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International Responses to Human Trafficking: A Comparative Secondary Data Analysis of National Characteristics

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INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING:
A COMPARATIVE SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS OF
NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

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2015

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Master of Arts – Criminal Justice

Department of Criminal Justice
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Abstract

Human trafficking is a rising international issue that has become a key concern for human rights organizations and governments throughout the world. As such, new policies are being developed and implemented to combat the problem. A guiding standard for these policies is the United Nations (UN) 2003 *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*, which established a formal definition of human trafficking. While the *UN Protocol* was a significant step in the fight against human trafficking, it is limited by its framework, which focuses heavily on criminalization and punishment of traffickers. Recent discourse and research argues that it is essential to consider root macro structural and societal sources of exploitation in order to establish more effective policies (Barner et al., 2014; Gallagher, 2001; Haynes 2009; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015; Todres, 2011). Grounded in conflict and otherness theories, and human rights and feminist perspectives (feminist rights-based approaches), the current study uses data from national and international agencies to assess socioeconomic characteristics of nations (i.e. prevalence of human trafficking, social and economic development, instability, and gender inequality) that are associated with efforts to combat human trafficking. The results of this study are discussed in terms of their limitations and future research and policy directions regarding international responses to human trafficking.

Keywords: human trafficking, modern slavery, human rights

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to all victims and survivors of human trafficking.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

When she was 14 years old, Cara met Max while on vacation in Greece with her mother. She fell in love with him and, after only a few weeks, Max persuaded her to move in with him, rather than return to England. He soon broke his promise to take care of her and forced Cara to have sex with strangers. Max first convinced her that the money she made was helping to keep them together; he later threatened to kill her mother if she tried to stop. In time, Max gave Cara to another trafficker who forced her to send postcards to her mother depicting a happy life in Athens. Cara eventually suffered an emotional breakdown and, once hospitalized, was able to ask for help. Hospital staff contacted her mother, who had no knowledge of Cara's abuse. They returned to England, where Cara is rebuilding her life and aspires to help other trafficking victims. (U.S. Department of State, 2015, p. 25)

With the help of a labor broker, 16-year-old lok left Nepal for a job in Qatar. He was too young to legally migrate for work, but the broker who recruited him obtained a fake passport so lok would appear to be 20 years old. The broker charged lok an illegally high recruitment fee, so he left with a large debt that he had agreed to pay back at a 36 percent interest rate. Two months later, lok died of cardiac arrest while working in harsh conditions. (U.S. Department of State, 2015, p. 8)

Aisha was at a friend's wedding when she was abducted by Boko Haram, along with her sister, the bride, and the bride's sister. They were taken to a camp where her friends were forcibly married to Boko Haram fighters. Aisha, at 19 years old, had to learn how to fight; she was trained how to shoot and kill, detonate bombs, and execute attacks on villages. She was forced to participate in armed operations, including against her own village; those that refused were buried in a mass grave. Aisha saw more than 50 people killed, including her sister, before she managed to escape. (U.S. Department of State, 2015, p. 39)

The above narratives are victim testimonies highlighted in the United States Department of State 2015 *Trafficking in Person's Report*. They are just a few examples of the horrific nature of human trafficking offenses that occur every day. The first describes a 14-year-old girl who became a victim of sex trafficking; the second is an example of exploitative labor conditions; and the third is an instance of abduction and child soldiering by a militant group.

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) at any given moment, an estimated 21 million people are victims of forced labor (i.e. human trafficking; modern day slavery) globally, 5.5 million of which are children. Regional estimates indicate that a large

proportion of trafficking occurs in countries within Asia (11.7 million) and Africa (3.7 million), while a smaller but still sizable percentage takes place in developed nations within North America and Europe (1.5 million) (ILO, 2012).

As illustrated in the opening narratives, human trafficking can take many forms and impact all categories of people. Reports by the ILO (2012) indicate that a substantial majority (68%) of human trafficking includes forced labor in various industries including agriculture, construction, domestic work, and manufacturing. Approximately a quarter of trafficked individuals are victims of forced sexual exploitation. The remaining proportion (approximately 10%) are victims of exploitation by the state, such as in prisons, or by rebel armed forces.

Research indicates that certain social and economic characteristics may be related to human trafficking and a nation's ability to combat the issue (e.g., Barner et al., 2014; Gallagher, 2001; Haynes 2009; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015; Todres, 2011). More specifically, these studies suggest that prevalence of human trafficking, social and economic development, instability, and gender inequality may all play a significant role in determining citizens' vulnerability to human trafficking and a country's ability to respond to the problem.

The above-described findings are products of scholarly efforts to achieve broader understandings related to human trafficking and trafficking responses. In addition to recent academic contributions, governmental and nongovernmental entities have also demonstrated increasing interest in these issues. These organizations report similar linkages between socioeconomic conditions and human trafficking responses.

For example, the Walk Free Foundation's 2016 *Global Slavery Index* cites several characteristics of countries that have taken the least action against human trafficking including low "political will," insufficient resources, and high conflict (Walk Free Foundation, 2016, p.

40). Similarly, in the 2016 *Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report*, the U.S. State Department discusses characteristics that are likely associated with a country's ability to respond to trafficking. The report emphasizes the importance of prevention efforts that address underlying causes of trafficking including, "... poverty, underdevelopment, and lack of equal opportunity" (U.S. Department of State, 2016, p. 8). These characteristics and their association with international efforts to combat trafficking will be the focus of this thesis analysis.

Human trafficking is a complex international issue that has received increasing attention by the media, international human rights organizations, and governments across the globe. Accordingly, there has been a recent surge in scholarly research (e.g., Barner et al., 2014; Gallagher, 2001; Haynes 2009; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015; Todres, 2011) on human trafficking; however, it appears that very few empirical studies have quantitatively assessed international responses to trafficking and the sociodemographic factors of nations associated with these responses. Using secondary data from national and international entities (i.e. U.S. State Department, United Nations, Walk Free Foundation, and Fund For Peace), the present study will explore cross-national differences in responses to human trafficking and characteristics of each country associated with these differences (i.e. prevalence of human trafficking, social and economic development, stability, and gender inequality).

The purpose of this study is to gain a greater understanding of characteristics that might facilitate or impede a nation's ability to combat human trafficking. The results are discussed in terms of their limitations, implications, and future research directions regarding international responses to human trafficking.

Chapter 2: Background and Definitions

Before considering potential influences related to trafficking responses, it is important to understand what constitutes human trafficking, and the evolution of international efforts to address this multifaceted international concern. Accordingly, this chapter begins with a discussion of the various definitions and terminology that have been used to describe human trafficking (e.g., sex trafficking, forced labor, modern slavery), as well as debates centered around these conceptions. Next, past and current responses to the problem are considered, focusing largely on the 2000 United Nations *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*. Following these essential preliminary discussions is a review of literature that highlights recent relevant academic and nonacademic research.

Definitions and Terminology

Various entities have attempted to define human trafficking in a way that captures the complexities of the phenomenon. The U.S. Department of State (2015) defines human trafficking as, "...the act of recruiting, harboring, transporting, providing, or obtaining a person for compelled labor or commercial sex acts through the use of force, fraud, or coercion" (U.S. Department of State, 2015, p. 7). This act may or may not include movement; in other words, an individual can be considered a victim of trafficking whether their exploitation takes place in their home country or in another country to which they are transported.

Other organizations have similarly defined human trafficking. For example, the Walk Free Foundation considers human trafficking to be a form of modern slavery which they define as, "...one person possessing or controlling another person in such a way as to significantly

deprive that person of their individual liberty, with the intention of exploiting that person through their use, management, profit, transfer, or disposal (Walk Free Foundation, 2014, p. 10).

In addition to the various definitions and conceptions of human trafficking, there is also debate¹ over what terminology should be employed to describe the phenomenon. One of the most notable examples is the use of the term “modern slavery.” Those who consider these two terms interchangeable argue that the “new” slavery (human trafficking) is essentially a modern extension of the “old” transatlantic slave trade, and that both terms refer to clear violations of the dignity and human rights of victims (Musto, 2009).

However, some scholars argue that although slavery and trafficking sometimes intersect, they do not necessarily refer to the same phenomenon. A key difference is that slavery suggests the victim is compelled by violence or threat of violence. In contrast, human trafficking refers to a complex process—which may or may not include violence—that often involves exploitation of vulnerabilities. The subtle differences in terminology are important to note because they illustrate the complexities of these experiences (Musto, 2009).

Despite continued debate over definitions and language, at its core, human trafficking can be most simply understood as an act of exploitation by one individual or group against another individual or group. The present analysis will be guided by this basic description, as well as draw from several official definitions established by the U.S. Department of State, United Nations, and Walk Free Foundation.

Early Definitions and Responses to Human Trafficking. As previously demonstrated, human trafficking encompasses a broad spectrum of human rights abuses. One of the most widely recognized forms of human trafficking—and one that has received some of the greatest

¹ For a full discussion of trafficking definitions and terminology see Musto (2009). *What’s in a name? Conflations and contradictions in contemporary U.S. discourses of human trafficking.*

attention—is sex trafficking. This type of trafficking can be defined as an instance in which an individual “...engages in a commercial sex act, such as prostitution, as the result of force, threats of force, fraud, coercion, or any combination of such means” (U.S. Department of State, 2015, p. 7). Attention to sex trafficking is rooted in several early trafficking actions including, the 1904 and 1910 *International Agreements for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic*, the 1921 and 1933 *League of Nations Conventions on the Traffic in Women and Children*, and the 1949 *UN Conventions for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others*. These measures reflect an historical movement concentrated on protecting societal virtue, especially of women and children, and eradicating human trafficking, as relating to forced prostitution (Lobasz, 2009).

While sex trafficking has been a significant focus of initial human trafficking research and policy developments, trafficking includes many other less recognized—but arguably equally exploitative—activities. Other types of trafficking include forced labor, debt bondage, domestic servitude, recruitment and use of child soldiers, and organ trafficking (Bales, 2012; U.S. Department of State, 2015). These alternative forms of trafficking have been recognized and addressed relatively recently, largely beginning with the adoption of the 2000 United Nations *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*. The introduction of the UN *Protocol* has led to a marked increase in international responses to human trafficking. The *Protocol* and its impact on trafficking responses is discussed below.

Current Definitions and Responses to Human Trafficking. In November 2000, the UN adopted the first comprehensive definition of human trafficking with the goal of guiding

universal efforts to investigate and prosecute cases of human trafficking. The UN *Trafficking Protocol* was entered into force in December 2003, and defines “trafficking in persons” as:

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (UNODC, 2000)

Since the introduction of the UN *Trafficking Protocol*, national responses to trafficking have improved dramatically; however, data indicates that responses are still lacking. Since 2010, the United Nations General Assembly mandates the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) to produce an annual *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons*. This report provides an overview of current global trends related to the prevalence of human trafficking and governmental responses to the issue.

According to the 2016 report, legislation has increased dramatically since the introduction of the UN *Trafficking Protocol* in 2003. In fact, 158 countries (88%) currently have a statute that criminalizes most forms of trafficking, compared to only 33 in 2003 (18%). However, five countries (i.e. Cabo Verde, Comoros, DR Congo, Libya, Yemen) still lack any legislation, and 16 countries only have partial legislation that does not fully cover all victims or all forms of trafficking. The report also indicates that only about 40% of countries reported having 10 or more yearly convictions, and almost 15% report no convictions at all between 2012-2014. The report finds that the region with the fewest trafficking convictions is Sub-Saharan Africa, while countries with the highest number of convictions tend to be located in Western and Central Europe and the Americas (UNODC, 2016).

These trends have remained relatively stable since the introduction of the UN *Trafficking Protocol* in 2003 indicating that, despite new legislation, demonstrated responses to trafficking have remained largely unchanged. At the same time, evidence indicates that human trafficking is a growing issue and that the number of detected victims is increasing. In consideration of these trends, the 2014 report suggests that the discrepancy between prevalence and governmental response may reflect difficulties or inadequacies of criminal justice systems to manage human trafficking (UNODC, 2014).

Recent research attempts to offer a more comprehensive understanding of the insufficiencies of the UN *Trafficking Protocol*. In particular, what seems to be deficient in this regulatory approach is attention to the underlying causes of exploitation, and the elimination of these root sources (Gallagher, 2001; Haynes, 2009; Todres, 2011). This research is discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters of this paper.

Another recent effort to guide the global fight against human trafficking and forced labor is the International Labor Organization (ILO) *Protocol of 2014 Supplementing the Forced Labour Convention of 1930*. The ILO *Protocol* attempts to bridge human trafficking and forced labor, and provide a modern instrument to prevent and suppress trafficking in persons. The ILO *Protocol* requires member states to take measures to prevent forced labor and provide victim services, as well as criminalize and prosecute trafficking crimes (Ryder, 2014). This is a stride in the right direction; however, research indicates that there is still a need for greater attention to root causes of trafficking, and protection of vulnerable populations (Ollus, 2015).

Chapter 3: Review of Literature

As international awareness of human trafficking continues to grow, academic research in the area is also expanding. However, a majority of the scholarly writing involves either a general overview or a critique of the literature (e.g., Barner et al., 2014; Gallagher, 2001; Haynes 2009; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015; Todres, 2011). Furthermore, a large portion of human trafficking writing focuses exclusively on sex trafficking (e.g., Goodey, 2004; Kempadoo, Sanghera, & Pattanaik, 2012; Weitzer, 2007; Zhang, S.X., 2009). This has led to an incomplete understanding of the problem of human trafficking, which can take many forms; for example, labor trafficking in agriculture or manufacturing (Weitzer, 2014).

Goodey (2008) presents an overview of the issue and policy directions related to human trafficking through a review of literature and legislative developments at the international, European, and United Kingdom levels. The article highlights one of the key limitations of human trafficking research: accurate data simply does not exist. International organizations— both governmental and nongovernmental—have attempted to provide estimates of trafficking figures, but these numbers are inherently flawed as human trafficking is largely clandestine thus under-reported and under-detected. Despite this limitation, responses to human trafficking are expanding, creating a critical need for policy-focused research. In other words, it is essential to conduct more thorough and reliable analyses in order to generate better data on which to develop more comprehensive and effective policies.

Gallagher and Ezeilo (2015) offer a more targeted critique of human trafficking responses in their article assessing the 2004 UN Special Rapporteur on human trafficking. In their critique, the authors identified and analyzed the major goals, achievements, and challenges of the mandate. This review reveals a prime policy implication for the prevention of human trafficking:

“...the creation of opportunities for legal, gainful, and non-exploitive migration is key to preventing future trafficking” (Gallagher & Ezeilo, 2015, p. 938). In conclusion of their review, the authors argue that the UN Special Rapporteur provides evidence for a human rights approach to combatting human trafficking. Ultimately, human trafficking policy must focus on combatting the political, economic, and structural forces that enable exploitation of vulnerable persons.

Only one study was found that offers a large-scale quantitative analysis of characteristics that relate to a country’s capacity to respond to human trafficking. The Walk Free Foundation’s *Global Slavery Index* (2014) provides measures of the prevalence of, governmental responses to, and national characteristics relating to a country’s vulnerability to slavery. The study involves an analysis of both survey and secondary data for 167 countries. The findings indicate that over 35 million people throughout the world are living in conditions of modern slavery. The study also finds that, although most countries possess some form of national action against modern slavery, these efforts are often insufficient in both scope and implementation. Of the countries included in the study, those that were found to have the weakest responses were North Korea, Iran, Syria, Eritrea, the Central African Republic, Libya, Equatorial Guinea, Uzbekistan, the Republic of the Congo, and Iraq (p. 23).

The report notes that many of these countries are characterized by weak economies, conflict, and political instability. Accordingly, the analysis found a significant relationship between country stability and vulnerability to modern slavery. A significant relationship was also found between prevalence of slavery and the following characteristics: level of human rights protections, economic and social development, and women’s rights and discrimination. Conversely, the report notes that those countries that possess the greatest responses to modern

slavery tended to have strong economies, high political stability, and low discrimination and inequality (p. 27).

As previously noted, research that focuses on assessing international responses to human trafficking is still in its infancy, mainly because accurate data is difficult to obtain. Additionally, very few studies involve macro-level comparative or longitudinal analyses. In fact, only one study (Walk Free Foundation, 2014) summarized above, was discovered that attempts such an analysis.

Instead, current research in the area is primarily theoretical in nature. However, theoretical considerations suggest certain socioeconomic characteristics such as prevalence of human trafficking, social and economic development, gender inequality, and stability may be related to a country's ability to combat human trafficking (Barner et al., 2014; Gallagher, 2001; Gallagher & Ezeilo, 2015; Haynes 2009; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015; Ross, 2014; Todres, 2011). Thus, a broader global response should involve measures to address these national vulnerabilities. The following chapter explores relevant theoretical footings that support this conjecture including conflict, otherness, human rights, and feminist approaches, as well as trafficking literature that reflects these perspectives.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Underpinnings

Amongst the growing body of literature, several scholars have argued that there is a critical need for a broader perspective in the global fight against human trafficking. A more comprehensive approach should involve human rights-based methodology, and aim to address root causes of exploitation (Barner et al., 2014; Gallagher, 2001; Gallagher & Ezeilo, 2015; Haynes 2009; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015; Ross, 2014; Todres, 2011). The following three sections of this chapter consider various theoretical footings that provide a useful foundation for these claims: conflict and otherness theories, and human rights and feminist perspectives.

Conflict Theory

Conflict criminology originates largely from the early work of German sociologists, Karl Marx, Max Weber, and George Simmel. This perspective views crime as a societal phenomenon that results from competition between groups in society over scarce resources and conflicting ideologies. These groups form as a result of differences in social and economic characteristics such as wealth, status, and religious beliefs. Those groups that have the most power in society define criminality and determine the rules of society. Thus, laws are ultimately a mechanism of social control, which reflect the interests of dominant groups (Weiss, 2015). Several sociologists and criminologists have contributed to this conflict perspective on law, criminality, and society, and are briefly discussed below.

Karl Marx (1844) was one of the first sociologists to consider the role of power and power relations in society. He argued that the powerful in society use their resources to their own advantage, to maintain their position of power. Max Weber (1922), one of the founders of sociology, focused on studying sources of conflict. Through his work, he identified three aspects

of inequality (i.e. power, wealth, and prestige). He argued that conflict is most likely to occur when these three dimensions converge, leading to resentment among the weakest groups that lack power, wealth, and prestige, toward the dominant groups that possess all three of these characteristics.

Another sociologist, Georg Simmel (1955), had a more positive outlook on conflict between groups in society. He believed that conflict is inevitable and can even serve a tension-reducing function by promoting solidarity amongst groups. Ralf Dahrendorf (1958) argued that inequality is unavoidable because people naturally tend to judge others based on differences rather than similarities. This process leads to conflict and the creation of two social groups: those in power and those governed or controlled by those in power. He focused on understanding power relations between these opposing groups, and suggested that societies experience a cycle in which the ruling class maintains power until the ruled revolt and become the new ruling class. The work of these sociologists influenced later sociologists and criminologists as they applied these ideas to criminal and deviant behavior (Weiss, 2015).

One of the first criminologists to apply conflict theory to crime is George Vold (1958). Vold argued that conflict between groups is a result of competition. Groups engage in defensive and sometimes violent actions to protect their interests and attempt to assert power. Richard Quinney (1970) offers a more contemporary construction of conflict criminology. Quinney drew largely from the previous work of Vold and Simmel to argue that societal actors experience conflict resulting from unequal power distribution, and thus act to preserve and advance the interests of the group with which they identify. He also asserts that the dominant groups in society create and enforce public policy for the purpose of controlling the less powerful groups.

Crime is a form of resistance to these policies by less powerful groups who are attempting to gain power and further their own interests (Weiss, 2015).

Conflict theory provides a valuable foundation to understand the root causes of trafficking in persons. Previous analyses suggest that the phenomenon of human trafficking reflects key concepts of conflict theory, including exploitation of less powerful groups by dominant groups in society for the acquisition of power. For example, Fredette (2009) argues that human trafficking can be considered exploitation of persons to the advantage of another person or group for economic gain.

Barner, Okech, and Camp (2014) offer a similar understanding of human trafficking within a wider context of socioeconomic inequality. They define social inequality as, "...the social, financial, and political power struggle between those who hold power and those who do not" (p.150). They also discuss the role of globalization in contributing to the growing disparity between advanced and underdeveloped nations. Groups living in marginalized nations are driven to engage in illegitimate and exploitative activities, which take advantage of vulnerable and less powerful populations, to further their own interests. In conclusion of their analysis, the authors contend that responses to trafficking must be grounded in a broader and collective attempt to promote global socioeconomic stability.

Otherness. Conflict theory offers a general framework to understand the root causes of exploitation of others, including human trafficking. But what other mechanisms are at play when an individual or group exploits the vulnerabilities of another individual or group? This section explores the role of otherness in the perpetration and criminalization of human trafficking.

Otherness and identity formation have been explored in a variety of contexts including philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and psychology. In fact, the idea has been explored by

several radical and conflict theorists including Karl Marx (1844) and George Simmel (1970).

Early development of the concept originates largely from German philosopher, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1977). Hegel contributed greatly to the distinction between the self and the other, arguing that individuals perceive themselves in relation to others (Neumann, 1996).

Todres (2009) draws on psychological, biological, and anthropological conceptions of otherness to apply this concept to human trafficking. Evolutionarily, the distinction between the “Self” and the “Other” is a mechanism of survival, especially in the pursuit of scarce resources. Over time, however, othering has become an instinctual tendency for one to align with similar individuals and distance from dissimilar others. This notion has been extended to group behavior through the ideas of “in-groups” and “out-groups.” Whether at the individual or the group level, othering results in the devaluation of the Other, the veneration of the Self, and the separation of the Self from the Other. This process can occur across various dimensions such as race, gender, ethnicity, class, and geography (Todres, 2009).

Relating to trafficking specifically, Todres (2009) argues that this process of othering works to justify the exploitation of certain populations that are already vulnerable based on a variety of risk factors such as poverty, race, gender, and age. Gender plays a particularly salient role in this process through mechanisms of patriarchy and gender-based discrimination. Todres suggests that marginalization of women promotes exploitation of women and girls by men, often in the form of sex trafficking. For example, white, western men may be more willing to engage in exploitation of women from developing nations (i.e. Global South) as opposed to white western women from their home countries.

Relatedly, an otherness mentality leads certain groups (i.e. Western nations; Global North) to divert responsibility for an international issue, and instead condemn the barbarous

“Other” who condones or even facilitates the trafficking and enslavement of persons. For example, it is a common misconception that trafficking is not a problem in highly developed nations such as the United States, and only occurs in underdeveloped nations. Contrary to this popular belief, trafficking is a global issue that affects almost every country, whether it primarily supplies or receives trafficked victims (or both).

Finally, along with producing clichéd ideas about where human trafficking and modern slavery occur, othering results in a narrow and stereotypical conception of the types of people who might become victims of human trafficking. The most commonly recognized form of a trafficking victim is a battered woman or girl who was forced into sex work, and has since been rescued by law enforcement. This conception leads to disregard for the many other victims of human trafficking such as men, and victims of forced labor (Todres, 2009).

Otherness provides valuable context for understanding the exploitation of others. Thus, it is also a useful framework to understand and improve international responses to human trafficking. As previously discussed, the current leading initiative to combat global trafficking in persons is the UN *Trafficking Protocol*. This initiative has guided international efforts to combat trafficking through criminalization, prevention programs, and victim assistance, with a heavy focus on the former (criminalization).

While the *Trafficking Protocol* and other resulting initiatives have led to positive advancements, they insufficiently address the full spectrum of the issue. These efforts focus largely on criminalization and prosecution of traffickers, where more emphasis should be placed on the victims and survivors of human trafficking. Otherness provides an important framework to understand root causes of exploitation and demand for trafficking, as well as differential

recognition of trafficking victims. These elements are critical for both the creation and implementation of comprehensive international policies to combat trafficking (Todres, 2009).

Human Rights Perspectives

Conflict and otherness theories offer a practical foundation to understand why certain groups engage in the exploitation of others, including human trafficking. They also provide support for a broader and more comprehensive approach to combatting human trafficking. However, human trafficking is fundamentally a human rights issue; therefore, in order to extend current conceptions of—and responses to—human trafficking, it is necessary to discuss rights-based and feminist perspectives.

Human rights are a relatively recent focus in the global arena. Concerns about human rights and the protection and preservation of human dignity have increased with modernization, and the rise of bureaucracy and the market economy. As the interest in human rights burgeoned and became more organized, international human rights law was established in order to formally declare and enforce established universal human rights. On December 10, 1948, a landmark document, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was established at the United Nations General Assembly in Paris asserting that, “...everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person...” and, “...the right to social security...” (Donnelly, 2007).

Todres (2011) emphasizes the importance of considering human trafficking through a rights-based approach. Vulnerable and marginalized populations are often at greater risk of exploitation, including becoming a victim of human trafficking. Thus, a human rights-based framework is essential to understanding and addressing the potential root causes of human trafficking. Ross (2014) takes this notion a few steps further, arguing that states have a

transnational responsibility to prevent human trafficking through the alleviation of root causes of trafficking.

Relatedly, Gallagher (2009) discusses the effects of globalization, arguing that increasing global development has led to the creation of new multifaceted networks and new modes of exploitation. As such, there is an increasing need for international law to address exploitation, and especially human trafficking. She notes that it is important to consider human trafficking from a human rights perspective in order to humanize the issue. More straightforward approaches view trafficking primarily as an issue of migration, public order, or organized crime; however, these perspectives distract from the exploitative and oppressive realities of trafficking. Furthermore, a rights-based approach clearly delineates trafficking as a product of global inequality and injustice. Thus, human trafficking must be addressed from every angle. The criminalization and prosecution of trafficking offences is a necessary and practical component, which must be combined with rights-based approaches to provide services to victims and alleviate root causes of human trafficking.

Feminist Rights-Based Approaches. A rights-based approach would be incomplete without also considering the role of gender and gendered experiences. Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988) explore the importance of maintaining a feminist perspective in criminological research. They argue that gender is not purely a biological difference, but rather a multifaceted phenomenon: historically, socially, and culturally constructed. Thus, gender relations play a key role in societal realities. Furthermore, gender differences are not balanced, but grounded in assumptions of male superiority and dominance. They contend that women should be brought to the forefront of academic research, rather than remain an inconsequential extension of men (p.

504). At the heart of their critique, they call for greater attention to the role of gender in human experiences and behavior.

Recent research attempts to bridge the demand for both feminist and human rights perspectives in human trafficking discourse by advocating a feminist rights-based approach. Such an approach aims not only to emphasize the protection of human rights, but also to do so in a way that recognizes gender-specific needs and achieves human rights equally for all sexes (Heyzer, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015).

Pourmokhtari (2015) argues that alternative approaches to combatting human trafficking (i.e. criminal and economic) minimize the complexity of the issue and ignore the fundamental nature of human trafficking as a human rights violation. A feminist rights-based approach focuses on root and gendered sources of human trafficking, and thus accounts for the multitude of human rights abuses that are associated with it including, "...unemployment, poverty, kidnapping, compulsory labor, forced migration, slavery, forced labor, and torture..." (p. 160). Furthermore, this approach seeks to protect vulnerable populations by encouraging and facilitating social and economic empowerment (Aas, 2007; Pourmokhtari, 2015). Obokata (2006) labels this a "holistic" approach, and one that calls for action on both a national and international level to eradicate trafficking by not only criminalizing traffickers, but also by safeguarding victims and vulnerable populations in a way that recognizes gendered experiences.

Pourmokhtari (2015) asserts that current responses, including the UN *Trafficking Protocol*, do not take a feminist rights-based approach; instead, they mainly focus on criminalization of offenders. In doing so, they fail to address "demand-side factors" such as macrostructural inequalities (p. 162). Thus, there is a critical need for an ideological shift in

national and international responses toward a feminist rights-based approach that will prioritize protection and empowerment of vulnerable populations (p. 163).

In conclusion, this chapter highlights several important theoretical bases that support a broader, more comprehensive approach to understanding and addressing international human trafficking. Conflict and otherness theories provide valuable context to understand mechanisms that engender exploitation of vulnerable populations and disparities in perceptions of victims, thus providing support for improving trafficking responses by addressing societal inequities. In addition, rights-based and feminist approaches similarly seek to address root sources of exploitation and trafficking by emphasizing the importance of appreciating human and gendered experiences of vulnerability and exploitation. Further, they call for attention to these ideas in addressing human trafficking, and support a broader, more humanized approach to confronting human trafficking. By incorporating these theoretical foundations into the current study as well as future trafficking research, a more profound understanding of the issue can be achieved, and more extensive responses, realized.

Chapter 5: The Current Study

Previous research (e.g., Barner et al., 2014; Gallagher, 2001; Haynes 2009; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015; Todres, 2011) suggests that human trafficking is a growing international concern, which demands comprehensive and collaborative global efforts to combat the issue. Most literature on responses to human trafficking considers the problem in a broad and general sense, while few studies provide any kind of quantitative assessment. In fact, only one study by the Walk Free Foundation (2014) appears to attempt such an analysis. However, previous considerations of the issue indicate that certain key socioeconomic characteristics (i.e. prevalence of trafficking, social and economic development, instability, and gender inequality) may be critical to understanding a nation's capacity to combat trafficking. In addition, conflict, otherness, human rights, and feminist theories offer theoretical support to explain why such factors may impact efforts to address trafficking.

Using data from national and international agencies, the current study² examines the impact of measures of the prevalence of modern slavery (human trafficking), social and economic development, instability, and gender inequality on governmental response to human trafficking. Bivariate and multivariate analyses were conducted to assess the net impact of each of these factors on national responses to human trafficking. In addition, conjunctive analysis of case configurations (conjunctive analysis) was performed in order to explore the contextual variability of these relationships.

Drawing from conflict theories (including otherness) and human rights perspectives (including feminist-rights based approaches), the following two hypotheses are explored: (1)

² Approved by the University of Nevada, Las Vegas Institutional Review Board: [929493-1] International Responses to Human Trafficking: A Comparative Secondary Data Analysis of National Characteristics Published on July 14, 2016.

Responses to human trafficking are superior in countries with low rates of human trafficking, high levels of development, low instability, and low gender inequality, and (2) Responses to human trafficking are inferior in countries with high rates of slavery, low levels of development, high instability, and high gender inequality. In other words, this study proposes that trafficking responses are greater in countries characterized by more positive social conditions and worse in countries characterized by less positive social conditions. Following a summary of methodology and analyses, the results of this analysis are discussed with respect to policy implications and future research directions.

Methodology

The current study involved an analysis of information collected by several national and international agencies between 2012 and 2015. National responses to human trafficking were measured by the following indicators: (1) tier level assigned by the U.S. Department of State *2015 Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report*, and (2) rating by the Walk Free Foundation 2014 *Global Slavery Index (GSI)*. Socioeconomic factors under investigation include the following: (1) prevalence of modern slavery (see Walk Free Foundation *2013 Global Slavery Index*), (2) level of development (see United Nations *Human Development Index* [2012-14]), (3) instability (see Fund For Peace *Failed States Index* [2012-13]), and (4) gender inequality (see United Nations *Gender Inequality Index* [2012-13]).

Sampling Design. The unit of analysis being investigated in this study is the country. The population of interest or target population is all countries in the world; thus, the sampling frame for this study is also all countries in the world (N=196). Due to missing data between the dependent and independent variables, the actual population did not include all countries, but only

those for which data was available. When cases with missing data on any major variable in this analysis were excluded, the sample size was reduced to 142 countries³ (n=142).

According to the U.S. Department of State (2015), there are 195 independent states (countries) in the world.⁴ Four countries are not included in either data source for the dependent variable: Holy See (Vatican City), Nauru, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu. Lack of data on the latter four countries may be due to their classification as “Small Island Developing States” (UN-DESA, 2016). While Vatican City is technically a sovereign state, as established by the Lateran Pacts between the Holy See and Italy in 1929,⁵ its data is likely included in data gathered from Italy. In addition to these missing data, the two dependent variables are missing data for several other countries. These data sources and samples from each are discussed below.

Data Source 1: Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP). The 2015 *TIP Report* was released by the U.S. Department of State and includes data collected from each country from April 2014, through March 2015. The report places countries in one of four tiers (Tier 1, Tier 2, Tier 2 Watch List, and Tier 3), indicating the adequacy of the government’s response to human trafficking in accordance with the *Trafficking Victim Protection Act (TVPA)*⁶ “minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking” (TVPA, 2000).

The original sample obtained from this data source includes 185 countries. Eleven countries are missing from the data set: Andorra, Dominica, Grenada, Holy See, Liechtenstein, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Somalia, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu. Again,

³ The Appendix provides a list of all countries included in the current analysis, as well as those that were excluded due to missing data. This table also depicts the profiles of each country relating to their scores on each independent and dependent variable.

⁴ The U.S. does not classify Taiwan as an independent state, as it is claimed by both the Government of the People’s Republic of China, and the authorities of Taiwan. However, is included in all three dependent data sources. Therefore, for the purpose of this analysis, it will be considered a country.

⁵ Information from the Vatican City State website (See references).

⁶ *Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, Div. A of Pub. L. No. 106-386, § 108, as amended.*

data for these countries may be missing because most are small principalities or island nations. In addition, Somalia is noted in the report as being a “special case.” The country has made minimal efforts to combat trafficking and is recognized as a source, transit, and destination for human trafficking; however, it is not placed in a tier level due to its current political instability and civil unrest. It is also noted that Somalia officials lack a complete understanding of trafficking crimes, and they often conflate trafficking and smuggling (U.S. Department of State, 2015).

Data Source 2: *Global Slavery Index (GSI)*. The 2014 *GSI*, produced by the Walk Free Foundation, provides three measures for each country: 1) an estimate of the prevalence of modern slavery (i.e. human trafficking); 2) the government’s actions to combat trafficking; and, 3) the country’s vulnerability to trafficking. The present study relies on the second measure (i.e. governmental response to trafficking) as a second measure of response to human trafficking. The sample obtained from this data source includes 167 countries. Twenty-nine countries are missing from the data set. Some of these data are likely missing for similar reasons as those previously discussed regarding missing data in the *TIP* Report. Additional data may be missing as a result of the data being collected by a non-profit organization. Compared to the United States government, Walk Free Foundation likely has fewer resources and less political connections to collect data from every country.

Research Design. This study is a cross-sectional secondary data analysis of social science data archives collected by national and international agencies (U.S. Department of State, Walk Free Foundation, United Nations, Fund For Peace). This method was chosen based on the comparative and cross-national nature of the research question under investigation. As previously discussed, the present analysis investigates the relationship between national characteristics and governmental response to human trafficking. By compiling data that has

already been collected, this design allows for the analysis of macro-structural trends (responses to trafficking) of large social units (countries).

Azarian (2011) defines comparative analysis as, "... a mode of scientific analysis that sets out to investigate systematically two or more entities with respect to their similarities and differences, in order to arrive at understanding, explanation and further conclusions" (p. 116). Cross-national comparisons are becoming increasingly popular in the social sciences. The utility of this approach lies in its potential to offer the following: 1) an exploration of differences across units; 2) greater perspective outside of one's own position or culture; 3) a broader understanding of a particular phenomenon; and, 4) wider insights into causal relationships related to particular phenomena (Azarian, 2011).

Measurement. The current study assessed the relationship between several social and economic characteristics (independent variables) and international governmental responses to human trafficking (dependent variable). The measures used in the current study to indicate each of these variables are discussed below.

Dependent Variable. As previously mentioned, the dependent variable in the present study is national response to human trafficking as indicated by (1) its tier level in the U.S. State Department's 2015 *Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report*; and (2) its rating by the Walk Free Foundation's 2014 *Global Slavery Index (GSI)*. The sources of these data and their coding are summarized below.

Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report Tier Level. The 2015 *TIP Report* places countries into one of four tiers (Tier 1, Tier 2, Tier 2 Watch List, Tier 3) based on several indicators⁷ of the country's compliance with the *Trafficking Victim's Protection Act* (2000). A country's placement

⁷ See U.S. Department of State *TIP Report* for a full description of methodology (U.S. Department of State, 2015, p. 45).

in Tier 1 indicates that it has recognized the existence of human trafficking, has made strides to address the issue, and is in full compliance with the *TVPA* (2000) minimum anti-trafficking standards. Conversely, a Tier 3 designation indicates that the country does not fully comply with these standards and is not making concerted efforts to do so. In the current study, the original tier levels were recoded as a dummy variable, with the value of “0” indicating superior responses to trafficking (i.e. Tier 1 and 2) and the value of “1” indicating the inferior responses (i.e. Tier 2.5 and 3).

Global Slavery Index (GSI) Ranking. The 2014 *GSI* rates governmental responses to modern slavery on a lettered ten-point scale, based on five objectives,⁸ with “AAA” indicating the most effective and comprehensive response, and “D” indicating an entirely inadequate response. Similar to the *TIP* tier levels, the original *GSI* 10-point scale was recoded as a dummy variable, with the value of “0” indicating scores below the median of 7 (i.e. superior responses to human trafficking), and the value of “1” indicating scores above the median (i.e. inferior responses to slavery).

Independent Variables. The independent variables represent measures of nations’ socioeconomic characteristics that are expected to be associated with the government’s response to trafficking. These include (1) prevalence of modern slavery (*Global Slavery Index*⁹), (2) human development (*Human Development Index*¹⁰), (3) instability (*Failed States Index*¹¹), and (4) gender inequality (*Gender Inequality Index*¹²). All four of the independent variables involve

⁸ See *Global Slavery Index* for a full description of methodology (Walk Free Foundation, 2014, p.12).

⁹ See the Walk Free Foundation 2013 *Global Slavery Index* for a full description of methodology (Walk Free Foundation, 2013, p. 8).

¹⁰ 2012, 2013, and 2014 indices were averaged to produce a composite measure. See the 2013, 2014, and 2015 United Nations Human Development Reports for methodology of each index (Malik, 2013).

¹¹ 2012 and 2013 indices were averaged to produce a composite measure. See the Fund For Peace 2012 and 2013 *Failed States Index* for methodology of each index (Haken et al., 2013).

¹² 2012 and 2013 indices were averaged to produce a composite measure. See the 2013 and 2014 United Nations Human Development Reports for methodology of each index (Malik, 2013).

data collected between 2012 and 2014. This year range was chosen in order to ensure that the independent variables precede the dependent variables, thus establishing temporal ordering of the relationship between national characteristics and governmental responses. These variables are discussed in greater detail below.

Global Slavery Index (GSI) Prevalence of Modern Slavery. The 2013 *GSI* provides a measure of prevalence of modern slavery in 162 countries across the world. This measure is an amalgamation of three indicators: prevalence of modern slavery, child marriage, and human trafficking. The Walk Free Foundation defines modern slavery as, "...slavery, slavery-like practices (such as debt bondage, forced marriage, and sale or exploitation of children), human trafficking and forced labour" (*Global Slavery Index*, 2013, p. 2). In the present study, the *GSI* slavery measure was recoded at the median value to contrast nations with "low" (0) and "high" (1) levels of modern slavery.

Human Development Index (HDI). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) created the *HDI* to provide a comprehensive measure of level of development in each country. The index addresses three key dimensions of development: (1) health, measured by life expectancy at birth; (2) education, measured by mean years of schooling for adults aged 25 years and older and expected years of schooling for children of school entering age; and, (3) standard of living, measured by the gross national income per capita. The index is calculated by computing the geometric mean of the normalized indices for each of the three dimensions (Malik, 2013). In the present study, *HDI* scores were recoded at the median value to contrast nations with "high" (0) and "low" (1) development.

Failed States Index (FSI). The Fund For Peace produces the *FSI* annually in an effort to measure and report the current level of stability within each country. The index relies on twelve

indicators related to social, economic, political, and military dynamics. The indicators are: (1) demographic pressures (e.g., natural disasters, disease); (2) refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) (e.g., displacement, refugee camps); (3) group grievance (e.g., discrimination, ethnic violence); (4) human flight and brain drain (e.g., migration per capita, human capital); (5) uneven economic development (e.g., GINI coefficient, access to improved services); (6) poverty and economic decline (e.g., unemployment, GDP per capita); (7) state legitimacy (e.g., corruption, government effectiveness); (8) public services (e.g., policing, criminality); (9) human rights and rule of law (e.g., press freedom, civil liberties); (10) security apparatus (e.g., internal conflict, rebel activity); (11) factionalized elites (e.g., power struggles, political competition); and, (12) external intervention (e.g., foreign assistance, foreign military intervention) (Haken, Messner, Hendry, Taft, Lawrence, & Umana 2013).

To assess the dimensionality and internal consistency of the overall *FSI* scale, several types of item analyses were performed on the particular indicators presumed to underlie this scale. First, a factor analysis indicates that a single factor solution best represents the underlying relationship among the 12 separate variables. All factor loadings for each variable are high (e.g., above .82) and the total one-solution accounts for about 80% of the total variation in the intercorrelations among the 12 variables. Second, both the average inter-item correlation (average $r = .77$) and Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = .98$) were also high. These results confirm the internal consistency of the overall *FSI* scale and provide justification for the use of the entire index in the present analysis. Similar to the other variables in this analysis, the original *FSI* scores were recoded at the median value to create a dummy variable representing “low” (0) and “high” (1) instability. Table 1 displays each of the *FSI* indicators along with the above-discussed findings.

**Table 1. Factor Analysis of *Failed States Index* Variables
(Principle Components Analysis).**

Variables	Factor Loading
	1
Demographic Pressures	.905
Refugees and IDP's	.893
Group Grievance	.828
Human Flight and Brain Drain	.834
Uneven Economic Development	.894
Poverty and Economic Decline	.840
State Legitimacy	.932
Public Services	.922
Human Rights and Rule of Law	.908
Security Apparatus	.934
Factionalized Elites	.906
External Intervention	.908
Eigenvalue: 9.56	
% of Variance: 79.7	

Gender Inequality Index (GII). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) created the *GII* to provide a more complete depiction of the position of women in each country in order to inform policy and encourage discourse related to systematic disadvantages faced by women. The index is comprised of three dimensions: (1) reproductive health, measured by maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rates; (2) empowerment, measured by proportion of parliamentary seats occupied by females and proportion of adult females and males 25 years and older with at least some secondary education; and, (3) economic status, measured by labor force participation rate of female and male populations age 15 and older (Malik, 2013). In the present study, *GII* scores were recoded at the median value to contrast nations with “low” (0) and “high” (1) inequality.

Analyses. A series of univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses were conducted to assess the research questions underlying the current study. Traditional statistical analyses (e.g.,

correlation, logistic regression) were performed to measure the strength of the bivariate relationships and the net effects of each independent variable on a nation's response to human trafficking.

Following these initial analyses, the method of conjunctive analysis of case configurations (conjunctive analysis) was performed to assess the joint influences of the entire set of independent variables on the nation's response to human trafficking, and to examine the degree to which each variable's effects are consistent across different contexts. These contexts are defined by the conjunctive (joint) distribution of each of the independent variables considered simultaneously.

As developed by Miethe, Hart, and Regoeczi (2008), conjunctive analysis is an exploratory and confirmatory method for identifying the nature and magnitude of the contextual variability in both the unique and conjunctive influences of a set of variables. Compared to traditional quantitative approaches, conjunctive analysis often yields a more comprehensive depiction of the relationship among a set of independent variables and a dependent variable. By employing conjunctive analysis in the present study, two key questions are addressed: (1) Are the influences of each social condition (prevalence of human trafficking, human development, instability, and gender inequality) on a nation's response to human trafficking consistent across all contexts observed in the data (i.e. all unique combinations of these independent variables treated simultaneously)? And, (2) what explains the variability in the effect of each of these variables across these different contexts? In sum, such an analysis will augment the conventional quantitative analysis by empirically demonstrating whether or not the observed "main" effects of each variable are an accurate representation of how they impact a nation's response to human trafficking.

Chapter 6: Results

As mentioned in the preceding section, the current study employs several types of analyses (i.e. bivariate correlation, multivariate logistic regression, and conjunctive analysis), to assess the research questions underlying the current study. More specifically, these methods were used to examine the impact of measures of prevalence of trafficking, social and economic development, instability, and gender inequality on governmental response to human trafficking. This chapter summarizes the results of these analyses, beginning with a summary of the descriptive statistics related to each variable under investigation.

Univariate Analysis

Trafficking in Persons Report Tier Level. Among the dependent variables, the nation's tier level classification is originally based on a sample of 187 countries. The average tier level is 2.1, and ranges from a low of 1 (e.g., United States), indicating a greater governmental response, to a high of 3 (e.g., Algeria), indicating inadequate or no governmental response. A clear majority of countries are considered Tier 1 or 2, while only about 12% of countries are considered Tier 3 (i.e. the least responsive nations to human trafficking). As described previously, the tier level in the present analysis was dummy coded. Nation's placed onto a higher tier (Tier 2.5 or 3), indicating an insufficient response to human trafficking, are located primarily in Africa (e.g., Central African Republic, DR Congo, Mali). In contrast, nations placed onto low tier levels (Tier 1 or 2), indicating a more satisfactory response to human trafficking, are located largely in North America and Europe (e.g., Canada, Denmark, France).

Global Slavery Index Ranking. Scores on the *GSI* are originally based on a sample of 166 countries. The index ranges from 1, indicating the government has implemented an adequate and comprehensive response to all forms of modern slavery to 10, indicating a completely

insufficient response, and/or there is evidence to suggest government sanctioned modern slavery. The average rating on this index is 7.1, and scores from a low of 2 (e.g., Netherlands) to a high of 10 (e.g., Central African Republic). A clear majority of countries are rated 7 or higher, while only about 8% of countries are rated 4 or lower, indicating that most nations currently have a limited or inadequate response to modern slavery. In concurrence with the *TIP Report*, nations with the highest (worst) ratings are located primarily in Africa (e.g., Burundi, Lesotho, Mauritania). In contrast, nations with the lowest (best) ratings are most commonly located in Europe (e.g., Austria, Belgium, Italy).

Global Slavery Index Prevalence of Modern Slavery. Prevalence of slavery, measured by the Walk Free Foundation's *GSI*, is originally based on a sample of 162 countries. As previously mentioned, the *GSI* prevalence of modern slavery is a weighted measure based on three indicators: percent of the population in modern slavery (weighted 95%), level of child marriage (weighted 2.5%), and level of human trafficking into and out of the country (weighted 2.5%). The average weighted measure of prevalence of slavery is 11, and ranges from 1 (e.g., United Kingdom), indicating the least severe modern slavery situation, to 98 (e.g., Mauritania), indicating the most severe modern slavery situation. The vast majority of countries have a measure of 21 or lower. Nations with the highest prevalence of modern slavery are located primarily in Africa (e.g., Burkina Faso, Zimbabwe, Libya), while nations with the lowest prevalence are most commonly located in Europe and the Middle East (e.g., Netherlands, Portugal, United Arab Emirates).

Human Development Index. Human development, measured by the UNDP *HDI*, is originally based on a sample of 189 countries. The average level of human development is 0.7, ranging from a low of 0.3 (e.g., Niger), indicating a lower level of development, to a high of 0.9

(e.g., Norway), indicating a high level of development. A clear majority of countries have high human development (scale values of 0.7 to 0.9) and about a quarter of the nations have scores indicative of low human development (scale values 0.3 to 0.5). Nations with the lowest levels of human development are located primarily in Africa (e.g., Sudan, Congo, Gambia), while nations with the highest levels are most commonly located in Europe (e.g., Finland, United Kingdom, Spain).

Failed States Index. The nation's level of stability, measured by the Fund For Peace *FSI*, is originally based on a sample of 178 countries. The index rates countries on a scale of 0 (most stable) to 120 (least stable). The ratings indicate the vulnerability of each country to collapse or experience conflict (i.e. failure). The average level of stability is 71, ranging from 19 (e.g., Finland), indicating "very sustainable," to 114 (e.g., Somalia), indicating "very high alert." About a quarter of all countries are ranked 55 or lower on the scale, which indicates that those countries are "less stable," "stable," "more stable," "sustainable," or "very sustainable" (i.e. very stable; not at high risk of failure). Only about 8% of countries are ranked 30 or lower (sustainable or very sustainable), or 100 or higher (very high alert or high alert). African nations (e.g., Egypt, Cambodia, Gambia) are amongst the least stable nations, while European nations (e.g., Iceland, Luxembourg, Romania) are amongst the most stable.

Gender Inequality Index. Gender inequality, measured by the UNDP *GII*, is originally based on a sample of 153 countries. The index ranges from 0 (lowest levels of inequality) to 1 (highest levels of inequality). The average level of gender inequality is 0.4, and ranges from 0.04 (e.g., Switzerland), indicative of low levels of gender inequality to 0.7 (e.g., Yemen), indicative of high levels of gender inequality. A clear majority of countries have an index of 0.5 or lower on gender inequality, while only a few countries have the highest level of 0.7 (e.g., Yemen,

Afghanistan, Chad). Nations with the highest levels of gender inequality are most commonly located in Africa (e.g., Namibia, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia) while nations with the lowest levels of gender inequality are primarily located in Europe (e.g., Greece, Sweden, New Zealand).

Bivariate Analysis

A bivariate correlation analysis of the dependent and independent variables revealed that, (1) the two dependent variables (*TIP Report* tier level and *GSI* ranking) have a moderately strong correlation ($r=+.49$, $p<.05$), and (2) almost all independent variables are significantly related to each dependent variable ($p<.05$). More specifically, nations with higher tier levels and *GSI* rankings (i.e. less adequate responses to human trafficking) also tend to have lower human development, are less stable, and have higher levels of gender inequality.

The findings also indicate that a nation's prevalence of slavery is significantly related to their *GSI* ranking, but not with their tier level placement. However, the presence of a positive relationship suggests that, although insignificant, countries with higher rates of slavery will tend to have inferior responses to human trafficking, while countries with a low prevalence of slavery will be more likely to have superior responses to human trafficking.

Table 2 displays the above discussed univariate and bivariate findings along with the coding and sample size of each variable.

Table 2. Coding, Univariate Statistics, and Bivariate Analyses.

Variables	Coding	N	Mean(sd)	r_{Tier}	r_{SlaveIndex}
<i>Dependent Variables</i>					
U.S. State Department <i>TIP</i> Report Tier Level (2015)	0 = Low (65.5%) 1 = High (34.5%)	142	2.03(.60)	1	.49*
<i>Global Slavery Index</i> Ranking (2014)	0 = Low (61.3%) 1 = High (38.7%)	142	6.92(1.64)	.49*	1
<i>Independent Variables</i>					
<i>GSI Slavery Rate</i> (2013)	0 = Low (52.1%) 1 = High (47.9%)	142	11.00(11.16)	.16	.19*
<i>Human Development Index</i> (2012-2014)	0 = High (52.8%) 1 = Low (47.2%)	142	.69(.16)	.17*	.44*
<i>Failed States Index</i> (2012-2013)	0 = Low (51.4%) 1 = High (48.6%)	142	68.76(23.81)	.24*	.38*
<i>Gender Inequality Index</i> (2012-2013)	0 = Low (50.0%) 1 = High (50.0%)	142	.38(.19)	.28*	.48*

Note. *Significant relationship (p<.05)

Multivariate Analysis

Table 3 displays the results of a multivariate analysis of predictors of governmental responses to human trafficking. Logistic regression analysis was performed in order to assess the net effect of each independent variable on the dependent variable after statistically controlling for the other independent variables. The results of this analysis are summarized for each dependent variable below.

With respect to the *TIP Report* tier level, the logistic regression analysis reveals that about 14% of the variation in a nation's tier level placement is explained by the entire set of the independent variables. The only significant predictor of a nation's response to human trafficking based on tier level is gender inequality ($p < .02$). Based on the odds ratios in this statistical model, nations with high gender inequality are five times more likely to have an inadequate response to human trafficking (i.e. high tier level placement). In other words, nations with low gender equality are more likely to have a poor trafficking response. None of the other independent variables are significantly related to tier level after controlling for the other independent variables.

Regarding *GSI* ranking, the logistic regression analysis indicates that about 32% of the variation in a nation's *GSI* ranking is explained by the set of independent variables. Similar to the tier level findings, the only significant predictor of a nation's response to human trafficking based on *GSI* ranking is gender inequality ($p < .02$). As shown in table 3, nations with high gender inequality are four times more likely to have a high *GSI* ranking (i.e. inadequate response to human trafficking).

In addition, the analysis reveals that the instability of a nation is marginally associated with a nation's *GSI* ranking ($p < .10$). In particular, nations with high instability are about two times more likely to have a high *GSI* ranking after controlling for the influence of the other variables. In other words, less stable nations are more likely to be characterized by a poor trafficking response.

The above-described multivariate analyses provide a depiction of the “main” effects of each social condition (i.e. prevalence of human trafficking, human development, instability, and gender inequality) on governmental responses to human trafficking after controlling for the other

conditions or independent variables. However, this traditional analysis of main effects assumes that the effect is constant across all contexts. In order to evaluate this claim, conjunctive analysis was subsequently performed.

Table 3. Logistic Regression Analysis of Predictors of Tier Level and *GSI* Ranking.

Variable	U.S. State Department TIP Report Tier Level (2015)	<i>Global Slavery Index</i> Ranking (2014)
<i>GSI</i> Slavery Rate (2013)	1.46 ¹	.77
<i>Human Development Index</i> (2012-2014)	.34	1.78
<i>Failed States Index</i> (2012-2013)	1.86	2.16
<i>Gender Inequality Index</i> (2012-2013)	5.04*	4.23*
R ²	.14	.32

Note. 1. Odds ratio [Exp(B)]; *Significant relationship (p<.05)

Conjunctive Analysis

As previously discussed, the method of conjunctive analysis was performed to examine the degree to which each variable's effects are consistent across different contexts. First, a data matrix depicting all possible combinations of case configurations was created for each dependent variable. Included in these conjunctive data matrices are 16 possible combinations or profiles based on the four independent variables under investigation. The 16 possible combinations are a result of each of the four independent variables having two levels (i.e. $2^4 = 16$ combinations).

One of the 16 possible profiles was not observed among the 142 countries with no missing data on the independent variables (i.e. high slavery rate, high human development, low

instability, and high gender inequality); therefore, in the present analysis, there are 15 observed profiles or contexts for trafficking responses. The two most common contexts among the 142 countries are composed of the best and worst social conditions across all four independent variables [i.e. (1) low rates of slavery, high human development, low instability, and low gender inequality (N= 43) and (2) high rates of slavery, low human development, high instability, and high gender inequality (N=38)]. In other words, 43 countries generally have favorable socioeconomic conditions, while 38 countries are largely characterized by unfavorable conditions. The remaining 61 countries are characterized by one of the 13 alternative profiles.

Table 4a and 4b display the 15 observed contexts, ranked by the prevalence of each context among the 142 nations, and the percentage of insufficient responses to trafficking within each context based on *TIP Report* tier level and *GSI* ranking, respectively. The topmost and bottommost regions in each table (distinguished by the dotted lines) represent the profiles with a disproportionately high rate of poor responses and a disproportionately low rate of poor responses, respectively. A particular context was classified as having a “high rate” of poor response if the proportion of cases within this context was at least 20 percentage points above the average across all nations (i.e. tier level mean = 35% so $> 20\% = 55\%$ to 100% ; *GSI* ranking mean = 38% so $> 20\% = 58\%$ to 100%). For identifying contexts with a disproportionately “low rate” of poor response, the cutoff point involved the proportion of cases within contexts that were at least 20 percentage points below the average across all nations (i.e. tier level mean = 35% so $< 20\% = 0\%$ to 15% ; *GSI* ranking mean = 38% so $< 20\% = 0\%$ to 18%). The remaining middle profiles had a relative prevalence for poor responses that were within 20 percentage points of the average proportion across all nations. Each table and the contexts it contains are discussed below.

**Table 4a. Contextual Analysis of Insufficient Trafficking Responses
Based on *TIP Report* Tier Level.**

N (cases)	<i>GSI</i> Slavery Rate (2013)	<i>Human</i> Development Index (2012-2014)	<i>Failed States</i> Index (2012-2013)	<i>Gender</i> Inequality Index (2012-2013)	% High Tier Level
8 ¹	1	1	0	1	75
3	0	0	1	1	67
6 ²	0	0	1	0	67
5	1	0	1	0	60
2	1	0	1	1	50
4	0	0	0	1	50
38	1	1	1	1	47
12	0	1	1	1	33
4	0	1	0	1	25
43	0	0	0	0	16
12 ³	1	0	0	0	8
2 ⁴	1	1	1	0	0
1	1	1	0	0	0
1	0	1	1	0	0
1	0	1	0	0	0

Note. The following are countries that are characterized by profiles that are disproportionately associated with either a high (1 & 2) or low (3 & 4) rate of poor responses to trafficking. Those countries that have a poor response to trafficking are highlighted in bold. The most prevalent profiles are listed here: For a complete list of all countries in each profile, please see the Appendix.

1. Dominican Republic, Paraguay, **Botswana, Gabon, Ghana, Guyana, Namibia, Suriname**
2. Israel, Turkey, **Algeria, Belarus, China, Sri Lanka**
3. Albania, Armenia, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Peru, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Uruguay, **Bulgaria**
4. Moldova, Tajikistan

**Table 4b. Contextual Analysis of Insufficient Trafficking Responses
Based on GSI Ranking.**

N (cases)	GSI Slavery Rate (2013)	Human Development Index (2012-2014)	Failed States Index (2012-2013)	Gender Inequality Index (2012-2013)	% High GSI Ranking
1	0	1	1	0	100
3	0	0	1	1	67
12	0	1	1	1	67
38 ¹	1	1	1	1	63
8	1	1	0	1	63
2	1	0	1	1	50
4	0	0	0	1	50
4	0	1	0	1	50
2	1	1	1	0	50
5	1	0	1	0	40
6	0	0	1	0	17
43 ²	0	0	0	0	14
12	1	0	0	0	0
1	1	1	0	0	0
1	0	1	0	0	0

Note. The following are countries that are characterized by profiles that are disproportionately associated with either a high (1) or low (2) rate of poor responses to trafficking. Those countries that have a poor response to trafficking are highlighted in bold. The most prevalent profiles are listed here: For a complete list of all countries in each profile, please see the Appendix.

1. Bangladesh, Benin, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Cameroon, Colombia, Ecuador, India, Malawi, Nepal, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Zambia, **Afghanistan, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Togo, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Central African Republic, DR Congo, Congo, Gambia, Haiti, Laos (Lao PDR), Lesotho, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, Sudan, Tanzania, Zimbabwe**
2. Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States of America, Malaysia, Mauritius, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukraine, **Bahrain, Kazakstan, Oman, Singapore**

As shown in table 4a, there were four unique profiles of case attributes that had a disproportionately higher rate of nations with a poor response to human trafficking based on its tier level (see top four rows of the table with greater than 60% poor response). These contexts that result in a high rate of poor responses to human trafficking (tier-based) involve: (1) high slavery rate, low human development, low instability, and high gender inequality (most

common), (2) low slavery rate, high human development, high instability, and high gender inequality, (3) low slavery rate, high human development, high instability, and low gender inequality, and (4) high slavery rate, high human development, high instability, and low gender inequality.

The four profiles described above are commonly associated with a poor response to trafficking; however, there are also exceptions within each of the profiles. For example, there are eight countries characterized by the first profile (high slavery rate, low human development, low instability, and high gender inequality). This profile is frequently associated with a poor response to trafficking; however, two countries (i.e. Dominican Republic and Paraguay) actually have an adequate response to trafficking despite being characterized by this profile.

Similarly, the two most common profiles (both located in the middle section of the table suggesting they are not disproportionately associated with either a high or a low rate of poor responses) are also associated with both better and worse trafficking responses. For example, the combination of the most negative socioeconomic conditions (high slavery rate, low human development, high instability, and high inequality) is only associated with a poor response to trafficking about half of the time. In other words, about 50% of the countries with this profile have a poor response and 50% have an adequate response to trafficking.

Table 4a also indicates that five of the 15 observed profiles represent contexts in which nations rarely or never have high prevalence of poor responses (see bottom five rows of the table with less than 8% poor response). These contexts that result in a low rate of poor responses to human trafficking involve: (1) high slavery rate, high human development, low instability, and low gender inequality (most common), (2) high slavery rate, low human development, high instability, and low gender inequality, (3) high slavery rate, low human development, low

instability, and low gender inequality, (4) low slavery rate, low development, high instability, and low gender inequality, and (5) low slavery, low human development, low instability, and low gender inequality. Similar to the profiles that are associated with a disproportionately high rate of poor responses, there is some variation across these contexts. In particular, the social conditions of high slavery rates, high development, low instability, and low inequality are seldom associated with a poor trafficking response; however, one country with this profile (Bulgaria) has an inadequate response despite being characterized by a profile that is typically associated with an adequate trafficking response.

As shown in table 4b, there were five unique profiles of case attributes that had a disproportionately higher rate of nations with a poor response to human trafficking based on its *GSI* ranking (see top five rows of the table with greater than 63% poor response). These contexts that result in a high rate of poor responses to human trafficking (*GSI* ranking-based) involve: (1) low slavery rate, low human development, high instability, and low gender inequality, (2) low slavery rate, high human development, high instability, and high gender inequality, (3) low slavery rate, low human development, high instability, and high gender inequality, (4) high slavery rate, low human development, high instability, and high gender inequality (most common), and (5) high slavery rate, low human development, low instability, and high gender inequality.

Amongst these profiles, the most common (high slavery rate, low human development, high instability, and high gender inequality) varies greatly in its association with trafficking responses. More specifically, nations characterized by this profile are also characterized by a poor trafficking response about 60% of the time. In fact, about 40% of nations with these conditions actually have an adequate response (e.g., Bangladesh, India, Zambia).

Table 4b also indicates that five of the 15 observed profiles represent contexts in which nations rarely or never have high prevalence of poor responses (see bottom five rows of the table with less than 17% poor response). These contexts that result in a low rate of poor responses to human trafficking involve: (1) low slavery rate, high human development, high instability, and low gender inequality, (2) low slavery rate, high human development, low instability, and low gender inequality (most common), (3) high slavery rate, high human development, low instability, and low inequality, (4) high slavery rate, low human development, low instability, and low gender inequality, and (5) low slavery rate, low human development, low instability, and low gender inequality.

Similar to the profiles that are associated with a disproportionately high rate of poor responses, there is variation across these profiles. For example, the most common profile (low slavery rate, high human development, low instability, and low gender inequality) is associated with a poor response to trafficking 14% of the time. In other words, despite having positive social conditions, four countries (i.e. Bahrain, Kazakstan, Oman, Singapore) are nevertheless characterized by a poor trafficking response.

To visually observe the nature and magnitude of the contextual variability in each of the four independent variables with respect to each dependent variable, the findings are displayed as boxplots in Figures 1 and 2. In each diagram, the whiskers represent the full range of common cases, while the box indicates the middle 50% of cases. The line within each box represents the median value, and the dots indicate outliers, or extreme/uncommon values in the dataset. Longer whiskers and a larger box indicate greater contextual variability across cases, while shorter whiskers and smaller box suggest less contextual variability. Finally, the relative position of the boxplots along the x-axis indicates the extent to which each variable is related to increases

(farther to the right; positive) or decreases (farther to the left; negative) in the likelihood of a nation having a poor response to trafficking.

Figure 1 displays the contextual variability of group differences in responses to human trafficking based on the *TIP Report* tier level. The findings suggest that there is moderate variability in three of the four independent variables (i.e. human development, instability, and gender inequality), while the effect of prevalence of slavery on trafficking responses appears to have less variability across contexts.

In addition to variability, almost all of the independent variables, excluding human development, have both positive and negative effects on the dependent variable (as indicated by the box and/or whiskers of the graphs falling on both sides of the vertical line, representing a 0% difference in trafficking response between the “low” and “high” categories of each independent variable). This finding suggests that the measures of prevalence of slavery, instability, and gender inequality can each be associated with either superior or inferior tier levels, depending upon the context. On the other hand, human development appears to always be associated with a decreased likelihood of a nation having a poor response to human trafficking, as indicated by its leftward/negative location along the x-axis.

Figure 2 displays the contextual variability of group difference in responses to human trafficking based on the *GSI* ranking. The findings indicate that there is wide variability in the effect of gender inequality on a nation’s response to human trafficking, while human development, instability, and slavery rate vary moderately in their average effect on *GSI* rankings. However, each of these three conditions contains outliers, which is also an indication of variation.

In addition to variability, almost all of the independent variables, excluding instability, have both positive and negative effects on the dependent variable, suggesting that these conditions (i.e. prevalence of slavery, human development, and gender inequality) can be associated with either superior or inferior *GSI* rankings, depending upon the context. Conversely, instability appears to consistently be associated with an increased likelihood of a nation having a poor response to human trafficking, as indicated by its rightward/positive location along the x-axis.

Figure 1. Contextual Variability of Group Differences in Response to Human Trafficking Based on *TIP Report* Tier Level.

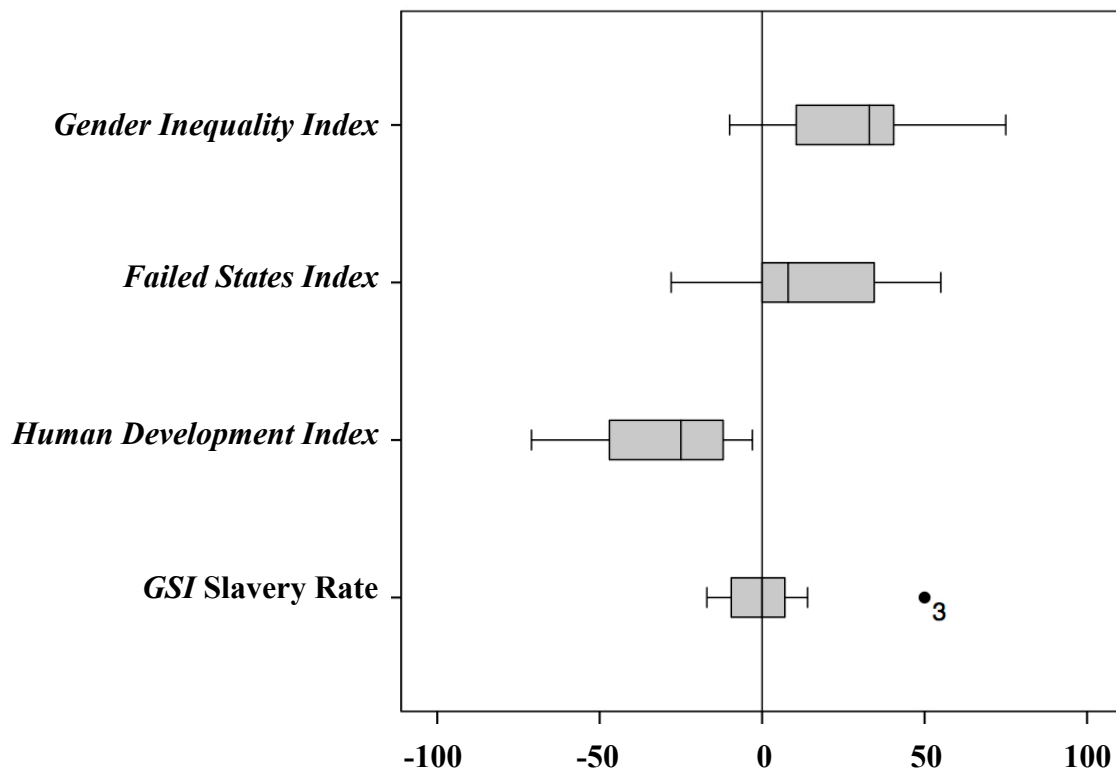


Figure 2. Contextual Variability of Group Differences in Response to Human Trafficking Based on *GSI* Ranking.



In sum, the conjunctive analysis findings indicate that there is generally wide variability in the influence of each independent variable on the dependent variable, depending upon the context and presence of other variables. In other words, prevalence of slavery, social and economic development, instability, and gender inequality vary widely in their relationship with trafficking responses, depending upon the presence and combination of other social conditions. These findings are discussed in greater detail in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 7: Discussion

Human trafficking is a mounting international concern. As such, comprehensive and collaborative global efforts are needed to combat the issue. In an effort to inform international responses, the current analysis uses data from national and international agencies to quantitatively compare several socioeconomic characteristics with national responses to human trafficking. More specifically, this study examines the impact of measures of prevalence of slavery, social and economic development, instability, and gender inequality on governmental response to human trafficking.

Grounded in a theoretical framework that integrates conflict theories (including otherness) and human rights perspectives (including feminist-rights based approaches), this study explores two hypotheses: (1) Responses to human trafficking are superior in countries with low rates of human trafficking, high levels of development, low instability, and low gender inequality, and (2) Responses to human trafficking are inferior in countries with high rates of slavery, low levels of development, high instability, and high gender inequality.

Preliminary findings based on a bivariate correlation analysis indicate that the two dependent variables are fairly strongly correlated, suggesting that the two measures of governmental response to human trafficking correspond; in other words, most nations that were considered to have inadequate responses to human trafficking on one scale also ranked poorly on the other scale, and vice versa. The bivariate analysis also suggests that all of the independent variables except one (prevalence of trafficking) are significantly related to each dependent variable. In particular, nations with less adequate responses to human trafficking also have lower human development, are less stable, and have higher levels of gender inequality. While the prevalence of slavery is not significantly related to the nation's placement on the *TIP Report* tier

level, it is significantly related to its *GSI* ranking, indicating that prevalence may also be related to a nation's response to human trafficking.

Based on these initial findings, the hypotheses in the current study are generally supported. These findings are consistent with previous studies, which suggest that conditions of high development, high stability, and low discrimination and inequality are facilitative of superior trafficking responses (Barner et al., 2014; Gallagher, 2001; Haynes 2009; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015; Todres, 2011; Walk Free Foundation, 2014). For example, in a similar analysis, the Walk Free Foundation (2014) concludes that those countries characterized by the weakest responses to trafficking also possess weak economies, and are characterized by conflict and instability. Relatedly, the study finds that level of stability is significantly related to a country's vulnerability to modern slavery, and prevalence of slavery is related to the level of human rights protections, economic and social development, and women's rights and discrimination.

Furthermore, these initial findings are also consistent with the theoretical foundation of this analysis, which supports a focus on root causes of exploitation in order to promote greater responses to human trafficking. More specifically, conflict theories (including otherness) and human rights approaches (including feminist rights-based approaches) indicate that it would be important to address socioeconomic and structural inequalities that drive certain groups to exploit the vulnerabilities of less powerful groups in society.

In sum, the preliminary findings of this analysis—in accordance with past research and theory—suggest that it is important to promote social and economic development, stability, and gender equality in order to advance the global fight against human trafficking.

In the next stage of this analysis, multivariate analyses were conducted in order to assess the effect of each independent variable on the dependent variable after controlling for the effects of the other variables. The findings indicate that the independent variables accounted for less than half of the variation in each dependent variable. This finding suggests that there are other variables that would be important to consider when predicting a nation's response to human trafficking. Furthermore, after controlling for the other variables, only one (gender inequality) remains significant. In other words, nations that have low gender inequality (i.e. high gender equality) are likely to also have a more sufficient response to human trafficking. In addition to gender inequality, the results indicate that stability is a marginally significant predictor of trafficking responses, suggesting that oftentimes; nations that have low instability (i.e. high stability) also have more sufficient responses to trafficking. Although less confirmatory than the bivariate findings, these findings are also consistent with past research and theory (Barner et al., 2014; Gallagher, 2001; Haynes 2009; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015; Todres, 2011; Walk Free Foundation, 2014).

In the final stage of the present study, the method of conjunctive analysis was used to examine whether the influence of each of these variables thought to affect trafficking responses have similar effects across different contexts. This analysis resulted in two major findings: (1) For both *TIP Report* tier level and *GSI* Ranking, there were multiple pathways (i.e. rows of the data matrix of conjunctive causes) that represent different contexts for disproportionately high and low levels of insufficient trafficking responses, and (2) the effects of the social conditions of prevalence of slavery, human development, instability, and gender inequality on responses to human trafficking are not uniform across contexts as assumed by the “main effect” model. Instead, as visually illustrated by the box plots, the effects of each variable are highly contextual.

In other words, a given social condition could lead to better or worse responses to human trafficking depending upon the presence or absence of other social conditions.

These findings suggest that depending upon the particular combination of social conditions in each context, any particular variable in this study can be a contributory factor to either high or low trafficking responsiveness. For example, a nation with low human development may still have a sufficient response to trafficking when other factors are present. Conversely, a nation could be characterized by certain positive social conditions such as high human development and still have an insufficient response to human trafficking.

Similarly, a nation may have a sufficient response to trafficking while also being characterized by a high rate of human trafficking. For example, several Eastern European nations (e.g., Albania, Croatia, Czech Republic) feature sufficient responses to human trafficking along with high development, low instability, and low gender inequality; however, they are also all characterized by high rates of human trafficking. This discrepancy could be a result of theoretically sufficient responses being insufficient in practice. In other words, these nations may appear to have sufficient responses to trafficking as indicated by their written law; however, in reality these laws are either not being applied effectively or are inherently inadequate. This conclusion is consistent with recent UN Reports (2014; 2016), which find that despite marked increases in legislation since the introduction of the *UN Trafficking Protocol*, demonstrated responses remain insufficient based on frequencies of trafficking prosecutions and convictions.

In conclusion, the conjunctive analysis findings suggest that the relationship between a nation's socioeconomic characteristics and its trafficking response is more complex than the initial bivariate and multivariate analyses reflect. However, certain contexts or combinations of characteristics appear to result in a lower prevalence of insufficient trafficking responses than

others. In particular, related to *TIP Report* tier level, the most common context that leads to a disproportionately lower prevalence of poor responses is the combination of high slavery rate, high human development, low instability, and low gender inequality. Similarly, the most common context related to *GSI* ranking that leads to a disproportionately lower prevalence of poor responses is the combination of low slavery rate, high human development, low instability, and low gender inequality.

In both instances described above, the nation is generally characterized by positive social conditions, with the exception of prevalence of slavery. This discrepancy could be a result of a variety of factors. First, it may be that the presence of high rates of human trafficking actually results in better responses to trafficking because the nation has recognized and made efforts to address the problem but have not yet realized success in these efforts. Second, this could be a result of insufficient time between the introduction of trafficking responses and measurement of the outcomes of these efforts. Alternatively, this could be an indication that there are other more important conditions related to producing successful trafficking responses that are not presently being investigated.

The final consideration relates to measurement of human trafficking. The inconsistency in findings related to trafficking rates could be a function of methodological differences in collection and measurement of trafficking data between the *Global Slavery Index* and *TIP Report*. This conclusion would be consistent with research that suggests human trafficking estimates are largely inaccurate and unreliable (Kangaspunta 2007; Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005; Laczko & Gramegna, 2003).

Nevertheless, with the exception of prevalence of slavery, both dependent variables in the above scenarios reflect improved responses to human trafficking in the presence of more positive

socioeconomic characteristics. This finding is consistent with the preliminary findings in the current study, as well as reflective of past research and theory (e.g., Barner et al., 2014; Gallagher, 2001; Haynes 2009; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015; Todres, 2011; Walk Free Foundation, 2014). Furthermore, the finding that these effects remain consistent across all models (both dependent variables) and analyses increases the convergent validity in the present analysis and thus increases confidence in the findings.

Finally, it is important to make special note of the role of gender inequality within the present analysis. Across all analyses (bivariate, multivariate, and conjunctive), gender inequality remains a significant factor in defining trafficking responses. In particular, nations with high gender inequality are five times more likely to have an inadequate response to human trafficking based on tier level, and four times more likely based on *GSI* ranking. Gender inequality was also commonly associated with a high rate of poor trafficking responses based on the conjunctive analysis findings. These findings are consistent with theory (i.e. feminist-rights based approaches), which highlights the significance of considering gender in understanding and addressing human trafficking (e.g., Aas, 2007; Heyzer, 2006; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015). Furthermore, these findings support the promotion of gender equality to improve trafficking responses and thus decrease human trafficking, globally.

Strengths and Limitations

It is important to mention several methodological strengths and limitations of the present analysis, which could affect the validity and reliability of the findings discussed above. The following sections examine these various limitations related to the research design and analyses of the current study.

Research Design. As previously discussed, the present analysis employs a comparative approach, which is a useful method for exploring relative, cross-sectional research questions; however, it is important to recognize potential limitations of this type of research. In conducting comparative analyses, it is possible to rely on the assumption that the units under investigation are wholly independent; in contrast, they are often interdependent and connected by blurred borders. This reality should be taken into account in the analysis of findings and the assertion of causal relationships (Azarian, 2011).

With regards to the current study, it is important to note the transnational nature of human trafficking. For example, perpetrators of human trafficking often recruit and traffic victims from countries other than their own. This results in what are known as “source,” “destination,” and “transit” countries; in other words, countries that primarily supply trafficked victims, countries that produce demand for trafficked victims, or countries that are geographically positioned between these source and destination countries (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2016). It is possible that a nation’s functional role in the commission of human trafficking (i.e. whether it is a source, transit, or destination for trafficking) may also be an important condition related to its trafficking response. While a quantitative analysis of trafficking routes is beyond the scope of this paper, further research should seek to explore these distinctions.

Comparative quantitative research often does not create a full contextual depiction of the occurrence of a given phenomenon in a given unit; rather, it reveals broad trends deprived of a cultural landscape (Azarian, 2011). Furthermore, comparative explorations are limited by the confines of available data and the comparability of these data for the purpose of the research question. As previously noted, human trafficking data is generally considered to be imprecise, as

it is a largely underground crime. To avoid this criticism, the present study focuses on examining determinants of governmental responses to human trafficking rather than prevalence of trafficking. However, future research should seek to provide a better depiction of the prevalence of human trafficking and national characteristics that may be associated with frequency of the problem.

The use of secondary data is advantageous for several reasons. By compiling data that has already been collected, this design conserves time and resources, and allows for a voluminous sample size. The use of a large sample ($n=142$) allows for a greater likelihood that the findings will be generalizable to the population of interest (all countries), and allows for greater confidence in the findings overall. Furthermore, the use of data from national and international organizations is more likely to be reliable because these entities have the resources necessary to conduct a large-scale study. This design provides a more valid and reliable measure of each country's socioeconomic characteristics and response to human trafficking, and thus allows for a more accurate assessment of the relationship between these variables. Ultimately, the use of secondary data allows for a cross-sectional analysis that would otherwise be unfeasible (Singleton & Straights, 2010, pp. 402-406).

Nevertheless, the use of secondary data is bound by certain key limitations that are important to keep in mind during the interpretation of findings. Secondary data analyses are subject to error based on flaws in the design or implementation of the primary research on which they are based. Without knowledge of these flaws, it is impossible to fully account for them in the analysis and interpretation of data. More specifically, the detailed methodology and sampling design of the data sources are unknown or unclear for several variables; thus, it is difficult to determine the full reasoning behind missing data. It is important to keep in mind that those

countries excluded from the data sources may be fundamentally different from those included; thus, the findings of the present study will not necessarily be generalizable to those countries for which data is not available.

Another important cause of error is bias inherent in the interests of the original data collection. Singleton and Straights (2010) note that when working with organizations, it is important to consider conflicting interests: “Because stakeholders have conflicting interests, the researcher should clearly identify the perspective from which the research is being undertaken, while acknowledging the legitimacy of other perspectives” (p. 488).

This analysis is based on data from national and international agencies, which may have biased research methods, and a vested interest in reporting either confirmative or contradictory findings. In particular, the current study and sources of data it utilizes are piloted primarily from a western perspective. Thus, it is possible that the findings may be ethnocentrically or myopically skewed. Furthermore, the interpretation could conceivably be different if conducted from an alternative (i.e. nonwestern) perspective (M.A. Kennedy; T.D. Miethe; M. Rorie; E.I. Troshynski, personal communication, 2016). Relatedly, research (e.g., Chacón, 2006; Desyllas, 2007; Laczko & Gramegna, 2003) indicates that this limitation is particularly important to consider in conversations related to human trafficking, as current global responses are largely driven and informed by Western perspectives.

In spite of these various limitations, this study makes use of a comparative secondary data analysis because it is an appropriate approach to explore trends and patterns of international responses to human trafficking, and the only feasible option for this study given the existing timeframe and resources. In sum, this design allows for an initial exploratory depiction of the

relationship between national socioeconomic characteristics and governmental responses to human trafficking.

Analyses. The present analysis examines two measures of the dependent variable (i.e. governmental response to human trafficking) and four key independent variables (i.e. socioeconomic characteristics of nations). The four independent variables were selected based on past research and theoretical understandings. However, it is possible that there are other characteristics that may be associated with a nation's capacity to respond to human trafficking. Furthermore, there may be mediating variables responsible for the relationships revealed in this analysis. As such, it would be important for future research to explore additional variables in order to gain a better understanding of national responses to human trafficking. In addition, future research should involve replication with different measures of the variables under investigation. The reproduction of findings using diverse measures would allow for more confidence in the findings from this study.

Finally, the present study employs a relatively recently developed method of analysis (i.e. conjunctive analysis of case configurations), which can potentially be criticized for being largely descriptive rather than predictive in nature, and less theoretically-driven than other quantitative methods. The current study avoids these criticisms by (1) selecting variables for consideration based on a robust consideration of theory (i.e. conflict and otherness theories; human rights and feminist perspectives), and past research (e.g., Barner et al., 2014; Gallagher, 2001; Haynes 2009; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015; Todres, 2011), and (2) performing several preliminary analyses (i.e. bivariate correlation, multivariate logistic regression) to provide initial support for the use of these variables.

Despite some methodological limitations, the results of this study yield a valuable initial exploration of the relationship between national characteristics and governmental responses to human trafficking. This is a critical step to improving the global fight against human trafficking by promoting theoretically grounded and evidenced-based approaches.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Human trafficking is a multifaceted global phenomenon that touches almost every nation, affects a diverse array of people, and manifests in a variety of forms. As such, understanding and addressing this complicated and far-reaching problem is equally complex. In fact, there is very little certainty surrounding the prevalence of human trafficking or the most effective approaches to tackling this international crime. As a result, past research is composed primarily of theoretical discourse and literature reviews rather than quantitative assessments. The present study seeks to make a meaningful contribution to the current body of trafficking research by empirically examining the relationship between a nation's socioeconomic characteristics and its governmental response to human trafficking through a large-scale quantitative analysis. In doing so, the purpose of this study is to identify those social, economic, and political conditions that facilitate and those that impede responses to trafficking. In fact, it appears that this is the first analysis of its kind, which greatly enhances the significance of this research.

The findings from the present study suggest that as previously implied, responding to human trafficking is not a straightforward or simple undertaking. In general, some support is established for superior responses in the presence of better social and economic conditions and inferior responses in the face of poorer social and economic conditions, as hypothesized. At the same time, the present study suggests that a nation's response to human trafficking may be highly contextual. More precisely, despite certain contexts appearing to be slightly more effective in producing better or worse responses, it appears that there are in fact multiple pathways that may foster or obstruct responses to human trafficking.

The above-discussed finding may be a result of the absence of certain key variables in the present analysis. In other words, there may be certain characteristics or conditions not accounted

for, which are more influential in determining a nation's response to human trafficking. This conjecture is corroborated by the additional finding that the variables in the present study account for less than half of the variation in the two dependent variables. As such, it would be important for future research to include additional variables along with diverse measures of the current variables under investigation.

Future Research Directions

In addition to future quantitative work in this area, it would also be critical to conduct more qualitative analyses. For example, comparative case studies of those countries that appear to be most effective (e.g., Netherlands, Sweden, Australia) and least effective (e.g., Equatorial Guinea, Libya, Uzbekistan) in combatting human trafficking would likely shed light on those conditions that foster or impede responses. This would be an important step given the present findings that reflect wide contextual variability amongst international responses to human trafficking.

Two specific recommendations for future research that seeks to uncover other important conditions or elements related to trafficking responses are to include (1) a nation's role in the commission of human trafficking (i.e. whether the nation is primarily a source, transit, or destination for trafficking), and (2) the most salient form(s) of trafficking in a particular nation (e.g., sex trafficking, forced labor, organ trafficking, etc.).

Characteristics related to trafficking activities within a particular nation might be significant conditions related to the government's response to trafficking in that nation. Future analyses should attend to this likelihood.

Despite various limitations and a clear need for future work in this area, the results of this study offer a valuable initial exploration of the relationship between socioeconomic

characteristics and governmental responses to human trafficking. The findings of the present analysis are generally consistent with recent trafficking research and dialogue that calls for increased attention to root causes of human trafficking and a broader approach to combatting the issue (e.g., Barner et al., 2014; Gallagher, 2001; Haynes 2009; Obokata, 2006; Pourmokhtari, 2015; Todres, 2011; Walk Free Foundation, 2014). For example, it is important to work toward increasing social and economic development, fostering stability, and mitigating gender inequality, globally. Collective advancements in these areas will likely encourage improvements in governmental responses to human trafficking, as well as alleviate root causes of exploitation of vulnerable populations, thus improving the collective and global fight against human trafficking.

Appendix

Country Profiles Based on Dummy Coded Variables

<i>Dependent Variables</i>					<i>Independent Variables</i>			
					<i>GSI</i> Slavery Rate	<i>Human</i> Development Index	<i>Failed</i> States Index	<i>Gender</i> Inequality Index
Coding			<i>TIP Report</i> Tier Level	<i>GSI</i> Ranking				
			0 = Low (Most responsive)	0 = Low (Most responsive)	0 = Low Rate	0 = High Development	0 = Low Instability	0 = Low Inequality
			1 = High (Least responsive)	1 = High (Least responsive)	1 = High Rate	1 = Low Development	1 = High Instability	1 = High Inequality
			9 = Missing data	9 = Missing data	9 = Missing data	9 = Missing data	9 = Missing data	9 = Missing data
0 = Included 1 = Not Included (In the present study)								
	Country	Region						
1	Argentina	South America	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Australia	Oceania	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Austria	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Barbados	Caribbean/Central America	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Belgium	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Canada	North America	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Chile	South America	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Denmark	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0

1	Estonia	Former Soviet States	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Finland	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	France	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Germany	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Greece	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Iceland	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Ireland	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Italy	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Japan	Asia	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	South Korea	Asia	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Latvia	Former Soviet States	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Lithuania	Former Soviet States	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Luxembourg	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Mexico	Caribbean/Central America	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Netherlands	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	New Zealand	Oceania	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Portugal	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Romania	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Spain	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Sweden	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	Switzerland	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	United Arab Emirates	Middle East	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	United Kingdom	Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	United States of America	North America	0	0	0	0	0	0

1	Costa Rica	Caribbean/Central America	1	0	0	0	0	0
1	Malaysia	Asia	1	0	0	0	0	0
1	Mauritius	Africa	1	0	0	0	0	0
1	Trinidad and Tobago	Caribbean/Central America	1	0	0	0	0	0
1	Ukraine	Former Soviet States	1	0	0	0	0	0
1	Bahrain	Middle East	0	1	0	0	0	0
1	Kazakstan	Former Soviet States	0	1	0	0	0	0
1	Oman	Middle East	0	1	0	0	0	0
1	Singapore	Asia	0	1	0	0	0	0
1	Cuba	Caribbean/Central America	1	1	0	0	0	0
1	Kuwait	Middle East	1	1	0	0	0	0
1	Albania	Europe	0	0	1	0	0	0
1	Armenia	Former Soviet States	0	0	1	0	0	0
1	Croatia	Europe	0	0	1	0	0	0
1	Czech Republic	Europe	0	0	1	0	0	0
1	Hungary	Europe	0	0	1	0	0	0
1	Macedonia	Europe	0	0	1	0	0	0
1	Peru	South America	0	0	1	0	0	0
1	Poland	Europe	0	0	1	0	0	0
1	Slovakia	Europe	0	0	1	0	0	0
1	Slovenia	Europe	0	0	1	0	0	0
1	Uruguay	South America	0	0	1	0	0	0
1	Bulgaria	Europe	1	0	1	0	0	0
1	Mongolia	Asia	0	0	0	1	0	0
1	Vietnam	Asia	0	0	1	1	0	0

1	Israel	Middle East	0	0	0	0	1	0
1	Turkey	Europe	0	0	0	0	1	0
1	Belarus	Former Soviet States	1	0	0	0	1	0
1	China	Asia	1	0	0	0	1	0
1	Sri Lanka	Asia	1	0	0	0	1	0
1	Algeria	Africa	1	1	0	0	1	0
1	Azerbaijan	Former Soviet States	0	0	1	0	1	0
1	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Europe	0	0	1	0	1	0
1	Thailand	Asia	1	0	1	0	1	0
1	Libya	Africa	1	1	1	0	1	0
1	Russia	Former Soviet States	1	1	1	0	1	0
1	Kyrgyzstan	Former Soviet States	0	1	0	1	1	0
1	Moldova	Former Soviet States	0	0	1	1	1	0
1	Tajikistan	Former Soviet States	0	1	1	1	1	0
1	Brazil	South America	0	0	0	0	0	1
1	Panama	Caribbean/Central America	0	0	0	0	0	1
1	Qatar	Middle East	1	1	0	0	0	1
1	Saudi Arabia	Middle East	1	1	0	0	0	1
1	South Africa	Africa	0	0	0	1	0	1
1	Jamaica	Caribbean/Central America	1	0	0	1	0	1
1	El Salvador	Caribbean/Central America	0	1	0	1	0	1
1	Morocco	Africa	0	1	0	1	0	1

1	Dominican Republic	Caribbean/Central America	0	0	1	1	0	1
1	Paraguay	South America	0	0	1	1	0	1
1	Ghana	Africa	1	0	1	1	0	1
1	Botswana	Africa	1	1	1	1	0	1
1	Gabon	Africa	1	1	1	1	0	1
1	Guyana	South America	1	1	1	1	0	1
1	Namibia	Africa	1	1	1	1	0	1
1	Suriname	South America	1	1	1	1	0	1
1	Jordan	Middle East	0	0	0	0	1	1
1	Iran	Middle East	1	1	0	0	1	1
1	Lebanon	Middle East	1	1	0	0	1	1
1	Georgia	Former Soviet States	0	0	1	0	1	1
1	Venezuela	South America	1	1	1	0	1	1
1	Guatemala	Caribbean/Central America	0	0	0	1	1	1
1	Indonesia	Asia	0	0	0	1	1	1
1	Nicaragua	Caribbean/Central America	0	0	0	1	1	1
1	Phillippines	Asia	0	0	0	1	1	1
1	Honduras	Caribbean/Central America	0	1	0	1	1	1
1	Iraq	Middle East	0	1	0	1	1	1
1	Kenya	Africa	0	1	0	1	1	1
1	Swaziland	Africa	0	1	0	1	1	1
1	Egypt	Africa	1	1	0	1	1	1
1	Papua New Guinea	Oceania	1	1	0	1	1	1
1	Syria	Middle East	1	1	0	1	1	1
1	Yemen	Middle East	1	1	0	1	1	1
1	Bangladesh	Asia	0	0	1	1	1	1

1	Benin	Africa	0	0	1	1	1	1
1	Cameroon	Africa	0	0	1	1	1	1
1	Colombia	South America	0	0	1	1	1	1
1	Ecuador	South America	0	0	1	1	1	1
1	India	Asia	0	0	1	1	1	1
1	Malawi	Africa	0	0	1	1	1	1
1	Nepal	Asia	0	0	1	1	1	1
1	Senegal	Africa	0	0	1	1	1	1
1	Sierra Leone	Africa	0	0	1	1	1	1
1	Uganda	Africa	0	0	1	1	1	1
1	Zambia	Africa	0	0	1	1	1	1
1	Burma (Myanmar)	Asia	1	0	1	1	1	1
1	Cambodia	Asia	1	0	1	1	1	1
1	Afghanistan	Asia	0	1	1	1	1	1
1	Chad	Africa	0	1	1	1	1	1
1	Côte d'Ivoire	Africa	0	1	1	1	1	1
1	Ethiopia	Africa	0	1	1	1	1	1
1	Liberia	Africa	0	1	1	1	1	1
1	Mozambique	Africa	0	1	1	1	1	1
1	Rwanda	Africa	0	1	1	1	1	1
1	Togo	Africa	0	1	1	1	1	1
1	Bolivia	South America	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Burkina Faso	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Burundi	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Central African Republic	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	DR Congo	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Congo	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Gambia	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1

1	Haiti	Caribbean/Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Laos (Lao PDR)	Asia	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Lesotho	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Mali	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Mauritania	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Pakistan	Asia	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Sudan	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Tanzania	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Zimbabwe	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1
0	Cyprus	Europe	0	0	9	0	0	0
0	Bahamas	Caribbean/Central America	0	9	9	0	0	0
0	Malta	Europe	0	9	9	0	0	0
0	Maldives	Asia	1	9	9	1	0	0
0	Norway	Europe	0	0	0	9	0	0
0	Tunisia	Africa	1	9	0	0	1	0
0	Belize	Caribbean/Central America	1	9	9	0	0	1
0	Samoa	Oceania	9	9	9	1	0	1
0	Bhutan	Asia	0	9	9	1	1	1
0	Niger	Africa	0	1	1	9	1	1
0	Tonga	Oceania	0	9	9	1	9	1
0	Brunei	Asia	0	1	0	0	0	9
0	Montenegro	Europe	0	0	1	0	0	9
0	Serbia	Europe	0	0	1	0	0	9
0	Seychelles	Africa	0	9	9	0	0	9
0	Antigua & Barbuda	Caribbean/Central America	1	9	9	0	0	9
0	Grenada	Caribbean/Central America	9	9	9	0	0	9

0	Cape Verde (Cabo Verde)	Africa	0	1	1	1	0	9
0	Micronesia	Oceania	0	9	9	1	0	9
0	Sao Tome and Principe	Africa	9	9	9	1	0	9
0	Fiji	Oceania	0	9	9	0	1	9
0	Angola	Africa	0	1	0	1	1	9
0	Madagascar	Africa	0	1	0	1	1	9
0	Timor-Leste	Asia	1	1	0	1	1	9
0	Turkmenista n	Asia	1	1	0	1	1	9
0	Nigeria	Africa	0	0	1	1	1	9
0	Djibouti	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	9
0	Equatorial Guinea	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	9
0	Eritrea	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	9
0	Guinea	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	9
0	Guinea- Bissau	Africa	1	1	1	1	1	9
0	Uzbekistan	Former Soviet States	1	1	1	1	1	9
0	South Sudan	Africa	1	1	9	1	1	9
0	Comoros	Africa	1	9	9	1	1	9
0	Solomon Islands	Oceania	1	9	9	1	1	9
0	Somalia	Africa	9	1	1	9	1	9
0	North Korea	Asia	1	1	9	9	1	9
0	Hong Kong	Asia	0	1	0	0	9	9
0	Palau	Oceania	0	9	9	0	9	9
0	St. Lucia	Caribbean/Central America	0	9	9	0	9	9
0	Andorra	Europe	9	9	9	0	9	9

0	Liechtenstein	Europe	9	9	9	0	9	9
0	Saint Kitts and Nevis	Caribbean/Central America	9	9	9	0	9	9
0	Kiribati	Oceania	0	9	9	1	9	9
0	St. Vincent & The Grenadines	Caribbean/Central America	1	9	9	1	9	9
0	Dominica	Caribbean/Central America	9	9	9	1	9	9
0	Palestine	Middle East	9	9	9	1	9	9
0	Vanuatu	Oceania	9	9	9	1	9	9
0	Kosovo	Europe	0	0	9	9	9	9
0	Taiwan	Asia	0	0	9	9	9	9
0	Aruba	Caribbean/Central America	0	9	9	9	9	9
0	Curacao	Caribbean/Central America	0	9	9	9	9	9
0	Macau	Asia	0	9	9	9	9	9
0	St. Maarten	Caribbean/Central America	0	9	9	9	9	9
0	Marshall Islands	Oceania	1	9	9	9	9	9

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Curriculum Vitae

Olivia G. Tuttle
olivia.g.tuttle@gmail.com

Education

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Master of Arts in Criminal Justice, Expected May 2017

GPA: 4.0

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Bachelor of Arts in Psychology and Criminal Justice, Summa Cum Laude, May 2015

GPA: 3.97

Professional and academic Experience

Graduate Research and Teaching Assistant

20 hours/week, Aug. 2015 – Present

Department of Criminal Justice, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Duties include grading assignments and papers, tutoring undergraduate students, and other administrative activities including organization of the criminal justice research lab credits.

Summer Research Assistant

10 hours/week May 2015 – Aug. 2015; May 2016 – Aug. 2016

Department of Criminal Justice, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Duties include gathering and creating materials for a research study, and summarizing research in brief articles for the department website.

President, Alpha Phi Sigma – Theta Tau, The National Criminal Justice Honor Society

10 hours/week, Aug. 2015 – May 2016

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Duties include managing the executive board, including four other officers; organizing and conducting officer and general meetings; securing guest speakers for general meetings; organizing and participating in volunteer events; organizing a criminal justice career fair; and, organizing and conducting fall and spring induction ceremonies.

Undergraduate Research Assistant

5 hours/week, Aug. 2014 – May 2015

Department of Criminal Justice, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Duties include assisting with various research projects, including drafting of research articles.

Secretary, Psi Chi, The International Honor Society in Psychology

5 hours/week, Aug. 2014 – May 2015

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Duties include managing the organization e-mail account including, sending and responding to e-mails; and, creating general meeting presentations and newsletters.

Additional Experience

Conducted interviews of girls at Caliente Youth Center

5 hours, December 11, 2016, Caliente, NV

Interviews were conducted under the direction and supervision of UNLV professor, Dr. Alexis Kennedy. Caliente Youth Center is a correctional facility for at risk youth.

Interviews involved were part of a research project aimed at understanding domestic sex trafficking.

Completed Forensic Interview Training

Dec. 3, 2016, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Conducted by Dr. Alexis Kennedy. Training included forensic interviewing of children, best practices and ethics.

Attended the UNICRI Migration and Human Rights Summer Course

July 11-15, 2016, John Cabot University, Rome, Italy

Purpose: To provide participants with intensive study and analysis of issues related to human rights and migration. Includes theoretical lectures, roundtable discussions, case studies, and practical exercises, presented by John Cabot and other University scholars, and representatives from the United Nations and other international human rights entities.

Internship at Dual Success

5 hours/week, February 2015 – August 2015, Las Vegas, NV

Dual Success (Funded by Southern Nevada Adult Mental Health Services): A residential transitional living program for dual diagnosed (co-occurring) clients.

Duties included assisting with intake of clients, attending group therapy sessions, and creating community resource materials.

Hostess

15-20 hours/week, February 2013 – July 2015

Fleming's Prime Steakhouse and Wine Bar, Las Vegas, Nevada

Duties include management of reservation system, intake and seating of guests, answering the phone, and training new hosts.

Academic Presentations

Tuttle, O. (November 18, 2016). Keeping tabs: The emerging role of surveillance and technology in the fight against human trafficking. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology (ASC), New Orleans, LA.

Tuttle, O. (November 17, 2016). Combating exploitation and modern-day slavery: A comparative analysis of national characteristics and human trafficking responses. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology (ASC), New Orleans, LA.

Lieberman, J. D., Miethe, T. D., Sakiyama, M., Heen, M. S.J., & Tuttle, O. (November 19, 2015) Power of perspective: The effects of public perceptions of police and fear of crime on attitudes towards aerial drone use. Poster presented at annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Washington D.C.

Miethe, T.D., Lieberman, J.D., Sakiyama, M., Troshynski, E., & Tuttle, O. (October 6, 2015)
Drone support: Where does the public stand? Poster presented at Commercial UAV Expo,
Las Vegas, NV.

Westfall R.S., Tuttle O. (2014). The effect of perceived attractiveness on endorsement of the
belief in a just world. Poster presented at the UNLV Psi Chi Research Poster
Conference, Las Vegas, NV.

Professional Publications

Troshynski, Emily I., & Tuttle, Olivia G. (Submission date December 15, 2016). Human
Trafficking. In W.S. DeKeseredy and M. Dragiewicz (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of
Critical Criminology, 2nd edition*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Sakiyama, M., Miethe, T. D., Lieberman, J. D., Heen, M. S.J., & Tuttle, O. (in press.) Big hover
or big brother? Public attitudes about drone usage in domestic policing activities. *Security
Journal*.

Activities

The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, April 2015 – Present

Alpha Phi Sigma: The National Criminal Justice Honor Society, December 2014 – Present

Psi Chi: The International Honor Society in Psychology, December 2013 – Present

Awards and Honors

Phi Kappa Phi Chapter 100 Robert Maxson Scholarship Recipient
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Edwin Sutherland Award for Outstanding Criminal Justice Student, April 2015
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Undergraduate Dean's Honor List, August 2011 – May 2015
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Millennium Scholar, August 2011 – May 2015
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Rebel Achievement Scholar, August 2011 – May 2015
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Psi Chi Outstanding Community Service Award, December, 2013