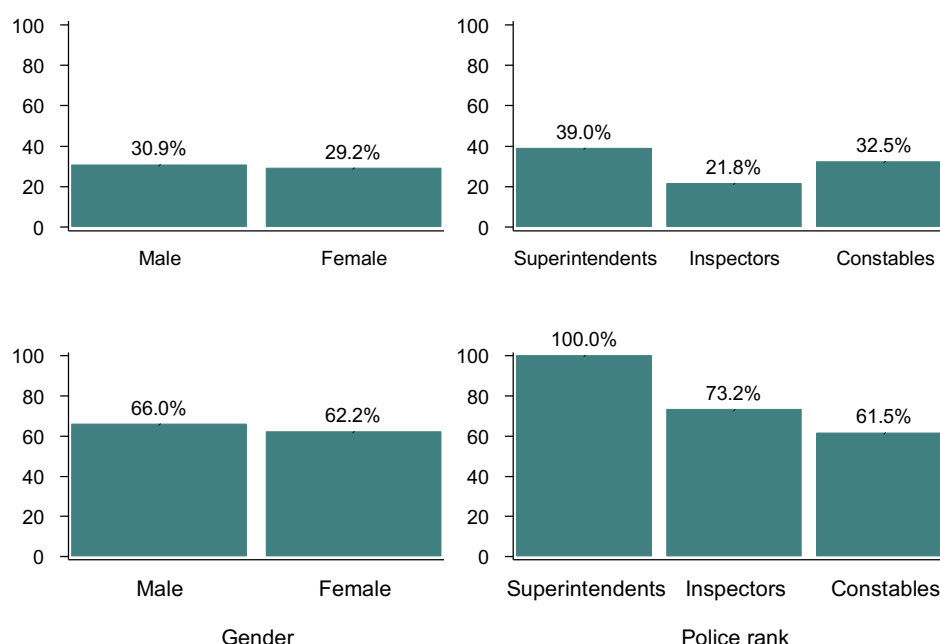
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

CONCERN FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Law enforcement officers express a great deal of concern about human trafficking and desire for it to be a government priority. That said, they are more mixed in their assessments about the prevalence of human trafficking in Nepal, and generally do not find it to be prevalent in the area under their jurisdiction. As noted in Archer et al. (2016), this tendency to underestimate the prevalence of human trafficking locally occurs among the general population as well. They are also much more concerned about the dangers of women and girls being trafficked than boys and men, and they have limited levels of concern that members of their own community might be at risk.

To assess levels of concern for human trafficking, law enforcement officers were first asked about their overall levels of concern for the phenomenon. They were then asked how much the government should prioritize human trafficking policies and programs, along with how prevalent human trafficking is both in Nepal generally and in their own community. Finally, they were asked to identify the risk levels for different subsets of the population in becoming victims of human trafficking.

Levels of concern for human trafficking amongst the police are high (see Figure II-10). Of all respondents, 58.7% expressed feeling a lot of concern about human trafficking and another 28.2% stated they feel a great deal of concern, totaling 86.9%. In addition, almost all respondents (96.8%) stated that the government should prioritize anti-trafficking policies "a great deal" or "a lot." These levels of concern do not vary by gender or by rank (see Figure II-11).

Figure II-10: Concern About Human Trafficking

How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings?

Legend:
- A great deal of concern
- A lot of concern
- A moderate amount
- A little concern
- No concern

Values: 28.2%, 58.7%, 10.7%, 1.6%, 0.8%

Government should prioritize anti-trafficking policies

Legend:
- A great deal
- A lot
- A moderate amount

Values: 40.1%, 56.7%, 3.2%
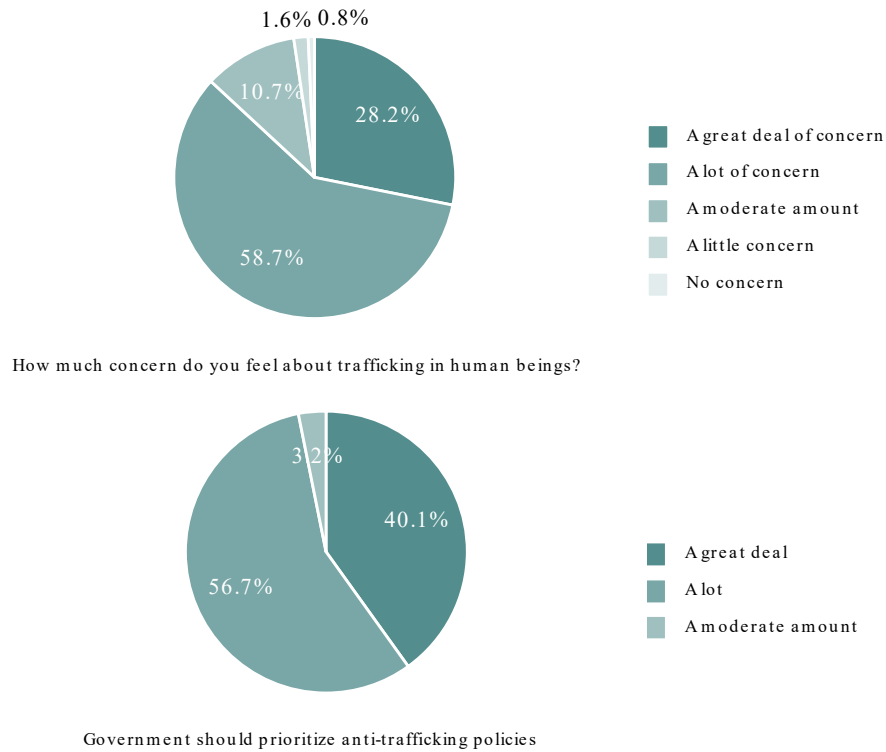
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

HT6. How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings?
(1) A great deal of concern
(2) A lot of concern
(3) A moderate amount of concern
(4) A little concern
(5) No concern

HT11. There are many issues facing our country today, and choices have to be made about how to prioritize them. How much should the government prioritize anti-trafficking policies and programs?
(1) A great deal
(2) A lot
(3) A moderate amount
(4) A little
(5) Not at all

Figure II-11: Concern About Human Trafficking by Gender and Police Rank
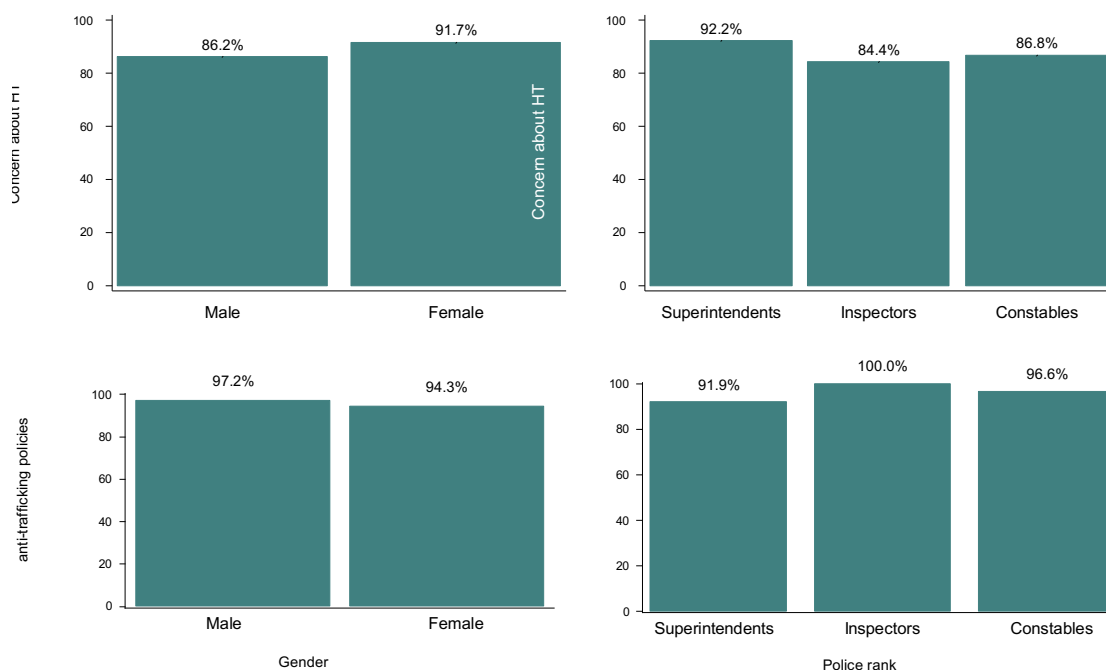
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

Regarding the scope of human trafficking in Nepal, law enforcement officers perceive human trafficking to be a major problem nationally (see Figure II-12). Approximately 90% of officers said that human trafficking in Nepal is an "extremely big" or a "very big" problem, while only 2.4% of officers claim that it is not a problem at all.

Police officers are less likely to identify high levels of prevalence of human trafficking in their own jurisdictions than in the country as a whole. Only 3.2% of officers think that human trafficking is an "extremely big" problem in the jurisdiction of their police station, and 19% mention that it is a "very big" problem. Over a third of officers report that human trafficking is not a problem at all in their jurisdiction. This percentage may be cause for concern, given the high levels reported nationally. Low levels of concern for human trafficking within the police officer's jurisdiction may lead officers to believe it is not happening in their local community, which could lead to less vigilance and create an environment more susceptible to human traffickers. Note that the districts we targeted were all considered human trafficking hot spots based upon documented human trafficking cases.[28]

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[28] Prevalence assessments are based on data from the 2010/2011 Nepal National Living Standards Survey, which contains questions about migration and trafficking, and the 2003-2013 database of the Women's Cell of the Nepal Police Department that documents the quantity of trafficking incidents at the district-level.

Figure II-12: Perception of Human Trafficking As a Problem

How big of a problem is
human trafficking in Nepal

How big of a problem is human trafficking
in the jurisdiction of your police station
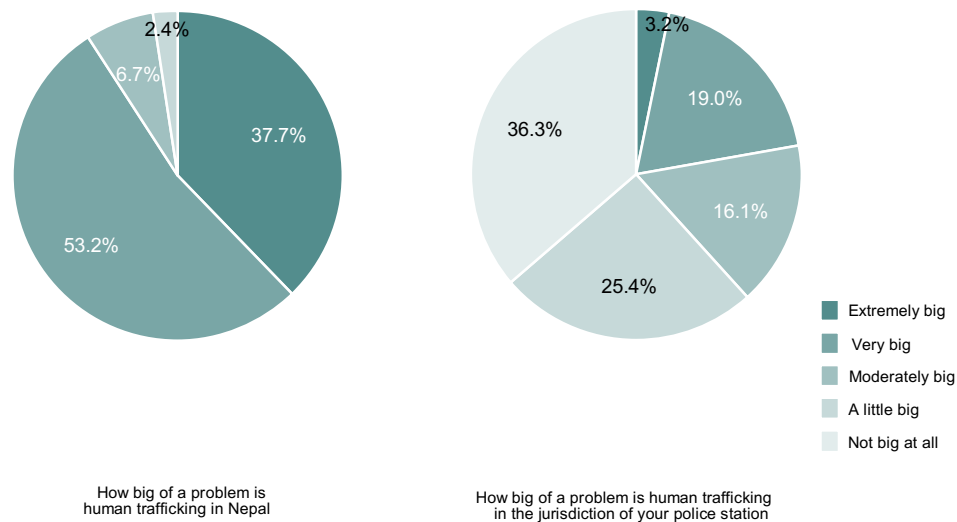
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

HT7. How big of a problem is human trafficking in the jurisdiction your police station is responsible for?
(1) Extremely big   (2) Very big   (3) Moderately big (4) Slightly big (5) Not at all big

HT8. How big of a problem is human trafficking in Nepal?
(1) Extremely big   (2) Very big   (3) Moderately big (4) Slightly big (5) Not at all big

As shown in Figure II-13, there are no statistically significant differences by gender around attitudes toward prevalence of human trafficking. Once again, differences between the ranks are statistically significant. Oddly, constables are most likely to recognize the prevalence of human trafficking in their jurisdictions (33.1%), followed by superintendents (28.1%) and inspectors (24.2%). One possibility for the higher rates of identification amongst constables is the fact that they are often most embedded within their communities and thus more exposed to the specific issues occurring within it.

Figure II-13: Perception of Human Trafficking As a Problem by Gender and Police Rank
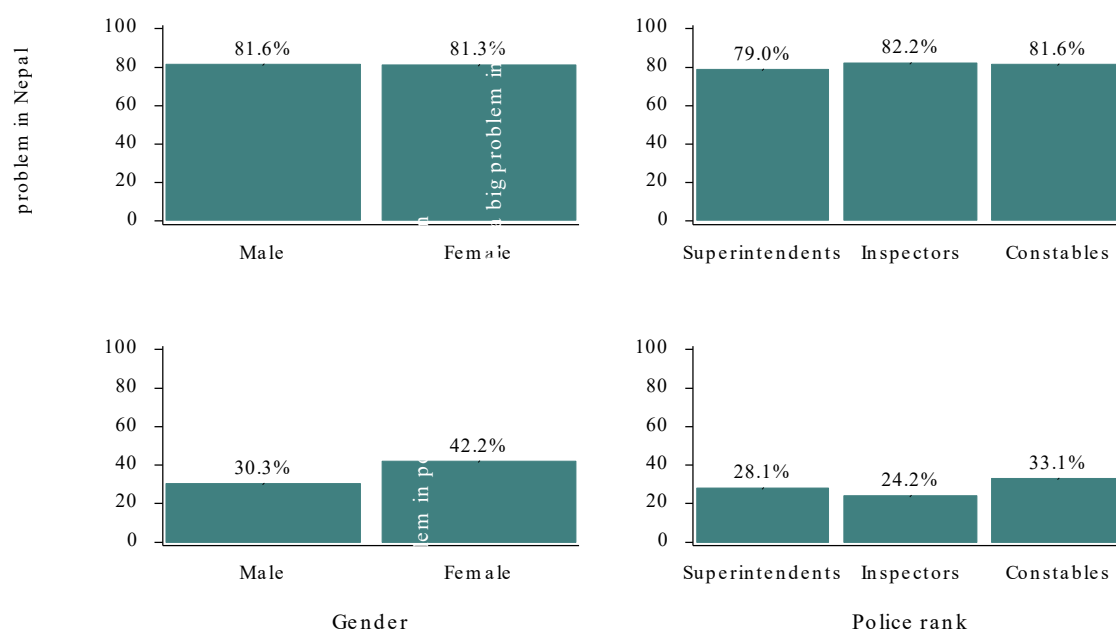
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

Who is at Risk of Being Trafficked?

Law enforcement officers were also asked to report their perceptions of how much certain groups are at risk when it comes to being trafficked. Figure II-14 shows that police officers perceive women and girls to be at much higher risks of trafficking than men or boys.[29] Of law enforcement surveyed, 43.2% identified girls under 16 years of age as having high risk of being trafficked, followed by women over the age of 16 years (42.0%). Only 13.5% of law enforcement highlighted the risks of human trafficking for boys under 16 years of age, and a mere 6.4% identified males over 16 years of age as being at risk of trafficking. Finally, only 1.9% of respondents reported that ward members of their police station jurisdiction are at risk. While some estimates flag that women and girls are disproportionately affected by human trafficking, with nearly 30% of cases considered by the ILO as human trafficking cases involving male victims (International Labour Organization 2017), it is problematic to view men and boys as immune traffickers.

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[29] These percentages are based on the number of respondents who answered options (1) A great deal and (2) A lot for question HT11.

Figure II-14: Who is at Risk of Being Trafficked

Girls (Under 16)
43.2%

Women (Over 16)
42.0%

Boys (Under 16)
13.5%

Men (Over 16)
6.4%

Ward members of police station jurisdiction
1.9%

Average
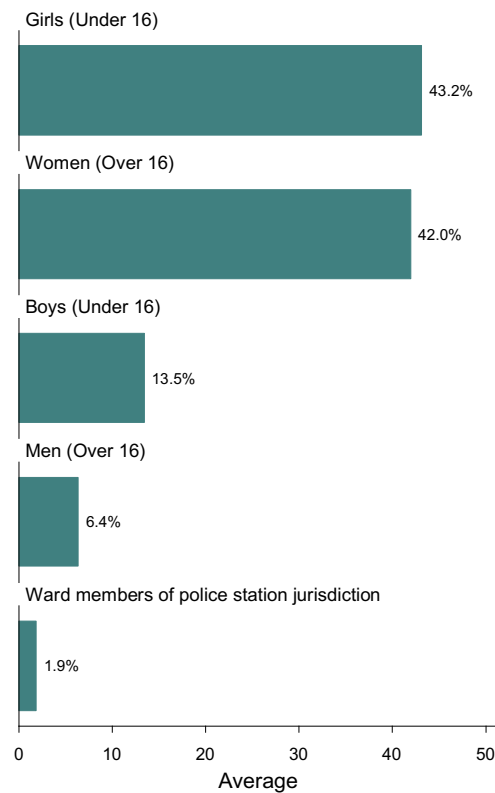
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

HT11. How much do you think each of the following people are at a risk of being trafficked?
A. Women (16 and over)
B. Girls (Under 16)
C. Men (16 and over)
D. Boys (Under 16)
E. Members of the jurisdiction my police station is responsible for

(1) A great deal   (2) A lot   (3) A moderate amount   (4) A little   (5) None at all

Results show no statistically significant differences by gender. Analyses by rank, however, underscore important differences. Superintendents are far less likely to identify that girls are at high risk of being trafficked than inspectors and constables (12.0% of superintendents versus 37.2% of inspectors and 46.9% of constables), a difference that is statistically significant. In contrast, superintendents are more likely to identify women as being at risk than inspectors and constables (52.5% of superintendents versus 35.9% of inspectors and 42.8% of constables). See Figures II-15 and II-16 for visualizations of these comparisons.

Figure II-15: Who is at Risk of Being Trafficked by Gender
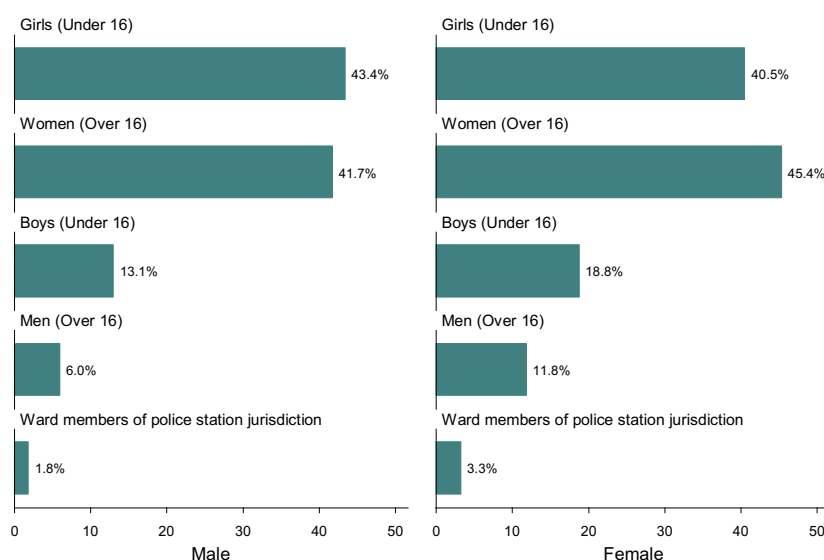
Figure II-16: Who is at Risk of Being Trafficked by Police Rank
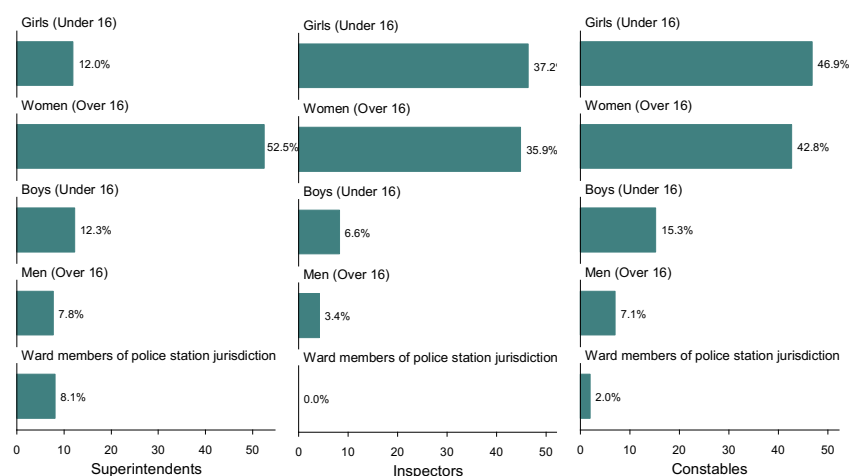
SYMPATHY FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING VICTIMS

Lastly, we examined the attitudes that police officers have towards victims of human trafficking, and their perceptions on which individuals bear responsibility for being trafficked. Respondents were asked to express their willingness to share a meal with a victim of sex trafficking and a victim of labor trafficking. They were also asked about their levels of blame towards victims of sex and labor trafficking. Finally, they identified which individuals they think are most responsible for causing a person to be trafficked.

Attitudes Toward Human Trafficking Victims

Figure II-17 suggests high levels of stigma towards victims of sex and labor trafficking. About half of the respondents were willing to share a meal with a victim. Specifically, only 52% of law enforcement officers reported a high willingness to share a meal with a victim of sex trafficking. Likewise, only 52.4% of law enforcement officers expressed a willingness to have a meal with a labor trafficking victim. At the same time, explicit expressions of blame towards these two groups are low: only 6.3% of law enforcement officers stated that they would blame a victim of sex trafficking, and only 5.2% would blame a victim of labor trafficking. While explicit expressions of blame are low, the resistance to sharing a simple meal with victims is telling, and clarifies that more positive attitudes toward human trafficking victims needs to be engendered.

Figure II-17: Attitudes Towards Human Trafficking Victims

Willing to share a meal with a sex trafficking victim

Would blame the sex trafficking victim

Willing to share a meal with a labor trafficking victim

Would blame the labor trafficking victim

Somewhat/Slightly/Not at all willing

Extremely/Very willing
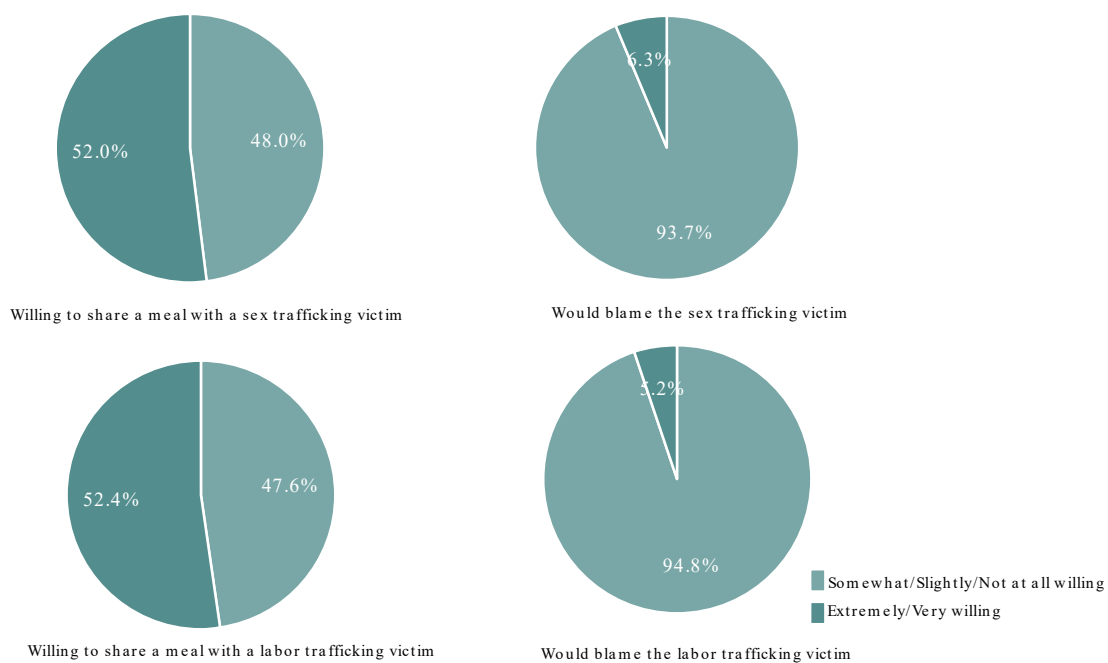
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

HT22.2. If you met someone who had been trafficked for sex, how willing would you be to share a meal with them?
HT22.3. If you met someone who had been trafficked for sex, how willing would you be to blame them for what happened to them?
HT23.2. If you met someone who had been trafficked for labor, how willing would you be to share a meal with them?
HT23.3. If you met someone who had been trafficked for labor, how willing would you be to blame them for what happened to them?

(1) Extremely willing   (2) Very willing   (3) Somewhat willing   (4) Slightly willing (5) Not at all willing

Female police officers are less likely to blame victims of human trafficking than men. While only 49.3% of male officers expressed a willingness to share a meal with a victim of sex trafficking, 68.2% of female officers were willing to do so. This difference is statistically significant. Women were also less likely to explicitly blame victims of human trafficking (2.8% versus 6.9%). However, this result is not statistically significant. Similar numbers of men and women expressed a willingness to share a meal with a labor trafficking victim (54.4% of women versus 52.2% of men). No statistically significant differences were found when analyzing the different attitudes toward victims by rank of the respondent. Results presented in Figures II-18 and II-19.

Figure II-18: Attitudes Towards Sex Trafficking Victims by Gender and Police Rank
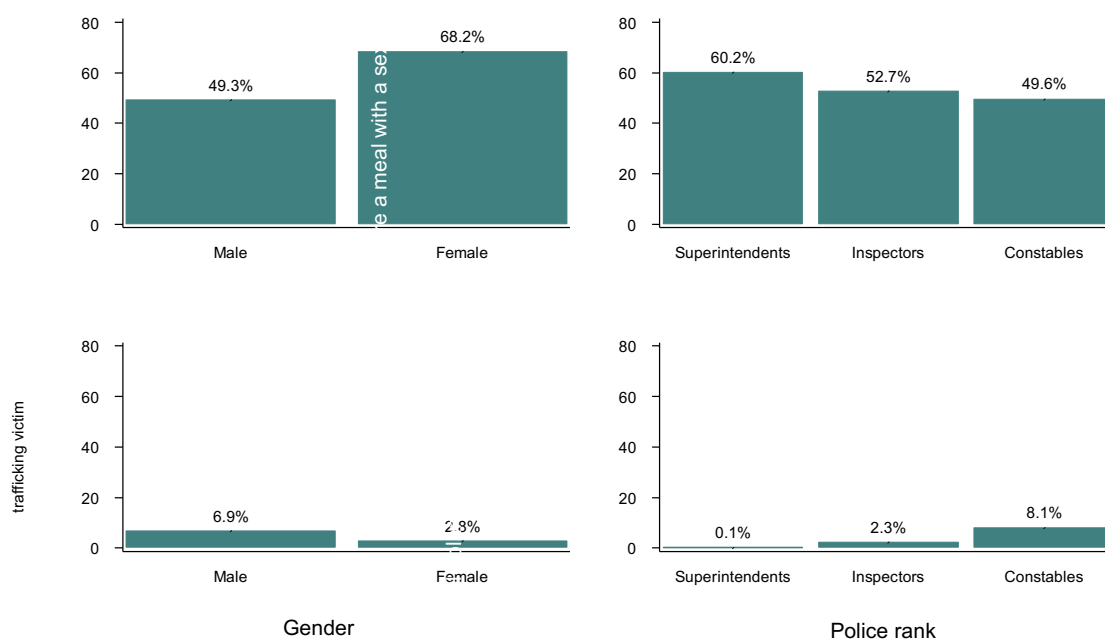
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

Figure II-19: Attitudes Towards Labor Trafficking Victims by Gender and Police Rank
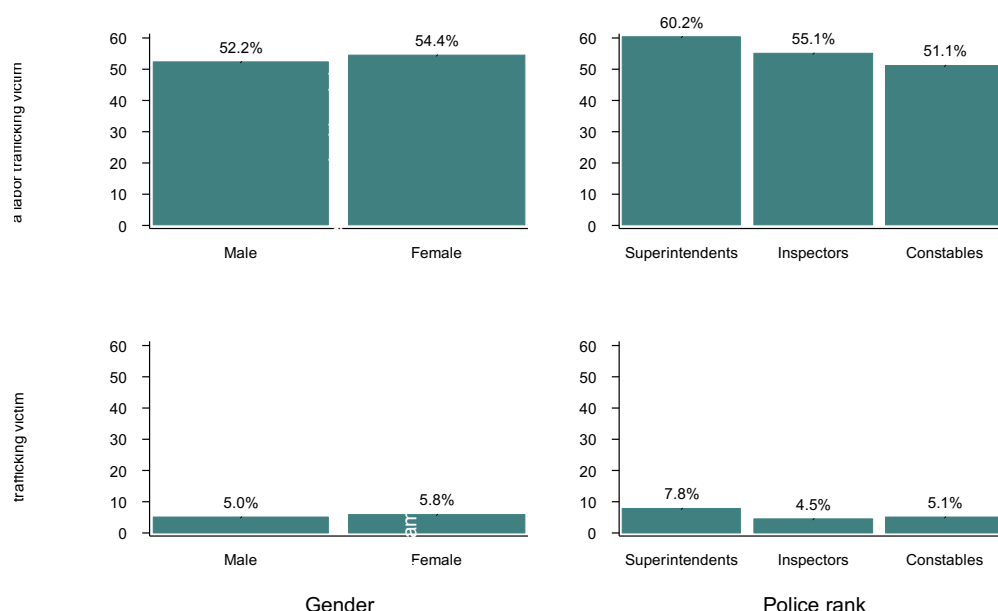
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

Individuals Responsible for Trafficking

Figure II-20 shows that when asked to identify the types of individuals most often responsible for trafficking, 60.7% of law enforcement officers identified another family member (other than a parent). In second and third places, officers identified a *dalal* (broker; 46.9%) and a parent (44.5%). Officers also identified the person themselves as the responsible party (33.5%), some other non-family/non-dalal/non-friend/non-gang entity (29.6%), friends (23.1%), and a gang or gang members (16.7%). Finally, 7.1% of law enforcement identified a manpower agent as the most responsible person.[30] In general, family members and *dalals* were believed to be most responsible by this population. However, victims were believed to be responsible by a non-trivial share of officers, which is consistent with some of the victim blaming findings we noted above.

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[30] This was a "mark all that apply" question, so percentages do not add to 100%. The category "others" includes a police or military member, an unknown person, and other.

Figure II-20: Individuals Responsible for Trafficking
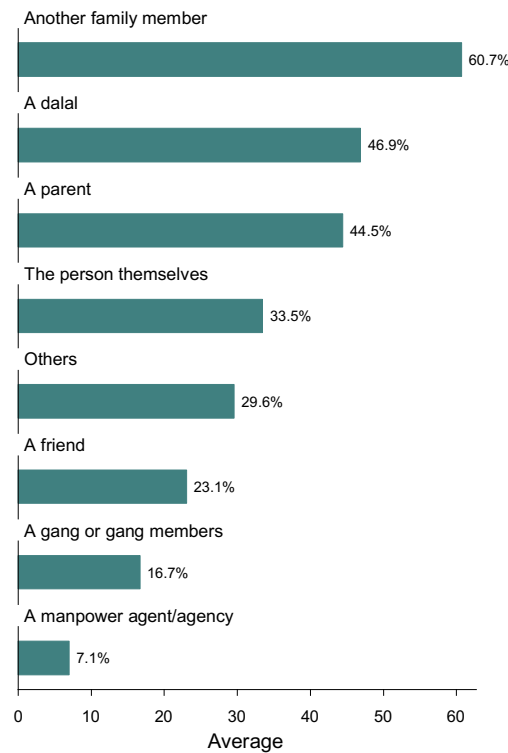
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

HT26 Which individuals, if any, would you say is most often responsible for causing a person to be trafficked? [Mark all that apply]

(1) Boyfriend or girlfriend   (2) A parent
(3) Another family member (non-parent: e.g., uncle, aunt, cousin, sibling, etc.)
(4) Friend   (5) Police or military member   (6) A gang or gang members   (7) A dalal
(8) A manpower agent / agency   (9) Someone else who I didn't previously know
(10) Oneself   (11) Other

Some of these results vary by gender. Female officers were more likely than male officers to identify another family member, friends, and gangs or gang members as responsible for human trafficking. Male officers were more likely to place responsibility on *dalals*. The differences between men and women regarding both family members and friends as responsible parties are statistically significant. No other differences were statistically meaningful.

A few results also vary based on police officer rank. Interestingly, superintendents were more likely to identify the victim as responsible compared to inspectors and constables, a difference that is statistically significant. Inspectors and constables were more likely than superintendents to blame other family members as responsible parties, and this difference is also statistically significant. All other differences were not statistically meaningful.

Figure II-21: Individuals Responsible for Trafficking by Gender

Male

Category	Value
Another family member	59.1%
A dalal	48.0%
A parent	44.6%
The person themselves	33.7%
Others	30.4%
A friend	21.7%
A gang or gang members	16.2%
A manpower agent/agency	7.4%

Female

Category	Value
Another family member	80.9%
A dalal	34.1%
A parent	43.2%
The person themselves	31.7%
Others	20.2%
A friend	40.1%
A gang or gang members	22.7%
A manpower agent/agency	3.0%
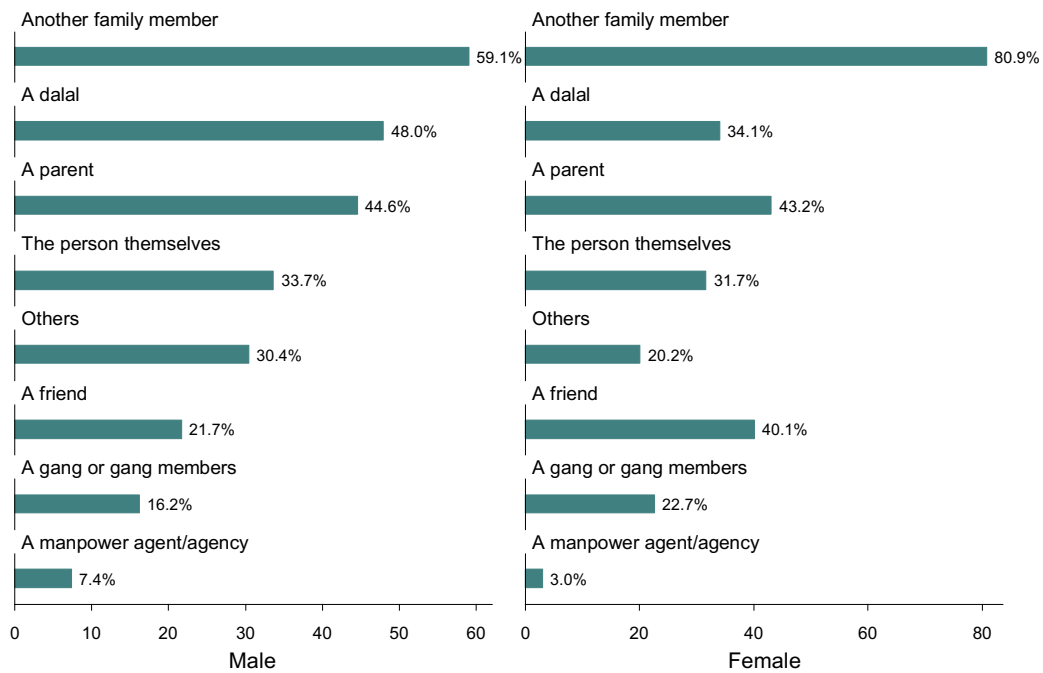
Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

Figure II-22: Individuals Responsible for Trafficking by Police Rank

Superintendents

Category	Value
Another family member	36.3%
A dalal	47.9%
A parent	59.9%
The person themselves	55.7%
Others	0.0%
A friend	16.2%
A gang or gang members	31.7%
A manpower agent/agency	8.1%

Inspectors

Category	Value
Another family member	66.6%
A dalal	46.2%
A parent	58.3%
The person themselves	41.3%
Others	40.6%
A friend	28.2%
A gang or gang members	11.3%
A manpower agent/agency	5.6%

Constables

Category	Value
Another family member	61.0%
A dalal	47.0%
A parent	39.9%
The person themselves	30.0%
Others	29.0%
A friend	22.3%
A gang or gang members	17.0%
A manpower agent/agency	7.3%

Source: Nepal Law Enforcement Study, 2017

COMPARING ATTITUDES OF POLICE OFFICERS AND THE GENERAL POPULATION[31]

This last section compares knowledge and attitudes around human trafficking of police officers with those of the general population, by using data collected from civilians in the same districts in 2014 (Archer et al. 2016). This section addresses Hypothesis 5, which is specified in Chapter 1. Table II-1 below displays the results of this comparison. Overall, levels of knowledge differ according to the specific question with no clear sense of whether the police or the general population have higher levels of knowledge. Similarly, levels of concern and sympathy are not systematically different between the police and the general population.

Regarding general knowledge about human trafficking, levels between law enforcement and the general population vary according to each knowledge question. The general population is much more likely to recognize that human trafficking does not require movement across borders (69.8%) than the police (48.4%). The general population is also more likely to recognize that someone who has willingly entered into prostitution can also be a victim of sex trafficking (68.9% versus 60.2%). On the other hand, the police are more likely to identify that men can be trafficked (94.4% versus 86.0%) and that sex trafficking is not the only type of trafficking (89.7% versus 81.3%). These differences are all statistically significant.

When examining differences around questions of principal causes of human trafficking, the main reason identified by law enforcement is lack of education, and the top reason identified by the general population is unemployment. While 77.6% of police officers identified lack of education as a factor, only 56.5% of the general population did so. Contrarily, 44.5% of the police identified unemployment as a driving force, whereas 69.3% of the general population did so. Law enforcement officers appear more judgmental pertaining to the role of the victim: 23.8% of police respondents highlighted this as a reason versus only 8.1% of the general population. The general population was more likely to identify family pressure to earn money as a cause (28.9% versus 17.5%). These differences are all statistically significant. Comparable and statistically insignificant differences in responses from the police and general population surveys highlighted poor wages (11.3% and 15.2%), and weak laws/law enforcement (4.7% and 3.4%) as factors.

The police expressed greater levels of overall concern for human trafficking: 77.9% of police officers versus 64.2% of the general population. When asked to reflect upon how extensive the problem of human trafficking was in their actual communities, on average, the general population also ranked human trafficking with lower levels of incidence (9.5 points out of 100, in contrast to 31.1 points among the police officers).

The general population was slightly more likely to underscore the need for the government to prioritize anti-trafficking policies (86.3% versus 84.2%). The general population was also more likely to recognize human trafficking as a big problem in Nepal (84.8 points versus 81.6 points out of 100). However, these differences are not large and only marginally statistically significant.[32] The general population's assessment of risk of human trafficking by gender and age are also higher than that of law enforcement officers. While concern for adult men being at risk of human trafficking was

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[31] This section addresses Hypothesis 5, which is specified in Chapter 1 and was part of the study's Pre-Analysis Plan.
[32] The difference between responses to the question of whether the government should prioritize anti-trafficking policies is marginally significant a p=.08.

41 points for the general population, it was 30.6 points for police officers. Although the general population's expressed levels of concern pertaining to boys being at risk was 39.9 points (out of 100), for police officers, it was 37.0 points. Similarly, the general population level of concern for women and girls was 64.9 points and 58.9 points, respectively, whereas the police officers' levels of concern were 56.7 points and 53.6 points, respectively.

Lastly, a great deal of variation exists with respect to how the police and the general population think about the individuals who are responsible for human trafficking. Where 60.7% of law enforcement officers identified another family member as being responsible, only 31.7% of the general population did so. The general population was also more likely to hold a *dalal* responsible (75.5% versus 46.9%). These differences are statistically significant. Other differences were not statistically meaningful.

Table II-1: Summary Comparison of General Population vs. Law Enforcement in Nepal

Variable	Mean/Percentage		Difference	P-Value
	Law Enforcement Force	**General Population**		
HT requires movement across state or national borders	48.4%	69.8%	-21.40	0.0000
Men can be trafficked	94.4%	86.0%	8.35	0.0011
You can't be trafficked if you knowingly entered into prostitution	60.2%	68.9%	-8.78	0.0286
The only type of HT is sex trafficking	89.7%	81.3%	8.37	0.0053
Concern about HT	77.9%	64.2%	13.66	0.0000
Government should prioritize anti-trafficking policies	84.2%	86.3%	-2.18	0.0798
HT a big problem in police station jurisdiction	31.1 percentage points	9.5 percentage points	21.62	0.0000
HT a big problem in Nepal	81.6 percentage points	84.8 percentage points	-3.18	0.0292
Men over 16 are at high risk	30.6 percentage points	41.0 percentage points	-10.37	0.0000
Boys under 16 are at high risk	37.0 percentage points	39.9 percentage points	-2.94	0.1242
Women over 16 are at high risk	56.7 percentage points	64.9 percentage points	-8.22	0.0000
Girls under 16 are at high risk	53.6 percentage points	58.9 percentage points	-5.24	0.0093
Lack of information\Education	77.6 %	56.5%	21.07	0.0000
Unemployment	44.5%	69.3%	-24.77	0.0000
Reckless behavior of the victim	23.8 %	8.1%	15.68	0.0000
Family pressure to earn money	17.5%	28.9%	-11.42	0.0014
Poor wages	11.3%	15.2%	-3.96	0.1691
Weak laws/law enforcement	4.7%	3.4%	1.31	0.4275
Another family member	60.7%	31.7%	29.06	0.0000
A dalal	46.9%	75.5%	-28.54	0.0000
A friend	23.1%	19.3%	3.84	0.1519
A gang or gang members	16.7%	5.6%	11.12	0.0000
A manpower agent/agency	7.1%	15.2%	-8.16	0.0024

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The findings in this chapter that examines baseline knowledge and attitudes of law enforcement officers suggest that police in Nepal could benefit from increased knowledge about human trafficking in general, as well as the laws that govern it. Similarly, given the role of law enforcement officers as first responders in the community, greater levels of concern and sympathy might have a positive impact on reducing the occurrence of human trafficking and providing a safe environment in which victims can come forth. While some significant differences exist between how the police and the general population respond to various aspects of human trafficking, interestingly, one population does not consistently have greater knowledge, concern, or sympathy. Moreover, as noted in Archer et al. (2016), both the general population and law enforcement officers in Nepal tend to underestimate the prevalence of human trafficking locally. These findings suggest the need for training programs for law enforcement officers to increase their knowledge, concern, and sympathy around human trafficking, while specifically highlighting the importance and significance of CFT locally. Chapter 3 presents the results of one such attempt to improve the knowledge and attitudes of law enforcement officers through anti-trafficking awareness trainings.

Chapter III.

Results and Discussion Part II:
Measuring the Differential Impact
of Awareness Campaigns by Message Type

INTRODUCTION

Examining the effects of awareness campaign materials on law enforcement officers' knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and practices (KABP) demonstrate that it is challenging to shift CFT knowledge, concern, and sympathy. Following the methods and randomizations noted in Chapter 1, we tested each of our hypotheses, which were also enumerated in first chapter. All results presented throughout this chapter are statistically significant, unless otherwise noted, and results of all regression analyses on which conclusions in this chapter are based are summarized in Tables 2-4 of Appendix C. Before delving into the results, we first provide a short description on how to read our regression results in the next section.

REGRESSION MODELS: ESTIMATING THE IMPACT OF DIFFERENT MESSAGE FORMATS AND NARRATIVES

The differential impact of message formats of posters and narratives (danger and empowerment) on human trafficking awareness is presented through graphs that show regression results that establish the relationships between the various treatment groups and outcome variables (see Figure A-1 for an example). Regression analysis allows us to examine how any variation in the independent or predictor variable, in this case the multiple treatment groups, affects the outcome variable of interest.

These graphs include a vertical line at "0." For the "Format" section, the vertical line is the effect of receiving no information (the control group). When a variable's estimated effect or "coefficient" falls to the left of this line, this indicates that the variable has a negative relationship with the outcome variable relative to the control group. When the coefficient falls to the right, it has a positive relationship with the outcome variable of interest relative to the control group. These graphs also allow us to measure the relative impact of each format by comparing the magnitude and sign of each type of format in relation to each other. For the "Narrative" section, the vertical line is the effect of receiving an empowerment (positive appeal) narrative. When the estimated effect falls to the left (right) of the line, the danger narrative has a negative (positive) effect relative to the empowerment narrative on the outcome variable of interest.

The horizontal bars in the figures represent 95% confidence intervals, and the diamond in the center of the confidence interval depicts the estimated coefficient or the effect of the independent variable. When the horizontal bar depicting the confidence interval does not overlap with the

vertical line, we can be 95% confident that the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable is statistically significant. In other words, when the confidence interval does not overlap with the vertical line, the non-zero relationship between the independent variable and dependent variable is statistically meaningful at a significance level of at least 0.05. While the graphs depict 95% confidence intervals, when we report the statistical significance of variables in the report, we use the cutoff of weak significance (90% confidence). As such, there will be some statistically significant variables in which the horizontal bars overlap slightly with the vertical line in the regression figures.

The different colors in the horizontal bars represent different outcome measures (and hence, different regression models). The label at the bottom of each graph identifies which color corresponds with which outcome variable. Variables listed on the Y-axis are the independent or predictor variables of the regression models estimated.

Figure A-1: Illustration of Graphs Showing Regression Results
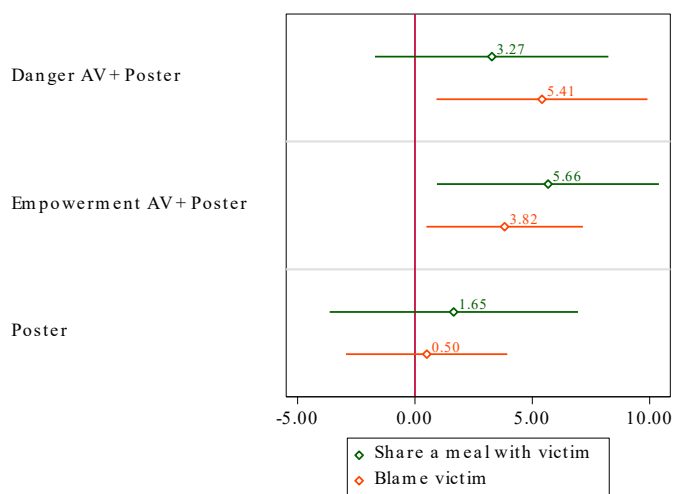
Figure A-1 provides an example on how to interpret the regression model graphs using the effect of the three awareness campaign formats and narrative styles on two outcome variables: (1) willing to share a meal with a trafficking victim, and (2) blame the victim. Positive coefficients (to the right of the vertical line at the "0" value) for posters and audio-visual materials indicate that each of these formats increased the outcome measure of interest compared to the control group, which received no awareness information at all. The numerical value associated with each line indicates the magnitude of this impact. The empowerment audio-visual with the poster increases sharing a meal with a victim by 5.7 percentage points. Since the horizontal bar does not cross the "0" vertical line, this indicates that the effect is statistically meaningful, and we can reject the null hypothesis that there is no relationship. If we compare the impact of the treatments on blaming a victim, we see two statistically significant effects. The danger audio-visual with the poster increases blaming a victim by 5.4 percentage points, followed by the empowerment audio-visual with the poster (3.8 percentage points). These findings are statistically significant as neither of the orange bars cross the vertical "0" line.

The poster only treatment illustrates statistically insignificant findings. Effects of either outcome measures – sharing a meal with a victim or blaming the victim – are positive; however, since the horizontal bar crosses the "0" line for the outcome variables, the attitudes of those who were "treated" with a poster is statistically no different from that of those who received no treatment.

KNOWLEDGE OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

General Knowledge of Human Trafficking

The campaigns were designed to provide information on what qualifies as human trafficking. This section assesses the effects that each message format (audio-visual and poster or only posters) and the narrative type (danger versus empowerment message) has on law enforcement personnels' general knowledge of human trafficking. There were four features of human trafficking our survey knowledge questions focused on: 1) whether human trafficking requires transnational movement; 2) whether men can be trafficked; 3) whether initial consent means that individuals cannot be victims; and 4) and whether sex trafficking is the only form of human trafficking.

Our treatment contained information that would enable participants who received the mass media campaign to answer at least three out of the four questions correctly (see Chapter 1 for detailed information on the content of the information campaigns). Our poster noted that Nepalis can be trafficked domestically. In other words, cross-national movement was not necessary for someone to be deemed a trafficking victim. Our poster specifically noted that men could be victims, and our narrative focused on a male victim. The poster highlighted labor and organ trafficking, and the protagonist in the narrative was a labor trafficking victim. As the treatment did not include an example of someone willingly entering into prostitution, treatment effects on this dimension are understandably unlikely. A different type of campaign with the inclusion of a victim who decided to enter into prostitution may be best at changing this belief.

We found that increasing knowledge on human trafficking is not a simple endeavor. None of the three awareness campaigns had any positive effect on the ability or, perhaps, willingness to recognize that transnational movement is not a prerequisite of human trafficking; that men can be trafficking victims; that initial consent does not preclude victimization; and that sex trafficking is not the only form of human trafficking (see Figure III-1).

Perhaps this disappointing result is due to law enforcement officers being able to correctly identify cases of human trafficking before participating in our study (see Figure II-1 in Chapter 2). This conjecture is, in part, true. An overwhelming majority of law enforcement officers recognize that men can be trafficked (94.4%) and that sex trafficking is not the only form of human trafficking (89.7%) at the outset. However, there is still room for improvement. One in 10 officers incorrectly conflate sex trafficking with human trafficking, and 1 in 20 officers hold a belief that men cannot be victims. Given that police officers are at the front lines of investigating criminal behavior, 100% of officers should correctly identify criminal behavior. Moreover, less than half of law enforcement officers recognize that cross-national movement is not a requirement for human trafficking and nearly 40% of law enforcement officers hold the belief that those who initially consented to be sex workers cannot then be viewed as human trafficking victims.

Alternatively, our treatment may not be sufficiently clear or strong. However, as noted in Archer et al. (2016), which utilized the same types of awareness campaign materials on the general population,[33] we find that the treatments translated to short-term impact on knowledge that transnational movement is not required for human trafficking, that men can be trafficked, and that sex trafficking is not the only form of trafficking. With that said, the awareness campaign utilized in the general population study contained six stories rather than one.

Interestingly, no systematic differences were found in treatment effects by gender or police rank. There was one exception: the Empowerment AV + Poster treatment was more effective among junior officers than among senior officers with regard to the question about cross-border movement being a requirement for a human trafficking case. These results, however, should be interpreted with caution, because, as by design, very few senior officers are in the sample. As such, we are underpowered with regard to detecting meaningful differences in effects by rank.

Figure III-1: Knowledge about Human Trafficking by Treatment Type
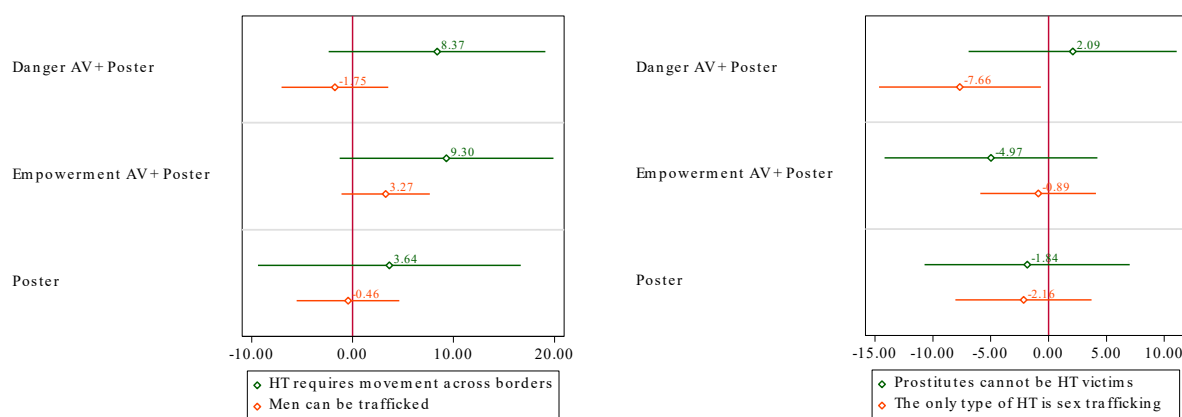
Note: These questions were coded in a way such that positive effects translated to greater knowledge (e.g., correct responses).

Legal Knowledge

Even though the above analyses demonstrated that it is difficult to shift general knowledge about what constitutes human trafficking, trainings appear to be effective at increasing knowledge of the legally sanctioned consequences of human trafficking (see the left panel of Figure III-2).

Each awareness campaign treatment has a statistically meaningful impact on law enforcement officers' knowledge concerning sanctions for those who are found guilty of human trafficking. Particularly they were better able to recognize that traffickers can be sentenced to 20 years in prison and up to NPR 200,000 (USD 1,831) in fines, but would not receive life imprisonment sentences. However, the audio-visual plus poster format with an empowerment narrative had the

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[33] Results from this study are discussed in: Reducing Vulnerability to Human Trafficking: An Experimental Intervention Using Anti-Trafficking Campaigns to Change Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs, and Practices in Nepal. Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00MBT4.pdf

most pronounced positive impact on law enforcement's knowledge of each of the three sanctions applied to those found guilty of human trafficking. Compared to those who did not receive any information campaign materials, law enforcement officers who received the empowerment treatment were more likely to answer questions concerning sanctions correctly by 10.6 to 15.5 percentage points. These effects are meaningfully larger than the effects of the danger narrative or the effects of the poster.

Magnitudes are quite impressive given baseline knowledge levels. Those in the control group – the population that received no information campaign – answered the 20-year prison sentence question and the NPR 200,000 fine question incorrectly 28.4% and 13.9% of the time, respectively. For the latter question, the effect of receiving the empowerment AV narrative+poster had a positive movement of 10.6 percentage points, which addresses 76% of the knowledge gap.[34]

Additionally, the effects of the awareness campaigns seem to not differ by gender or rank.

Figure III-2: Knowledge of Sanctions Applied to Those Found Guilty of Human Trafficking by Treatment Type
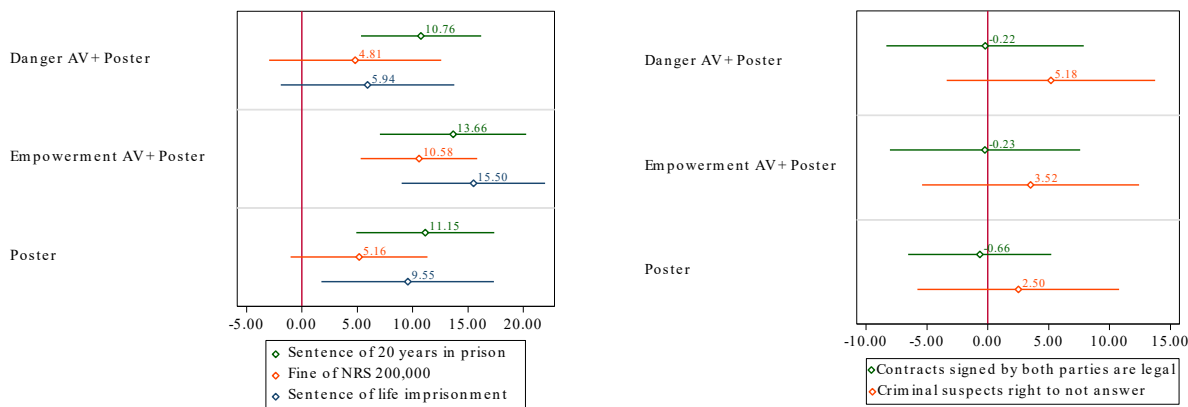
Interestingly, none of the awareness campaigns have a meaningful effect on knowledge pertaining to the rights of criminal suspects (see the right panel of Figure III-2). As seen in Chapter 2, approximately two in three law enforcement personnel who did not receive the awareness campaign knew the suspect has the right to not answer when questioned by law enforcement agencies. This leaves much room for improvement, especially since this is a question concerning police conduct toward suspects of crimes in general. The awareness campaign explicitly noted that criminal suspects had this right at the same time the penalties of trafficking discussed above were shared. However, the impressive improvements we saw in knowledge levels of penalties were not accompanied by any improvements on knowledge about the rights of suspects. Furthermore, no differences were found in effects by the type of awareness campaign, gender, or rank.

Additionally, none of the awareness campaign materials had an effect on how contracts should be interpreted from a legal standpoint. As shown in the right panel of Figure III-2, the awareness campaigns accomplished little in pushing the needle on the knowledge that contracts signed by

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[34] 10.6/13.9 = 0.76.

both parties are *not* necessarily legal. Indeed, the majority of law enforcement officers were aware that all contracts are not legally enforceable before receipt of the treatment (69.2%). However, with over 30% of law enforcement officers in the control group getting this question incorrect, there is still much room for improvement. Effects did not differ by gender; however, effects did differ by rank. Junior officers demonstrated more gains in knowledge (18 to 25 percentage points) than senior officers regardless of the treatment type.

This finding demonstrates that it is possible to modestly improve knowledge levels on the procedural responses to CFT cases with even a brief training that quickly mentions procedural rules. With that said, only junior officers in our study demonstrated gains.

Reasons Why People Become Trafficked

Next, when we inquired about the reasons why people become trafficked, we find that each of the three awareness campaign treatments accomplished very little (see Figure III-3), with one exception. Those who were treated with the poster and/or narratives were less likely to identify lack of information as the main reason for people being trafficked than those who received no training materials. There are no compelling reasons why we should see this result, so it should be interpreted with caution and further explored in future research. The more consistent finding is that exposure to awareness campaigns, regardless of format, has no meaningful effect on the rest of the main reasons for people being trafficked identified by law enforcement. The narrative did contain themes around financial pressure, reckless behavior (in the case of the danger narrative), and lack of information. However, the treatment did not emphasize a particular root cause of human trafficking. As such, it is perhaps not all that surprising that beliefs around the culprits of human trafficking did not change as a result of the information campaigns.

There were a few interesting gender differences. Women who received the awareness campaign materials were less likely to identify reckless behavior as a culprit than men who received the campaign materials. Moreover, women who received the awareness campaign materials were more likely to identify weak laws as a reason for individuals being exploited than men who received the same materials.

Figure III-3: Principal Reasons why People Become Trafficked by Treatment Type

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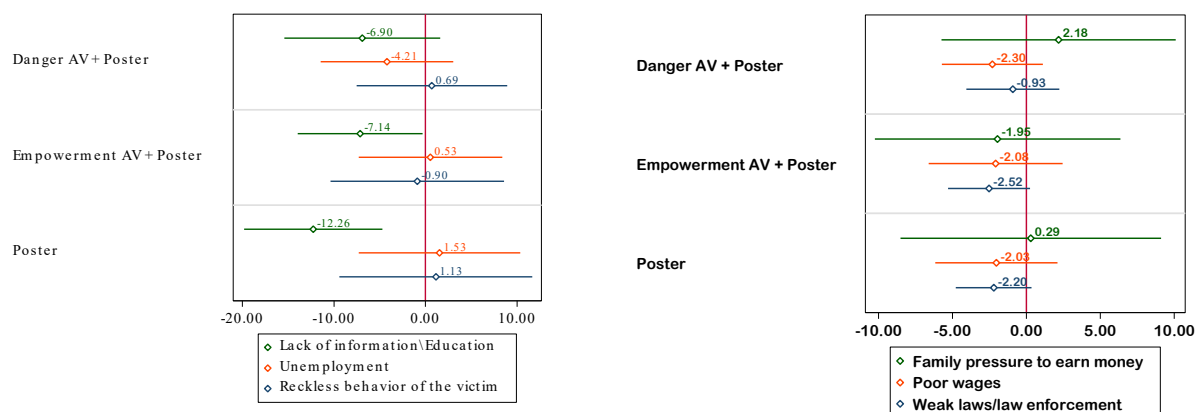
CONCERN FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Law enforcement officers of all ranks were asked their degree of concern around human trafficking, and how much the government should prioritize policies and programs aimed at addressing the issue. They were also asked to identify how much of a problem human trafficking is in the ward of their police station jurisdiction.

Exposure to awareness campaigns, regardless of message format, had very little effect on law enforcement's concern for human trafficking. Interestingly, there was a slight backlash against prioritizing the human trafficking issue caused by exposure to the danger narrative plus the poster, as well as exposure to the poster alone. As shown in Figure III-4, the audio-visual plus poster format with a danger narrative decreased a respondent's beliefs that human trafficking is an issue requiring government prioritization by 4.8 percentage points. In the case of the poster, beliefs about prioritizing human trafficking by the government decreased by 3.8 percentage points. There were no differences in effects by gender or rank.

Note that responses were recoded such that 100 is equivalent to a great deal of concern or a lot of concern and 0 is equivalent to the three options of no concern, a little concern, and a moderate level of concern. We did this because approximately 90% of law enforcement officers expressed high levels of concern and a belief that human trafficking was an important issue. As such, the decrease noted here is a move away from high levels of concern.

The negative effect of the campaigns on law enforcement officers' concern levels starkly differ from the positive effects that were observed when we studied the effects of the campaigns on the general population (Archer et al. 2016). Exposure to awareness campaigns, regardless of the format, increased immediate concern among the general population for human trafficking and the belief that the government should prioritize anti-trafficking action.

Figure III-4: Concern about Human Trafficking and Attitudes about Prioritizing Anti-Trafficking Actions by Treatment Type
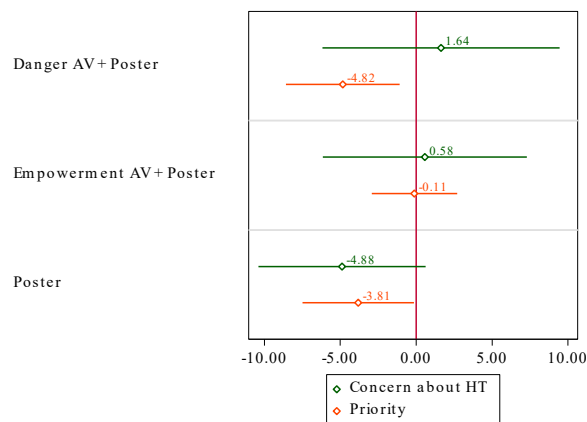
When assessing the impact of each of the three treatments on law enforcement officers' perceptions of the scope of human trafficking in Nepal or their jurisdiction, we found that exposure to the information campaign materials had no effect.[35] This is again in contrast to the effects of information campaign materials on the general population in Nepal, as described in Archer et al. (2016). In the short term, each format was equally effective at increasing a civilian's perception that human trafficking is a big problem nationally compared to the receipt of no information.

Again, the effects of exposure to the campaigns on perceptions of the scope of human trafficking both locally and nationally did not vary by gender. However, general concern for human trafficking increased more among junior officers than more senior officers (13 to 14 percentage points). The difference in effects by rank need to be interpreted with caution, as senior officers expressed high concern a priori; 92.2% of senior officers who received no awareness campaign material conveyed high levels of concern.

Figure III-5: Perceptions about the Scope of Human Trafficking Locally and Nationally by Treatment Type
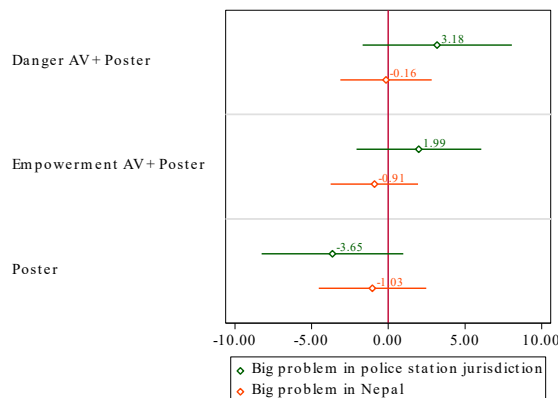
Who is at Risk of Being Trafficked?

Relative to receiving no information, exposure to the narrative treatments corresponded with an increased likelihood of viewing men and boys as being at risk for trafficking. As shown in the right panel of Figure III-6, relative to the receipt of no information, exposure to the audio-visual formats resulted in an increase in the likelihood of seeing men as at risk of being trafficked by 10 percentage points, independent of the type of narrative (danger or empowerment). Moreover, in the case of seeing boys as vulnerable to human trafficking, the empowerment audio-visual

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[35] As with the concern measures above, given that approximately 90% of law enforcement officers were noting that human trafficking was a big problem in Nepal at the outset, we coded measures such that 100 equates to a belief that human trafficking is an extremely/very big problem and 0 is equivalent to a belief that human trafficking is a moderately big/little problem or not a problem at all. There was more variation in the responses of law enforcement officers when asked about the scope of the human trafficking problem in their jurisdiction, but we retained the binary coding for consistency.

treatment plus poster treatment increased the likelihood of seeing boys as an at-risk population by 5 percentage points.[36]

In contrast, as seen in the graph on the left-hand side of Figure III-6, exposure to awareness campaigns, regardless of the format and type of narrative, had no impact on the likelihood of law enforcement officers viewing women and girls as being at high risk of human trafficking. Chapter 2 showed that the assessment of a priori beliefs around trafficking risk shows that more law enforcement officers believe that women and girls are at risk than men and boys (42%, 43.2%, 6.4%, and 13.5%, all respectively). That said, with less than half of law enforcement officers expressing concern that women and girls are at risk, there remains room to increase concern for the risk levels of women and girls.

Given that the narrative focused on a male victim, it is perhaps not a surprise that there was an effect on law enforcement officers' perceptions of risks to men and boys when the poster was accompanied with a narrative, and no effect when the poster was shared alone. While the poster contained a generic message that men and boys were at risk in addition to women and girls, the victimhood of men is not emphasized to the same extent as it is in the danger and empowerment narratives.

Figure III-6: Perceptions about Human Trafficking Risk by Treatment Type
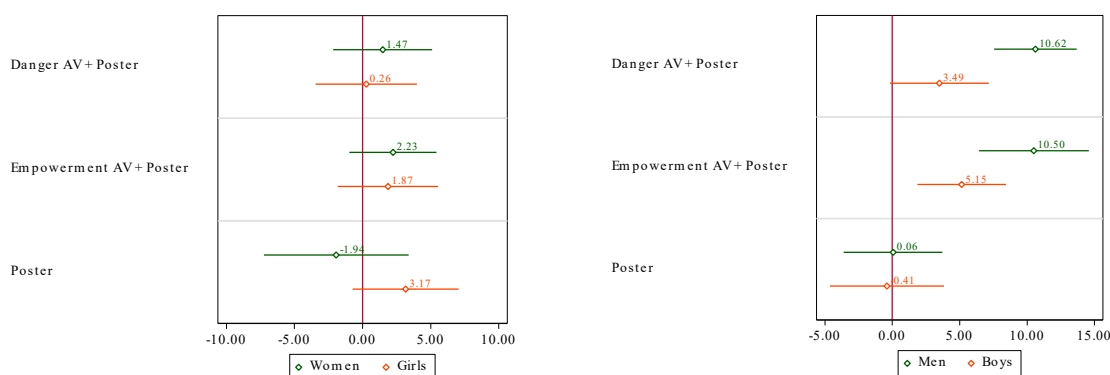
Treatment effects noted in Figure III-6 did not differ by the rank of the law enforcement officers. However, some modest differences were observed by gender. When exposed to the poster and narrative treatments, male law enforcement officers appear to respond at least as strongly, and at times more strongly, than female law enforcement officers to assessments of men being at risk of trafficking.

Importantly, reading and listening to awareness campaign materials did change people's perceptions of trafficking risk within their jurisdiction (see Figure III-7). Both the danger and empowerment audio-visual treatments (poster included) have an effect on law enforcement's belief that members of the ward of their police station jurisdiction are vulnerable to human trafficking.

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[36] Again, we coded measures such that 100 equates to a belief that a given population is at high risk human trafficking (e.g., a great deal and a lot) and 0 is equivalent to a belief that a given population is at minimal risk of being trafficked (e.g., a moderate amount, a little, none at all).

Compared to the control group, the narrative affects officers' perceptions of ward members at risk of being trafficked in the jurisdiction of their police stations by about 4 percentage points. These effects do not differ by gender and rank.

These results, together, show that narratives can be powerful tools to demonstrate the populations that are vulnerable to being CFT victims.

Figure III-7: Perceptions about Local Human Trafficking Risk by Treatment Type
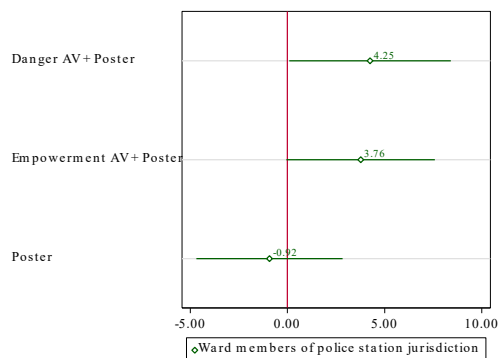
SYMPATHY FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING VICTIMS

Attitudes Toward Human Trafficking Victims

In addition to evaluating the impact of treatments on levels of concern that law enforcement has toward at-risk populations for human trafficking, we also examined the extent to which law enforcement officers demonstrated sympathy towards victims of human trafficking. Figures III-8 and III-9 provide a visualization of our analysis of the effects of message formats and types of narratives on questions about stigmatizing victims of labor and sex trafficking.

Interestingly, the danger narrative triggered an increase in respondents blaming labor trafficking victims (by 4.8 percentage points) and sex trafficking victims (by 5.41 percentage points). The empowerment narrative also triggered an increase in victim blaming, but for sex trafficking victims only (by 3.82 percentage points). The narrative, which is described in detail in Chapter 1, charts the process of a young man exploring an opportunity to work abroad. Victim blaming may have increased, in part, because the respondents saw that the young man did not fully heed the advice of family members to be careful. The poster resulted in no change in victim blaming, so it is clear that the story in the danger and empowerment audio-visuals, not the contents of the poster, resulted in this change. Results did not differ by gender or rank.

The results here demonstrate that CFT trainings that include stories of victim experiences could have an unintended negative consequence. The narrative that was employed in the law enforcement training materials elicited sympathy gains among the general population. However, we did not see similar gains among law enforcement officers. This finding speaks to the need to design narratives very carefully or exclude narratives in trainings developed for law enforcement

officers or incorporate dialogue to help officers sympathize more with victims and understand the circumstances that might lead to trafficking.

Figure III-8: Respondents' Attitudes Toward Labor Trafficking Victims by Treatment Format and Narrative Message Type
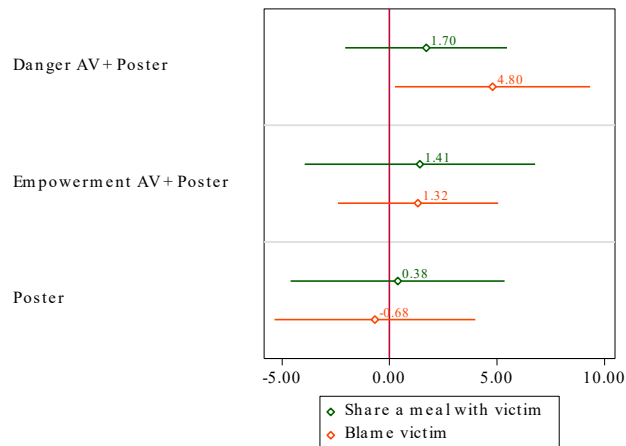
Figure III-9: Respondents' Attitudes Toward Sex Trafficking Victims by Treatment Format and Narrative Message Type
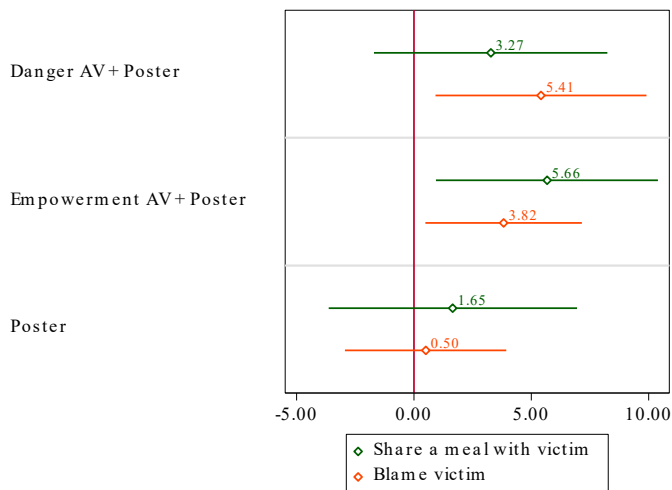
Individuals Responsible for Trafficking

The narratives in the danger and empowerment audio-visuals also elicited change in identifying which individual(s) is(are) more or less responsible for trafficking. In the narrative we shared, a manpower agency connected individuals with exploiters (see the three panels in Figure III-10 below). It is not surprising that exposure to the audio-visual and poster format with a danger narrative increased people's perception that a manpower agency is responsible for human trafficking by 10 percentage points, and the empowerment narrative increases the perception of

this group as responsible for human trafficking by 13 percentage points. This result did not differ by gender or rank. We saw no other changes, which shows that it would be beneficial to show a wider range of stories in trainings that reflect a more comprehensive view of those who cause a person to be trafficked.

Figure III-10: Respondents' Identification of Persons Responsible for Human Trafficking by Treatment Format and Narrative Message Type
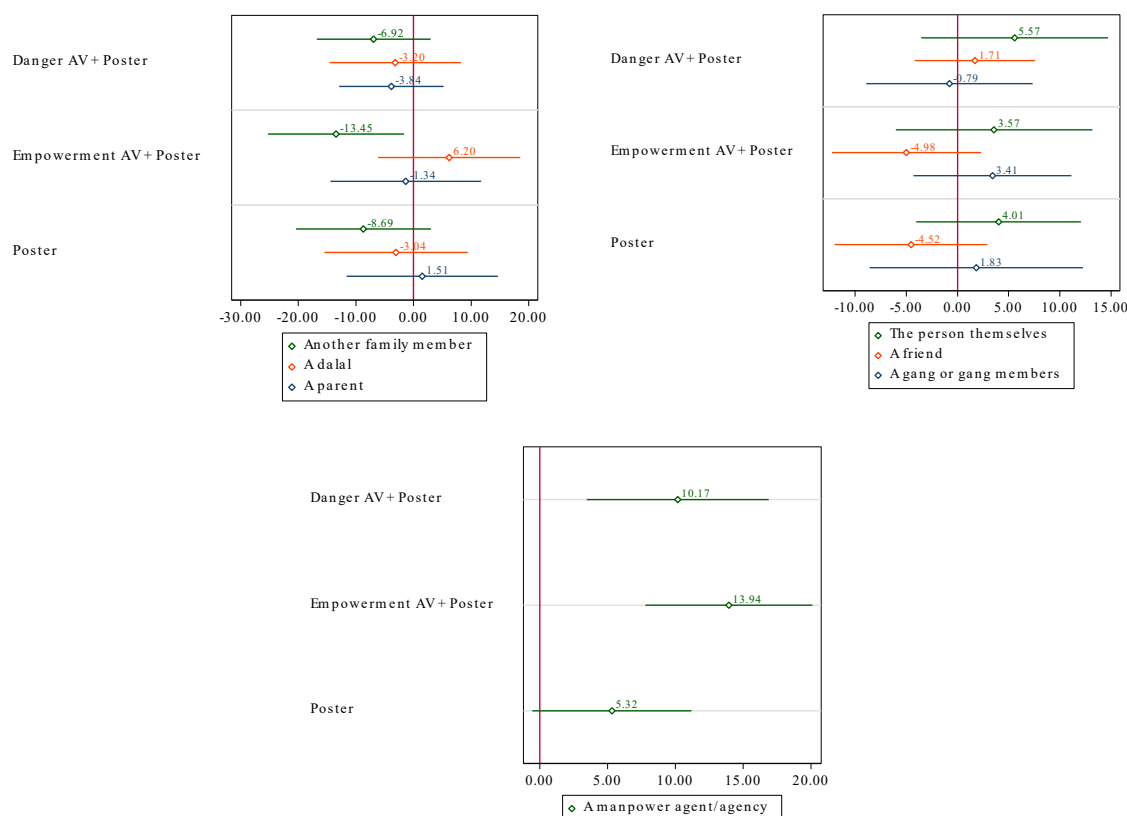
CONCLUSION

The results of this chapter show the challenges of improving law enforcement officers' CFT-related knowledge, concern, and sympathy, and the need for additional law enforcement training programs in Nepal to make appropriate KABP shifts. Law enforcement officers play a large role in the community, and increased awareness and empathy for members of the community on an issue that so many Nepalis have expressed as important would be beneficial for all parties.

The primary takeaways from this study of the effects of awareness campaigns on law enforcement officers are as follows:

1) Empowerment narratives weakly dominate danger narratives in their positive impact.

2) It is simple to increase knowledge on penalties of human trafficking, but not procedural knowledge (e.g., how to handle suspects and how to recognize human trafficking).
3) There was a slight backlash: concern for human trafficking decreased when law enforcement officers were exposed to the poster and the danger narrative treatment.
4) Change did not occur in perceptions of the scope of the human trafficking problem, either locally or nationally.
5) However, exposure to information translated into greater concern that members of their jurisdiction are at risk of being trafficked.
6) The narrative campaigns, which emphasized male victimhood, resulted in greater concern that men and boys are at risk of being trafficked. Not surprisingly, there was no change in concerns about women and girls being at risk for trafficking given the narrative shared focused on a male adult.
7) Narratives, however, can have an unintended consequence. Among law enforcement officers, narratives about human trafficking victims that chart how they became trafficked could result in an increase in victim blaming. This may be because narratives of a typical victim may reveal that the victim made a decision that the respondent disagrees with that made him/her more vulnerable. The backlash finding shows that care needs to be taken when sharing awareness-raising stories, which may involve dialogue on the circumstances that cause individuals to become more vulnerable to human trafficking.
8) Narratives, when well-designed and implemented, can nevertheless be powerful. Law enforcement officers were more likely to blame manpower agencies than an individual's reckless behavior for trafficking after receiving a story that showed a manpower agency connecting an individual with an abusive employer.

Additional explorations are necessary to develop more effective training programs. While this study leveraged heavily piloted campaign materials, it only considers three types of training materials. Additional exploration might include a focus on the most effective training content, structure (e.g. individual vs. classroom/group), and duration (e.g., multiple professional development sessions over a longer period of time).

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Appendix A
Law Enforcement Poster

नेपालमा मानव बेचबिखनका बिशेषताहरु

मानव बेचबिखन आधुनिक समयको दासत्व हो जसमा केहि मानिसहरु आफ्नो फाईदाकोलागि अरु मानिसहरुलाई दवाब र शोषण गर्न पुग्छन् ।

त्यसता शोषण अन्तर्गतका क्रियाहरु :

- जबरजस्तीको श्रम, कार्य वा मजदुरी
- जबरजस्तीको वेश्यावृत्ति वा अन्य प्रकारको यौन शोषण
- दासता वा दासप्रथा सरहको व्यवहार
- प्रत्यारोपणका लागि अङ्ग भिक्ने

पुरुष, महिला एवं बालबालिका लगायत जो कोहि पनि श्रम शोषण, शारिरीक शोषण वा अङ्ग प्रत्यारोपणका निम्ती बेचबिखनको शिकार हुन सक्छन् ।

नेपालमा बेचबिखनमा पर्नेहरुमा एक तिहाइभन्दा बढी बालबालिका पर्दछन् ।

स्वदेश एवं बिदेशमा गरी, हाल करिब २५०,००० नेपालीहरु बेचबिखनमा परेका छन् ।

नेपालमा मानव बेचबिखन को दर विश्व कै उच्च मध्ये पर्दछ ।

मानव बेचबिखन सम्बन्धी दन्ड सजायको व्यवस्था

नेपालमा मानव बेचबिखनमा संलग्न भएमा हुने दन्ड सजायहरु :

- मानिस किन्ने वा बेच्नेलाई बीस वर्ष कैद र दुई लाख रुपैयाँ जरिवाना

- वेश्यावृत्तिमा लगाउनेलाई दश वर्षदेखि पन्ध्र वर्षसम्म कैद र पचास हजार रुपैयाँदेखि एक लाख रुपैयाँसम्म जरिवाना

- मानव अङ्ग तस्करी गर्नेलाई दश वर्ष कैद र दुई लाख रुपैयाँदेखि पाँच लाख रुपैयाँसम्म जरिवाना

- वेश्यावृत्तिमा लगाउने उद्देश्यले मानिसलाई विदेश लैजानेलाई दश वर्षदेखि पन्ध्र वर्षसम्म कैद र पचास हजार रुपैयाँदेखि एक लाख रुपैयाँसम्म जरिवाना

- बालबालिकालाई विदेशमा बेचबिखन गर्नेलाई पन्ध्र वर्षदेखि बीस वर्षसम्म कैद र एक लाख रुपैयाँदेखि दुई लाख रुपैयाँसम्म जरिवाना

- नेपालभित्रको एक ठाउँबाट अर्को ठाउँमा बेचबिखन गर्नेलाई दश वर्ष कैद र पचास हजार रुपैयाँदेखि एक लाख रुपैयाँसम्म जरिवाना

- नेपालभित्रको एक ठाउँबाट अर्को ठाउँमा बालबालिका बेचबिखन गर्नेलाई दश वर्षदेखि बाह्र वर्षसम्म कैद र एक लाख रुपैयाँ जरिवाना

- मानव बेचबिखन वा ओसारपसारको कसूरको मतियारलाई सो कसूर गर्दा हुने सजायको आधा सजाय

मानव बेचबिखन तथा ओसारपसार अपराधको सुचक तत्वहरु

- प्रभावितले आफ्ना भ्रमण तथा परिचयका कागजातहरु हमेसा आफुसंगै राखेको थियो, वा अरु कसैको नियन्त्रणमा थियो ?

- प्रभावितले आफ्नो भ्रमण पश्चात गन्तब्य मुलुकमा तोकिएको सहमति र आशा अनुरुप रोजगारी (तलब र अन्य सुबिद्धाहरु) पाएको थियो ?

- के प्रभावितलाई रोजगारीका रुपमा बलपूर्वक यौनकार्यमा लगाइएको थियो ?

- के प्रभावित नाबालिग हुन ?

- के रोजगारदातालाई प्रभावितले कुनै रकम आफ्नो श्रमको अंशबाट चुक्ता गर्नु परेको थियो ? वा प्रभावितले प्राप्त गर्ने श्रमको अंशबाट रोजगारदातालाई तिर्नु परेको थियो ?

- के रोजगारदाताले प्रभावितलाई प्रहरी वा कानुन कार्यन्वयन गर्ने निकाय वा अध्यागमनलाई आफ्ना अनुकुल बारे मात्र कुरागर्न निर्देशित गरेको थियो ?

- के प्रभावितलाई आफुले चाहेको बेला आफ्नो जागिर छोड्ने स्वतन्त्रता थियो ?

- के रोजगारदाताले प्रभावितलाई कुनै निश्चित स्थानभित्र बस्न बाध्य बनाइ बिद्युतिय उपकरण तथा सुरक्षागार्ड राखी, भाग्नबाट रोक्ने व्यवस्था गरेको थियो ?

- के प्रभावितलाई स्वतन्त्रतापुर्वक हिड्डुल गर्न पाउने अवसर प्राप्त थियो ?

- के प्रभावितलाई स्वतन्त्रतापुर्वक आफ्नो परिवार वा आफन्तलाई सम्पर्क गर्न पाउने अवसर प्राप्त थियो ?

- के प्रभावितलाई स्वतन्त्रतापुर्वक भेटघाट गर्न वा आफ्नो धर्मपरम्परा अनुसार पूजा, उपासना गर्न पाउने अवसर प्राप्त थियो ?

मानव बेचबिखनबाट पीडित व्यक्तिहरुसँग के के अधिकारहरु हुन्छन् ?

मानव बेचबिखन तथा ओसारपसार (नियन्त्रण) ऐन, २०६४ ले पीडितलाई निम्न अधिकारहरु दिएको छ :

- कानुनी प्रतिनिधित्व र दोभासे / अनुवादकको अधिकार

- क्षतिपुर्तिको अधिकार

- गोपनियताको अधिकार

- सुरक्षाको अधिकार

- आत्मरक्षाको अधिकार

मानव बेचबिखनका आरोपित व्यक्तिहरुसँग के के अधिकारहरु हुन्छन् ?

नेपालको संविधानले सबै सर्वसाधारण (मानव बेचबिखनका आरोपित व्यक्तिहरु समेत) लाइ निम्न अधिकारहरु दिएको छ :

- सुचनाको अधिकार

- मौन रहने अधिकार

- यातना बिरुद्धको अधिकार

- वकीलसँग सल्लाह लिन पाउने अधिकार

- कानूनी सहयोग वा सहायताको अधिकार

- कसुर साबित नभएसम्म निर्दोष ठानीने अधिकार

- यातनाको शिकार भएमा क्षतिपुर्तिको अधिकार

Appendix B
The Cheated Migrant (Empowerment)[37]

The Cheated Migrant

Suraj is a 24 year old farmer. His family is struggling financially, and he decides to migrate to the Middle East to work as a manual laborer.

[37] The version included in the police training is in Nepali. The one here is an English translation.

58
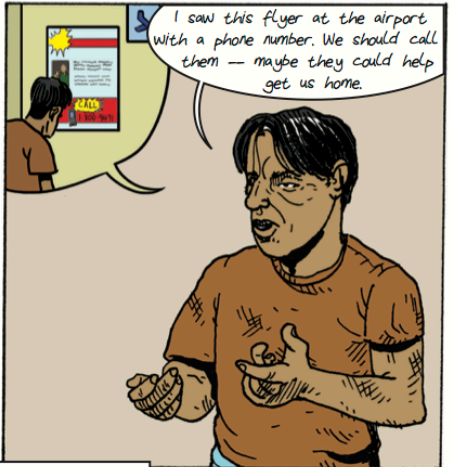
The Cheated Migrant (Danger)[38]

The Cheated Migrant

Suraj is a 24 year old farmer. His family is struggling financially, and he decides to migrate to the Middle East to work as a manual laborer.

I'm so worried. I don't think my family can survive much longer by farming.

There is no money coming in, and we don't even grow enough to eat.

Yeah, I know. So why don't you try finding work somewhere else? Like in the gulf?

There are lots of Nepalese working over there these days. And you speak some English, so I bet you can find a good job.

Yeah, I hear you can make a lot of money. Maybe I should go talk to a recruiting agent about it.

Hey, Dad. I went to a recruiting agent today. He said there is work for me in the gulf!

Sure, son, but can you really trust this guy?

I heard that migrant workers in the gulf are treated pretty badly. Sometimes they don't even get paid.

I need to take a one hundred thousand rupee loan for the travel costs. It seems like a lot, but they will guarantee a 3 year contract and I can start paying it off right away.

But we don't know anyone there. What if something goes wrong?

I know its risky, Dad. I'll go back to the agency once more to check it out.

Yeah, I know. But this is a good job, a restaurant job.

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[38] The version included in the police training is in Nepali. The one here is an English translation.

Appendix C

Table 1. Balance Check

	Control	Treatment	P-value
Gender	1.142	1.162	0.454
Age	32.385	32.666	0.542
Ethnic group	4.466	4.465	0.995
Have a son	0.573	0.642	0.053
Have a daughter	0.490	0.541	0.160
Number of children	1.469	1.571	0.216
Have children	0.766	0.813	0.106
Household income (in NRS)	36547	35896	0.761
Educational level	3.017	3.000	0.836
Religious background	1.063	1.097	0.159
Police rank	6.297	6.260	0.615
Years in the police force	11.506	12.064	0.227
Received training on human trafficking	0.335	0.338	0.919
Handle a case of sex trafficking	0.389	0.384	0.881
Handle a case of labor trafficking	0.343	0.357	0.699
Handle a case of child trafficking	0.519	0.515	0.925

Table 2. Regression Results – All

Variable name	Danger AV + Poster	Empowerment AV + Poster	Poster
General Knowledge on Human Trafficking			
Human trafficking requires movement across state or national borders	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Men can be trafficked	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Cannot be trafficked if knowingly entered into prostitution	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking	***↓ 7.6 percentage points***	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Legal Knowledge on Human Trafficking			
Sentenced of 20 years in prison if found guilty of HT	***↑ 10.7 percentage points***	***↑ 13.6 percentage points***	***↑ 11.5 percentage points***
A fine of NPR 200,000 is applied to a person found guilty of HT	NOT statistically significant	***↑ 10.5 percentage points***	NOT statistically significant
Sentenced to life of imprisonment if found guilty of HT	NOT statistically significant	***↑ 15.5 percentage points***	***↑ 9.5 percentage points***
All contracts signed by both parties are legal	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Criminal suspects have a right to not answer when questioned by law enforcement	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Reasons Why People Become Trafficked			
Lack of information as a main reason of why people become trafficked	NOT statistically significant	***↓ 7.1 percentage points***	***↓ 12.6 percentage points***
Unemployment	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Reckless behavior of the victim	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Family pressure to earn money	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Poor wages	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Weak laws	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Concern for Human Trafficking			
Concern about human trafficking	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Government should prioritize anti-trafficking policies and programs	***↓ 4.8 percentage points***	NOT statistically significant	***↓ 3.8 percentage points***
Human trafficking is a big problem in police station jurisdiction	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Human trafficking is a big problem in Nepal	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant

Variable name	Danger AV + Poster	Empowerment AV + Poster	Poster
Who is at Risk of Being Trafficked			
Women over 16 are at high risk	↑ *10.6 points*	↑ *10.5 points*	NOT statistically significant
Girls under 16 are at high risk	NOT statistically significant	↑ *5.1 points*	NOT statistically significant
Boys under 16 are at high risk	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Men over 16 are at high risk	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Members of the ward are more at risk	↑ *4.5 points*	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Attitudes Towards Human Trafficking Victims			
Would share a meal with a with a labor trafficking victim	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Blame labor trafficking victims for what happened to them	↑ *4.8 percentage points*	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Would share a meal with a with a sex trafficking victim	NOT statistically significant	↑ *5.6 percentage points*	NOT statistically significant
Blame sex trafficking victims for what happened to them	↑ *5.4 percentage points*	↑ *3.8 percentage points*	NOT statistically significant
Individuals Responsible for Human Trafficking			
Another family member	NOT statistically significant	↓ *13 percentage points*	NOT statistically significant
A dalal	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A parent	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
The person themselves	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A friend	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A gang or gang members	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A manpower agent/agency	↑ *10 percentage points*	↑ *13 percentage points*	NOT statistically significant

Table 3. Regression Results – Gender Interactions

Variable name	Female-Danger AV + Poster	Female-Empowerment AV + Poster	Female- Poster
General Knowledge on Human Trafficking			
Human trafficking requires movement across state or national borders	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Men can be trafficked	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Cannot be trafficked if knowingly entered into prostitution	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Legal Knowledge on Human Trafficking			
Sentenced of 20 years in prison if found guilty of HT	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	↑ *0.15 percentage points*
A fine of NRS 200,000 is applied to a person found guilty of HT	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Sentenced to life of imprisonment if found guilty of HT	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
All contracts signed by both parties are legal	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Criminal suspects have a right to not answer when questioned by law enforcement	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Reasons Why People Become Trafficked			
Lack of information as a main reason of why people become trafficked	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Unemployment	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Reckless behavior of the victim	↓ *0.16 percentage points*	NOT statistically significant	↓ *0.17 percentage points*
Family pressure to earn money	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Poor wages	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Weak laws	NOT statistically significant	↑ *0.05 percentage points*	NOT statistically significant
Concern for Human Trafficking			
Concern about human trafficking	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Government should prioritize anti-trafficking policies and programs	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Human trafficking is a big problem in police station jurisdiction	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Human trafficking is a big problem in Nepal	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant

Variable name	Female-Danger AV + Poster	Female-Empowerment AV + Poster	Female- Poster
Who is at Risk of Being Trafficked			
Women over 16 are at high risk	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Girls under 16 are at high risk	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Boys under 16 are at high risk	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Men over 16 are at high risk	NOT statistically significant	↓ *0.11 points*	NOT statistically significant
Members of the ward are more at risk	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Attitudes Towards Human Trafficking Victims			
Would share a meal with a with a labor trafficking victim	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Blame labor trafficking victims for what happened to them	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Would share a meal with a with a sex trafficking victim	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Blame sex trafficking victims for what happened to them	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Individuals Responsible for Human Trafficking			
Another family member	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A dalal	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A parent	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
The person themselves	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A friend	↓ *0.22 percentage points*	↓ *0.26 percentage points*	↓ *0.21 percentage points*
A gang or gang members	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A manpower agent/agency	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant

Table 4. Regression Results – Rank Interactions

Variable name	Rank- Danger AV + Poster	Rank- Empowerment AV + Poster	Rank- Poster
General Knowledge on Human Trafficking			
Human trafficking requires movement across state or national borders	NOT statistically significant	↑ *16 percentage points*	NOT statistically significant
Men can be trafficked	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Cannot be trafficked if knowingly entered into prostitution	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Legal Knowledge on Human Trafficking			
Sentenced of 20 years in prison if found guilty of HT	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A fine of NRS 200,000 is applied to a person found guilty of HT	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Sentenced to life of imprisonment if found guilty of HT	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
All contracts signed by both parties are legal	↑ *17 percentage points*	↑ *18 percentage points*	↑ *24 percentage points*
Criminal suspects have a right to not answer when questioned by law enforcement	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Reasons Why People Become Trafficked			
Lack of information as a main reason of why people become trafficked	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Unemployment	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Reckless behavior of the victim	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Family pressure to earn money	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Poor wages	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Weak laws	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Concern for Human Trafficking			
Concern about human trafficking	↑ *13 percentage points*	↑ *13 percentage points*	NOT statistically significant
Government should prioritize anti-trafficking policies and programs	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Human trafficking is a big problem in police station jurisdiction	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Human trafficking is a big problem in Nepal	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant

Variable name	Rank- Danger AV + Poster	Rank- Empowerment AV + Poster	Rank- Poster
Who is at Risk of Being Trafficked			
Women over 16 are at high risk	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Girls under 16 are at high risk	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	↑ *13 points*
Boys under 16 are at high risk	↑ *10 points*	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Men over 16 are at high risk	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	↑ *11 points*
Members of the ward are more at risk	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Attitudes Towards Human Trafficking Victims			
Would share a meal with a with a labor trafficking victim	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Blame labor trafficking victims for what happened to them	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Would share a meal with a with a sex trafficking victim	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Blame sex trafficking victims for what happened to them	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
Individuals Responsible for Human Trafficking			
Another family member	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A dalal	↓ *15 percentage points*	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A parent	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
The person themselves	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A friend	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant
A gang or gang members	NOT statistically significant	↑ *18 percentage points*	NOT statistically significant
A manpower agent/agency	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant	NOT statistically significant