Gender Inequality and Countries' Responsiveness to Enforcing Human Trafficking Laws: A Cross National Study

Christina Rose Fiorito
Loyola University Chicago

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

GENDER INEQUALITY AND COUNTRIES’ RESPONSIVENESS TO ENFORCING HUMAN TRAFFICKING LAWS:
A CROSS NATIONAL COMPARISON

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
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PROGRAM IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND CRIMINOLOGY

BY
CHRISTINA R. FIORITO
CHICAGO, IL
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ABSTRACT

In recent years, government agencies, advocacy groups, and academics have made attempts to address and understand the problem of human trafficking through raising awareness, conducting research and implementing prevention and intervention programs. This study tested whether gender inequality measures, which capture aspects of a country’s social and political operations, are related to less governmental efforts to enforce laws against human trafficking, after controlling for other possible explanations for lax enforcement such as poverty, government corruption, political instability and increase of general violence, educational achievement, net migration, and the percent of the country’s population living in urban areas.

The data were gathered from several sources, but most notably the World Bank, the United States’ Report on Human Trafficking, and the United Nation’s Progress of Women report. The sample consisted of 173 countries. To provide a better control for a country’s income level, analyses were conducted within three gross national income categories: countries with a GNI of $3,000 or below (N = 69); countries with a GNI between $3,001 and $11,999 (N = 54); countries with a GNI of $12,000 or higher (N = 50). The dependent measure was whether countries were ranked as providing sufficient enforcement of trafficking efforts (tier one or two; N = 113; 65.3%) or insufficient trafficking enforcement (tier two watch group or tier three; N = 60; 34.7%) in the United States Trafficking in Persons Report tier ranking system. To enhance the construct and
predictive validity of this study, the main indicators of women as being disadvantaged in their access to equal resources and opportunities were used. Thus, to create effective interventions and develop a theory of enforcement, a second set of analyses examined which indicators of gender inequality predict the between country variation in sufficiency of enforcement of human trafficking laws. The specific measures of gender inequality included in the scales were: adolescent fertility rate, differential educational achievement of men compared to women, percentage of women’s share of the labor force, the difference between female and male monetary earnings, and the percentage of women in ministerial government positions.

This study produced the following statistically significant findings. Through the first analysis, impoverished and poor countries that ranked high on the gender inequality scales were subsequently found to have higher reported perceived corruption. Additionally, a country’s score on the Corruption Perception Index was found to be a significant predictor of unsuccessfully responding to human trafficking (placement on tier two watch or tier three). The second analysis yielded support for decreasing disparities between male and female educational opportunities, as well as increasing the number of women involved in key decision making (ministerial positions). Overall, the findings produced by this study suggest the need for a cross-national gender-equality based approach to combating human trafficking and further research into these issues.
Every country is unique in a number of ways, however there are certain situations that cross borders to become international phenomena. The issue of human trafficking is one such circumstance that has implications across all nations. Consequently, a collaborative response is necessary to eliminate this problem instead of simply displacing it. Exploring the way in which countries respond to human trafficking, both proactively and retroactively, is essential to understand the status of this crime. Considering what may hinder a country’s ability to sufficiently respond to trafficking in persons may better assist efforts to address the issue. For example, countries that promote gender related inequalities, such as higher educational opportunities for men versus women, might put women more at risk for trafficking. By identifying those types of situations within countries, steps can be taken to rectify the inequality and move forward in sufficiently responding to the issue of human trafficking.

A cross-national comparison of how countries respond to human trafficking is necessary if a universal response is to be established. This study sought to determine if countries where women receive less opportunities and resources were rated as less sufficient in their response to human trafficking. This was done after controlling for corruption, immigration, the percent of the population living in rural areas, estimated earned income differences between men and women, political instability and violence, general poverty, and the voice and accountability of citizens within a given country. The following literature review will summarize the current research and the opinions of
academics and specialists within this field. Various societal risk factors, such as corruption, poverty, literacy, and migration, will be examined. Moreover, the global nature and scope of human trafficking, as well as the ramifications, will be discussed.

**Literature Review**

The issue of human trafficking has received increased attention within the past decade. Human trafficking, for the purpose of this study, is defined as recruiting, harboring, transporting, or exploiting persons for the purpose of commercial sex, including prostitution, stripping, and pornography, or forced labor, which includes domestic servitude, sweatshop work, or migrant agricultural work (Moossy, 2008; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services; United Nations Development Report, 2011). Sex trafficking is a particularly degrading form of human trafficking, and from known human trafficking cases, about 79% of victims are subjected to sexual exploitation (Moossy, 2008; United Nations Development Report, 2011).

The trafficking of human beings has become an internationally recognized issue. Global estimates of the prevalence of human trafficking have ranged from 500,000 to 2.5 million (Jahic & Finckenauer, 2005). Most of these estimates, as the authors note, are made without any clear data source or methodology, and thus are unreliable. Other researchers have noted that accurate estimates of the prevalence of human trafficking are difficult, and research methods can either underestimate or overestimate the actual prevalence rate (Clawson, Layne & Small, 2006). Problems with obtaining accurate estimates stem from the hidden nature of this crime, varying definitions, the lack of laws in many countries, the lack of data sharing, and the motives to hide data so that countries...
do not receive as much scrutiny (Clawson, Layne & Small, 2006). Furthermore, measuring the extent of trafficking in persons is difficult because it is largely intertwined with organized crime; missing women and children often go unreported. Moreover, victims who eventually return home to their countries, or those who escape their exploiters, are ashamed to admit they were trafficked and often ostracized by their communities if it is admitted or known (Clark, 2003; Simkhada, 2008). Despite the uncertain prevalence of human trafficking, the effects of this crime on its victims, on communities and on society suggest that research is needed to understand why countries vary in their efforts to enforce human trafficking laws and to reduce the occurrence of this offense.

While trafficked, especially in the sex industry, victims are exposed to various diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, multiple pregnancies, numerous abortions, injuries from abuse, inadequate health care and much more (Zimmerman et al., 2003). Zimmerman et al. (2003) suggest that physical and sexual abuse, marginalization and restrictions on social interaction can overlap with psychological abuse and control, to jeopardize a victim’s mental health status and ability to cope with their trauma. Overall, individuals who fall victim to trafficking can have numerous physical and mental health dilemmas to overcome, which do not vanish if they are taken out of an exploitative situation (Stewart and Gajic-Vejanoski, 2007).

In addition to individual consequences, trafficking has large-scale societal repercussions as well. The United States Department of State (2005) reported that human rights violations, such as human trafficking, affect the world’s economy, global health,
and community development. Moreover, human trafficking undermines governmental and legal authority and may foster actual and a perception of government corruption. The discouragement of government legitimacy and the fostering of perceived corruption have made it difficult for some countries to obtain public support to address this issue (United States Department of State, 2005). Additionally, Zimmerman et al. (2003) and Stewart and Gajic-Vejanoski (2007) gave credit to trafficking and sexual exploitation for having an influence in the worldwide HIV/AIDS epidemic. Accordingly, trafficking produces a ripple effect that may contribute to multiple individual and societal problems.

Why Examine Across Country Variation in Enforcement of Human Trafficking Laws?

Trafficking is a violation of human rights (e.g., Chow, 2003; La Strada International, 2008) including “the right to equality before the law, the right to liberty and security, the right to freedom of movement, the right to do work one freely chooses, the right to just and favorable conditions of work, and the right to access to health care (Chow, 2008, p. 450).” These violations of human rights make it a global issue that requires prevention, education, legislation, sanctions, and intervention efforts.

Organizations such as the United Nations, and developed countries such as the United States, are examining whether governments across the globe are making sufficient and sustained efforts to enforce laws against human trafficking and to reduce the prevalence of trafficking. The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons was created in 2000, and thus far 117 countries have signed it and 79 have ratified it (Gozdziak & Collett, 2005). Of North American countries, Canada and Mexico have ratified it, but the United States has not; however the USA has implemented
extensive criminal legislation to punish human traffickers and assist trafficking victims whereas Canada and Mexico have not implemented legislation to assist victims. One criticism of the United Nations Protocol is its emphasis on the punishment of traffickers without sufficient provisions to assist trafficked victims (Gozdziak & Collett, 2005). Moreover, many countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa region lack criminal laws to address and punish human trafficking, and the public is unaware of the harms and extent of enslaved labor and sexual exploitation (Adepoju, 2005). Based on a review of systematic observational and interview data from independent researchers in several different regions of Sub-Saharan Africa, Adepoju (2005) concluded that “child traffickers apprehended by the police are rarely prosecuted because most penal codes do not have specific provisions against trafficking in women and children, and where they are in force, parents and guardians are ignorant of its provisions (p. 88).” In Latin America and the Caribbean region, an examination of legislation and local procedures found a lack of adequate anti-trafficking laws and training at the national, regional, or municipal levels. Moreover, the enforcement of existing laws against pimps and facilitators is practically nonexistent and the crime of trafficking is not always explicitly and accurately defined (Langberg, 2005).

The United States enacted the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) in 2000, which was amended in 2003 and 2005, and now requires the reporting of data on convictions for human trafficking crimes. This act calls for: increased law enforcement to reduce violence against women, the strengthening of services to victims of violence, limiting the effects of violence on children, and strengthening education and training to
combat violence against women (Victims of Trafficking, 2000, Division B). Before the TVPA, there was no comprehensive U.S. Federal law aimed at protecting victims of trafficking or the prosecution of traffickers (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services). Essentially, this is a tool for the United States to identify, address and combat the issue of human trafficking at an international level. There are a number of actors involved in the trafficking process and, according to Bales and Lize (2005), all should be involved in the prevention and intervention endeavors. Law enforcement, legislators, immigration services, the criminal justice system, the judicial system, social services, and medical services can all play an integral part in identifying, assisting and protecting trafficking victims and those who are at risk for exploitation (Bales & Lize, 2005).

Each year, the United States produces a Trafficking in Persons Report, which ranks each country on one of four tier classifications. The tier ranking is based on the extent of their governments’ efforts to comply with the minimum standards of the TVPA. The minimum standards include addressing severe forms of human trafficking through: a) active investigation, prosecution, convictions, incarceration sentences of perpetrators as well as, if necessary, cooperation with other countries and extradition of perpetrators; b) policies and training of authorities to avoid punishment or deportation of victims and to provide services to victims; c) prevention measures such as education of the public; d) actively monitoring immigration and emigration activity that may suggest human trafficking as well as prosecuting and punishing public officials who facilitate or participate in human trafficking; e) a very small number of victims who are non-citizens; and f) achievement in reducing the number of cases of severe forms of human trafficking
from the previous year, reducing the demand for commercial sex acts, and reducing the participation in international sex tourism by nationals. Countries placed on tier one and two are compliant or relatively compliant with the minimum standards. However, countries on the tier two watch list and tier three are considered to have insufficient enforcement efforts, fail to observe the minimum standards of the TVPA, and are not actively making sustained efforts to reduce the rate of human trafficking within their country. This study examines whether countries where women receive less resources and opportunities are rated as less sufficient in their response to human trafficking after controlling for corruption, immigration, government corruption, percent of the population living in rural areas, imprisonment rate, political instability and violence within the country, general poverty, and the voice and accountability of citizens within the country.

Societal Risk Factors for Insufficient Enforcement

Explanations as to why countries provide insufficient enforcement may be similar to reasons why human trafficking is allowed to thrive. Several authors have attributed gender inequality or a patriarchal culture as a possible explanation for why governments make insufficient efforts to reduce human trafficking (Bales, 2007; D’Cunha, 2002, Chow, 2003; Bernstein, 2010). However, government responses may be more complex than a consideration of the unequal allocation of resources and opportunities. Bales (2007) suggests some risk factors for human trafficking, which also may contribute to the government’s insufficient and unconstrained efforts to address it. These risk factors include: civil unrest or internal armed conflict, political instability or transition, high
levels of migration, low educational achievement, and economic pressures such as poverty or high unemployment rates.

**Gender Inequality**

Trafficking does affect both men and women, but it is not a gender-neutral phenomenon (La Strada International, 2008). Batsyukova (2007) suggests that women and children are especially at risk for trafficking in countries where social and cultural factors create a sense of disparity between men and women, such as a patriarchal society. In areas where social and institutional values are based on a patriarchal model, Chow (2003) believes that governmental agencies are less likely to address social injustices, specifically as they relate to gender. In turn, this may further fuel the acceptance of activities such as trafficking (Chow, 2003). In an attempt to shape responses within a gender based structure, D’Cunha (2002) proposed a new way to respond, which would include the use of prevention and intervention techniques under a gender equality framework. This innovative strategy would encompass a gender responsive rights-based approach to focus on equal human rights in countries where patriarchy and inequality are rampant. Chow (2003) promotes that rights should be empowering in both the structural and individual sense, and measures to address human rights violations should take this into account. Interventions should be integrated in multiple sectors of a society’s institutions through socio-economic support and political enactment. Furthermore, they should provide individuals with outlets and groups to claim and secure their rights (D’Cunha, 2002). This approach would use gender inequality as a context to address
trafficking with interventions that encourage gender empowerment through the equalization of rights, privileges, and protections (Bernstein, 2010).

In understanding a country’s social and cultural situation, a distinction between patriarchy and gender equality is essential. Patriarchy is defined as institutionalized practices that intentionally, or through tradition, provide men in a society with control over the decision-making power in governmental and social life and provide men with greater opportunities and resources for independence in health, social and economic areas of life. Thus a patriarchal culture is one that has, through traditions, norms, or formal laws, sanctioned and supported a bias in favor of men to have more decision making power, and more social, political and economic resources and opportunities. In patriarchal societies women are often marginalized and kept from obtaining individual economic status, education and governmental support. In areas where patriarchal traditions are encouraged and accepted, it is common for women’s political and socio-economic position to decline. La Strada International (2008) promotes the idea that trafficking is higher in areas where human rights, especially those of women, are disregarded. Clark (2003) asserts that arranged, forced, or early marriages can lead young girls to lose their independence, be deprived of the basic right to consent to marriage, and leave them susceptible to control and abuse. According to Black (2001), women who fall under this culturally influenced arrangement can find themselves dealing with rape, violence and a life of servitude.

The term gender inequality is often used in the societal context of observed gender inequality. The gender based disadvantages that women face are not always
known and may not be supported by social, religious, educational, or government institutions. Essentially, gender inequality is not always easily identified without examining the actual situations in which the vulnerable are found. Gender inequality allows for inequities to arise in women’s (constrained) choices or in structural factors, such as poverty or a predominant agricultural society. For example, poverty can be especially detrimental when combined with dimensions of development, such as gender inequality. Gender inequality is believed to create further social and cultural implications for victimization and can manifest in areas of everyday life (Social Development Notes, 2009). Poverty, unemployment, and a cultural context where violence against women is tolerated have been related to increased likelihood of traffickers escaping prosecution for their actions (La Strada International, 2008). According to Koettl (2009), such social characteristics that devalue women and girls create risk factors ideal for trafficking. However, little systematic empirical research exists to support this claim. This thesis examines how well gender inequality scales, (and their individual indicators), are related to the inter-country variation in the insufficiency of enforcing human trafficking laws and reducing human trafficking.

Social Structural Factors of Poverty and Illiteracy

Poverty has been noted as a common risk factor that can influence rates of human trafficking (Clert et al., 2005, Bales 2007, & Sen, 2002). Koettl (2009) describes poverty as being found in households characterized by alcoholism, violence, and family instability, which he identifies as further risk factors for trafficking. According to Sen (2002), those in poverty are “less able to provide sufficient living conditions, are more
vulnerable to false promises of jobs and educational opportunities, are less able to
provide protection for youth, and tend to be less visible in governmental decision making
(p. 5).” In many developing countries, poverty is frequently found among immigrant
groups who lack citizenship (Batsyukova, 2007). For example, in Thailand, many victims
of trafficking are noncitizen immigrant residents of hill tribe villages. This lack of
citizenship, or statelessness, can be due to immigration and migration, as well as forced
relocation. The Thai government responds to trafficking victims that are citizens, leaving
undocumented hill tribe villagers unprotected and without services (Vital Voices, 2007).

While being trafficked, victims are not only subjected to extremely negative
situations, they are also kept from obtaining an education or learning occupational skills.
This has been found to keep them from successfully participating in and contributing to
their own development and welfare, which can result in a life of poverty (D’Cunha, 2002;
Koettl, 2009). The time an individual is detained and kept from participating in
mainstream society could limit their ability to successfully rejoin their families and
reenter their communities, if they are ever given the chance. In patriarchal societies
where, women lack equal rights, trafficking further implicates their already dismal
position.

**Trafficking, Migration and Corruption**

Liberal immigration policies and inattentive border patrols allow for the
transportation of trafficked individuals to be carried out without hindrance. When these
factors combine with social growth and globalization, the movement of individuals across
borders becomes even easier. Rapid expansion and technology have contributed to the
growth and increased organization of trafficking. According to Agbu (2003), “humanity has been commercialized with more advanced means of communicating and trading (p. 3).” According to Chow (2003), “globalization fosters technological advancement, convenience of communication and transportation, and economic development that reduces costs (p.453).” The scope of those affected by trafficking has increased through the globalization process (Agbu, 2003 & Chow, 2003; Unesco, 2006). The detrimental effects of globalization stem from “inherent challenges and inconsistencies, which fuel inequality, poverty, discontent, and human rights violations (Chow, 2003, p. 453).” Transferring funds, forging documents, and movement across borders have allowed traffickers accessibility to resources in order to exploit their victims (Sen, 2002).

A necessary distinction must be established between the movement of individuals for the function of exploitation and movement for the purpose of migration. A number of factors can influence rates of migrations, such as political and civil unrest, internal armed conflict, war, natural disasters and the like. In times of civil war or political unrest, a country’s focus turns to pressing issues, leaving human trafficking and its victims without assistance. Countries that group trafficking victims with migrants put victims further at risk for being trafficked again and keep them from receiving proper assistance and treatment (Perrin, 2010). The distinction between migrants and trafficking victims is an essential component of law enforcement, border patrol, governmental and nongovernmental agency work and education. When prevention techniques fail, ensuring the proper identification of a trafficking case is the first step in assisting its victim.
Countries can serve as a source, transit, or destination country, or a combination of the three. Each distinction presents unique challenges to addressing this issue. The United States tier ranking on sufficiency of enforcement laws takes into consideration how well a country investigates and controls its borders and migration for the purposes of human trafficking. According to Van Impe (2000), an effective strategy to combat trafficking should integrate and balance punishment of perpetrators, protection of human rights, enhanced border control, and the removal of root causes, such as poverty and unequal gender or class rights. Furthermore, measures to address the issue should be coordinated and agreed upon by origin, transit and destination countries to ensure a united front against this injustice (Van Impe, 2000). These interventions should be implemented with sound methods for assessing their effectiveness, and to ensure that there are no unintended negative outcomes (Kaufman & Crawford, 2011). For example, prevention programs for rural villagers are often “fear” based, stressing the risks associated with trafficking. This can lead parents to keep their children, especially daughters, from educational opportunities for fear of their abduction while walking to and from school (Kaufman & Crawford, 2011).

Clark (2003) identifies bribes and corruption as major aids in the blatant movement of trafficking victims over borders. Bribery of governmental figures, police officers, border patrolmen, and even those within the legitimate transportation business (travel agencies) present methods through which traffickers obtain the means necessary to move their victims and reap the benefits of their exploitation. Addressing the issue of corruption is an extremely complex and difficult task. However, failing to do so may
continue to allow traffickers to go without punishment and victims to go without aid. A universal front to combat this issue requires a unity among governmental agencies, nongovernmental agencies, police departments, border patrols, and others who have to the potential to come in contact with victims; there is no room for corrupt individuals or organizations (Clark, 2003).

Perrin (2010) pinpoints specific characteristics of transit countries, which include: geographic proximity to attractive destination countries, insufficient legislation and weak enforcement of human trafficking laws, liberal migration policies, and operational criminal infrastructure. These factors facilitate trafficking in and out of the country. Transit countries face the unique challenge of distinguishing between a trafficking victim and a migrant. Perrin (2010) suggests that the most crucial undertaking of transit countries must be increased border patrol, education, and enforcement to distinguish between migrants and trafficking victims. Furthermore, countries must work together to have open lines of communication and provide protections to foreign nationals when they are apprehended so that they are given proper treatment and are able to safely return home. The use of the rate of net migration established a control for movement in and out of countries. However, this measure is limited in that countries record keeping and reporting techniques can vary in degree and accurateness.

Alternative Explanation: Political Stability, Civil Unrest, and Other Crimes Divert Enforcement

Instead of or in addition to culturally based gender biased decisions contributing to lax enforcement of human trafficking laws, enforcement may be diverted due to other
social structural characteristics of the country that create higher priorities for limited law enforcement responses. Do countries with political instability, civil unrest, or high crime rates have more lax enforcement of human trafficking laws, irrespective of the gender inequalities or gender equalities that may exist in their society? The destabilization and displacement of populations because of civil unrest, armed conflict, and political instability increase vulnerability to abuse, exploitation and false promises of a better life and work (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2005). Internal civil wars between different groups may also foster a situation where organized crime syndicates can capitalize on already impoverished families to encourage and deceive parents into letting their children be trafficked for enslaved labor or sexual exploitation. According to Chow (2003), these issues are especially prevalent in developing countries with histories of turmoil and political instability. The measure on political instability and civil unrest assesses whether the focus of the country’s resources and attention may be occupied by other significant political issues and armed conflict within a country, limiting their availability to respond to human trafficking.

**Current Study and Hypotheses**

According to Lopez-Claros and Zahidi (2005), gender equality can only occur when both men and women realize their full potential and are able to achieve that potential. This study provides the first empirical examination of whether indicators of gender inequality provide a unique contribution to predicting inter-country variation in the sufficiency of government efforts to combat human trafficking. It was hypothesized that countries where women are disadvantaged in resources and opportunities, as
indicated by high scores on the gender inequality scales, will be more likely to be rated as having insufficient enforcement of human trafficking laws, after controlling for competing explanations such as corruption, poverty, democratizing, percent of population in urban areas, and civil unrest. This study also examined the unique contribution of the individual indicators of gender inequality (included in the gender inequality scales) to extend conceptual understanding and propose specific interventions to address lax government attention. The specific indicators were: fertility rates of adolescents, women’s share of the labor force, the percentage of women in ministerial government positions, and whether men have more educational opportunities than women. It was hypothesized that countries in which disparities between men and women exist, based on the indicators, will be more likely seen as insufficiently responding to human trafficking and subsequently placed on tier two watch or tier three.

**Method**

The outcome variable included data compiled for 173 countries that received a rating on their enforcement of human trafficking in the United States Trafficking in Persons report (2010). Because data were not available for some countries on the main independent variable, gender inequality, the sample size for each analysis varied depending upon which gender inequality scale is used or whether the unique indicators of bias against women are analyzed as separate measures. The multiple measures of gender inequality were a major strength, as they increased the construct and predictive validity of this study.
Measuring a Country’s Response to Human Trafficking

This study used the United States Report on Trafficking of Persons Rankings from 2010. Within this report, countries are organized in one of four tiers. The tier placements are based on the extent of governments’ efforts to comply with the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) minimum standards (United States Department of State, Trafficking in Persons Report, 2011). The Trafficking in Persons Report takes a number of country characteristics into account for tier placement. According to the 2010 report, things such as: the enactment of laws prohibiting severe forms of trafficking in persons, criminal punishments for trafficking offenses, proactive victim identification measures and procedures to aid law enforcement and other responders in assisting victims, and government funding and partnerships with organizations to provide health care, counseling, and shelter for victims are considered. Furthermore, countries are evaluated on their ability to provide protection through partnerships with governmental agencies and nongovernmental organizations, their efforts to ensure unbiased legal assistance that is not prejudiced against victims’ rights, dignity, or psychological wellbeing, and the extent to which governments assist victims with reintegration back into their communities.

The Trafficking in Persons Report (2010) also assesses a country’s activity to educate the public and victims about human trafficking’s causes and consequences, measures, such as birth registration, citizenship, and nationality, to identify population, and steps to prevent the use of forced labor or child labor in violation of international standards. Tier one is comprised of countries with governments who are fully compliant
with the TVPA minimum standards. Human trafficking may still occur within these countries, but the governments have acknowledged the existence of the issue and are making efforts to address it. Countries placed on tier two are those whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA minimum standards. However, these countries are making a visible and significant effort to bring themselves into compliance with those standards. Tier two watch list contains countries that do not fully comply with the TVPA minimum standards, and have not shown sufficient efforts to combat trafficking. The countries that fall into this category have significant or significantly rising numbers of trafficking victims. Additionally, countries can be included in this tier if they fail to provide evidence of increasing efforts their to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year. Finally, countries can be included on the tier two watch list if it is determined that the country is agreeing to long term commitments to make considerable efforts in the upcoming year to bring themselves into compliance with minimum standards but are on probation because such efforts have not been made in the past. The final and highest rank, tier three, includes countries whose governments do not fully comply with the minimum standards and those who are not committing to or attempting to make significant efforts to do so (United States Department of State, Trafficking in Persons Report, 2010).

The data were coded for the countries as follows: tier one = 0, tier two = 1, tier two watch list =2, and tier three = 3. Within this ranking system, 17.3% of countries were at tier one rank, 47.5% were ranked as Tier two, 22.9% of countries were included in the tier two watch list, and tier three contained 12.3% of the countries. This measure was
treated as a dichotomous dummy coded measure, where tier one and two = 0 (65.3%),
and tier two watch list and tier three = 1 (34.7%).

Measurement of Gender Inequality

Two standardized scales were used to provide global measures of gender
inequality. In addition, the multiple forms of gender inequality within a country were
assessed with individual measures of different forms of gender inequality that are part of
these standardized scales. To ensure that the predictors come before the outcome
measurement, measures were taken for 2010 or earlier as the outcome measure was
assessed in 2011.

Inequality-Adjusted Human Development Index

The Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) represents a national
average of human development achievements, which takes into account gender
inequality. Human development, according to the United Nations Human Development
Report (2011), is defined as the “expansion of people’s freedoms and capabilities to lead
lives that they value and have reason to value (p. 1).” Data for the IHDI were obtained
from 153 countries. A country’s IHDI rank decreases when rates of disparity and
inequality are present; the IHDI utilizes life expectancies, mean years of schooling and
disposable household income or consumption per capita, with adjustments for gender
inequalities made. The life expectancy measure encompasses mortality rates and the
average age at death from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social
Affairs. The mean years of schooling and disposable household income or consumption
are computed through household survey data. The IHDI value ranges from 0 to 1, with 1
representing equality among the population of the country and 0 demonstrating an overwhelming level of inequality. The IHDI rank corresponds with the value of the country. For example, Norway, ranked number 1, has a value of .876. Norway has the closest computed value to 1 and is therefore ranked first on the IHDI scale. Given that there are over five categories in the IDHI value variable, this ordinal ranking is treated as an interval level of measurement, and has a normal distribution with a mean of .50, a standard deviation of .21, and a median of .51. The IDHI rank variable has a mean of 84.37, a median of 82 and a standard deviation of 49.41 (Human Development Reports, Inequality-adjusted Human Development, 2010).

**Gender Inequality Index**

The Gender Inequality Index (GII) produces a value that expresses inequality in achievements between women and men. Advantages of the GII include its ability to cover multiple dimensions of gender and the fact that it allows comparisons between countries as well as over time (Ferrant, 2009). Additionally, Ferrant (2009) states out that the GII is a relative measure that conceptualizes gender inequalities and includes appropriate weight determinations for its indicators. Moreover, the GII has a relatively simple interpretation: a higher GII value indicates higher gender inequalities within a given country (Ferrant, 2009). The GII has four specific properties that aid in its interpretation. First, because it is a relative inequality index, proportional change in specific male and female situations does not change the inequality value. Second, inequality can be compared over different population sizes using the GII. Next, the GII inequality level changes if there is a transfer from male to female within any form of discrimination.
among the indicators. Finally, the magnitude of the change in inequality depends on the female situation in an indicator for a given country in comparison to males (Ferrant, 2009). Data from the 2008 GII publication was utilized, and included 133 countries.

There are three dimensions under this measure, which are reproductive health, empowerment, and the labor market. The index shows the loss in potential human development (based on the Human Development Index) due to inequality between female and male achievements. In terms of health, the GII takes into account the maternal mortality ratio and the adolescent fertility rates of the country. According to the United Nations Human Development Report (2011), the GII shows how reproductive health constraints contribute to gender inequality (p. 7).” The indicators for empowerment are the parliamentary representation of a gender within the country’s government and the attainment of secondary and higher education for each gender. The country’s labor market participation rate is examined for males and females. The GII values range from 0 to 1, with lower numbers representing equality among men and women and higher numbers demonstrating a greater inequality between the genders (with men having better outcomes) within the given dimensions (Human Development Reports, Gender Inequality Index, 2008). The GII rank corresponds with the value, in that numbers closer to 0 have higher ranks. For example, the Netherlands has a value of 17 and a rank of 1 in terms of gender equality. The GII value is an interval variable, with a mean of .40, a standard deviation of .19 and a median of .43. The GII rank has a mean of 68.45, a standard deviation of 39.9 and a median of 68.5.
Specific Measures Assessing Bias against Women

Specific measures were used to address the unique contribution of different indicators of a patriarchal culture (i.e., biases against women manifested into fewer resources and opportunities compared to men). These measures are: adolescent fertility rate, the difference between educational opportunities (literacy) for men and women, the percent of women in ministerial positions, women’s share of the adult labor force within a country, and an estimation of earned income differences between men and women.

Adolescent Fertility Rate

The adolescent fertility rate represents the number of births per 1,000 women in a given country. The 2009 data for adolescent fertility rate was obtained from the World Bank and is defined as births per 1,000 girls between the ages of 15 and 19 years old (The World Bank, 2009). Across countries in our sample, there was an average of 50.65 births from teenage girls with a median of 34.35 (sd = 43.62).

Differential Educational Opportunities Between Genders

Data for each country’s gender based educational opportunities were obtained from the United Nations (United Nations Statistical Annex, 2011). An adult literacy rate is defined as the percentage of the population 15 years of age and older who can read and write with “understanding a simple statement related to daily life (United Nations Statistical Annex, 2010).” This indicator attempts to provide a measurement of literate individuals within the adult population (15 and over) who are able to use written words in daily life and continue to learn (United Nations Adult Literacy Rate, 2010). To create a measure of differential opportunity and achievement, women’s literacy rate was
subtracted from men’s; thus, the higher numbers represent that men, relative to women, had more educational achievement and opportunity in a country (minimum = -12%, maximum = 36%). To address skewness and conceptually represent the measure of higher educational opportunities for men, the variable was recoded as a dichotomous nominal measure, where 0 was equal to a range of -12 to 3% (n= 89, 52.4%) indicating women either having a higher literacy rate or men and women having equal literacy rates, and 1 was equal to men having a higher literacy rate of greater than a 3% difference (n= 81, 47.6%). The 3% cut off allows for error in measurement and represents a practical difference between men and women based on educational achievement.

The Percent of Women in Ministerial Positions

The percent of women in ministerial positions was obtained from the Progress of the World’s Women in Pursuit of Justice Report from 2011–2012. This is the percentage of women who held ministerial or governmental positions within a country in 2010. The mean for this ratio variable is 16.89% with a median of 14% (sd = 12.28).

Women’s Share of the Adult Labor Force

The adult labor force is defined as the proportion of individuals 15 years of age or older who “furnish, or are able to furnish, the supply of labor for the production of goods and services in accordance with the System of National Accounts (United Nations Statistical Annex, 2010).” The data obtained for this continuous variable was from 2010, and women averaged 41.34% participation in the adult labor force with a median of 54% (sd = 8.5).
The Difference in Estimated Earned Income Based on Gender

To display the monetary earning differences between men and women in a given country, the estimated earned income for men and women was included as an indicator of gender bias. The information was obtained from the Global Gender Gap Report (2011). This is the ratio of estimated female earned income to estimated male earned income expressed as a percent. The female to male ratio was entered as a number between 0 and 1, with numbers closer to 1 indicating a more equal distribution of earned income between men and women. This variable has an overall mean of .56 and a standard deviation of .15. To account for the countries missing an estimated earned income ratio, the means for each respective GNI group were used in place of missing values. The first GNI group had a mean of .54 (sd=.18). The second GNI group had a mean of .50 (sd=.11). Finally, the third GNI group had a mean of .66 (sd=.17). The first GNI group had 25 missing submissions (n=44). Additionally, the second GNI group had 14 missing submissions (n=40) and the third GNI group had five missing (n=45).

Measurement of Control Variables

Several controls that may be related to a country’s ability to respond sufficiently to human trafficking were assessed: government corruption, political instability and violence within the country, general poverty, the voice and accountability of citizens within the country, migration rates, and the percent of the population living in urban areas. The political stability and violence and the voice and accountability of citizens variables are considered Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI). The WGI use multiple sources in order to incorporate public and private sectors, such as commercial
business information providers and non-governmental organizations, and to provide a comprehensive view of governance (Kaufmann et al., 2009). These specific indicators are drawn together by a variety of sources using a statistical method known as an Unobserved Components Model (UCM). This model “standardizes data from multiple sources into comparable units, constructs a comprehensive indicator of governance as a weighted average of the underlying source variables, and constructs margins of error that reflect the unavoidable impression in measuring governance (Kaufmann et al., 2010, p.4).” The unavoidable uncertainty around the estimate of governance is captured in the UCM by the standard deviation of the distribution of governance conditional on the observed data. With the larger amount of available sources for a given country the standard deviation is smaller, which means the standard error of the estimate of governance for each country is smaller. The WGI utilizes a 90% confidence interval with a margin of error ranging from -1.64 to 1.64 times the governance scores standard deviation. This margin of error represents the reality that available data is not perfect, but utilizing multiple sources increases the validity of this measure. By using this model, the indicator results are less likely to be over-interpreted and the large amount of information is organized and summarized. The WGI aggregate measures are reported in two ways: the standard normal units of the governance indicator, which range from -2.5 to 2.5, and the percentile rank form, which ranges from the lowest point at 0 to the highest point at 100 (Kaufmann et al., 2010).
The Perception of Government Corruption

The Perception of government corruption is measured through the standardized Corruption Perception Index. The Corruption Perception Index (CPI) employs 13 different surveys to determine an aggregate rank and score for countries. The countries are ranked in terms of the degree to which corruption is perceived to exist among public officials and politicians. The data were collected from the 2009 CPI, which has a 90% confidence interval, demonstrating the reliability of the scores. The CPI is based on a 0 to 10 range, with higher numbers representing less perceived corruption within the country, and lower numbers demonstrating a high-perceived rate of corruption among governmental agencies. For example, Cambodia has a CPI score 2.0, demonstrating a high perceived level of corruption within the country. The CPI, as an interval variable, has a mean of 4.02 and a median of 3.30 (sd = 2.14) (Transparency International, 2010).

Political Stability and Absence of Violence

In addition to corruption, a country’s political situation was examined through the Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism Percentile Rank (Worldwide Governance Indicators, 2008). This governance indicator takes into account multiple public and private sources of input. This variable attempts to capture the perceptions of the likelihood that a government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including politically motivated violence and terrorism. Data from 2008 were used for this interval variable. The range of this indicator varies between 0 and 100 percent, with higher numbers representing stronger political stability and absence of violence (Kaufmann et al., 2009). For example, Australia has a percentile rank of 97.12,
demonstrating political strength and absence of violence. This interval variable has a mean of 48.32 and a median of 46.89 (sd = 28.70).

**Voice and Accountability within a Government**

The final measurement of governance included in this study was the Voice and Accountability Percentile Rank from 2008 (Worldwide Governance Indicators, 2008). This indicator aims to capture perceptions of the extent to which a country’s citizens are able to participate in selecting their government. Additionally, this measure attempts to determine the amount of freedom a citizen can experience in terms of expression, association and media use (Kaufmann et al., 2009). The range is based on percentages, and countries with higher percentages represent those where citizens are most able to participate in governmental and political decision-making. For example, Afghanistan has a Voice and Accountability Percentile Rank of 12.02, which shows a low level of individual citizen participation and voice within governmental agencies. This interval control variable has a mean of 50.02 and a median of 49.28 (sd = 28.15).

**Poverty**

General poverty within a given country was also controlled for through the Gross National Income (GNI) (UNICEF, Basic Indicators). The GNI is the gross national income divided by the population of a country. The GNI consists of the Gross National Product in addition to net receipts from abroad of wages and salaries of property income. This variable provides an understanding of a country’s economic situation; their strengths and weaknesses. Countries with higher GNI per capita values are argued to have better living conditions more social and personal achievement, longer life expectancies, and a
higher standard of living (UNICEF, Basic Indicators). This interval variable has a mean of 11215.03, a median of 4000.00, and a standard deviation of 16124.69.

**Net Migration**

The net migration rate was included as a control measure. The information was collected from 2007 to 2008 through Nation Master (2011) (which obtained its information from the CIA World Factbook). The net migration rate is defined as the difference between the number of individuals entering and leaving a country during a given year per 1,000 individuals. If the rate is positive, that demonstrates an excess of individuals entering the country. If the number is negative, that demonstrates an excess of individuals leaving the country. The net migration rate shows the contribution of migration to the overall level of population change (Nation Master). This variable has a mean of .28, a median of 0, and a standard deviation of 4.78.

**The Percent of a Population Living in Urban Areas**

The percentage of individuals living in urban areas within a country was included as a control variable. The data was obtained from Nation Master, who collects to most recent information for each country. This variable is defined as the percentage of individuals within a country living in urban areas. Urban-rural classification of population in internationally published statistics follows the national census definition. National definitions are usually based on criteria that may include any of the following: size of population in a locality, population density, distance between built-up areas, predominant type of economic activity, legal or administrative boundaries, and urban characteristics such as specific services and facilities (Nation Master, 2012). The source
of information can differ from one country or area to another. This variable has a mean of 55.31 and a median of 57 (sd=22.53).

Modifying the Independent Variable

A potential barrier to effective enforcement of human trafficking is a country’s general poverty level. For one of the gender-inequality measures, income level is included in the index; thus, it is highly correlated with a country’s economic prosperity. The original GNI variable had a mean of $11,215.03 and a median of $4,000.00 (sd = $16,124.69). To address the skewness and to analyze the contribution of gender inequality independent of poverty, separate analyses were conducted for three groups of countries: extremely impoverished (GNI between $0 and $3000) (n=69, 39.9%), poor countries (GNI between $3,001 and $11,999) (n=54, 31.2%), and developed countries (GNI of $12,000 or above) (n=50, 28.9%).

Results and Discussion

The results focus on testing the hypothesis that the gender inequality scales will account for the between country variation of sufficiency in enforcing human trafficking laws, after controlling for other viable explanations. All statistical analyses were conducted separately for very impoverished, poor and developed countries based on the Gross National Income (GNI) per capita. The first group represents countries with a GNI of 0 to 3,000 and is labeled as very impoverished countries. The second group contains countries with a GNI of 3,001 to 11,999 and represents poor countries. The third group holds countries with a GNI of 12,000 and above, which represents developed countries. The variables controlled for in the first analysis included: the percentage of the
population living in urban areas, the net migration rate, the corruption perception index, and the political stability and absence of violence/terrorism percentile rank.

Initially, a Pearson correlation was used to test the bivariate relationships between the two gender inequality scales, the control variables, and lax enforcement. Then, logistic regressions predicting sufficient or insufficient enforcement were conducted separately for each of the gender inequality scales. To address which measures of gender inequality predict insufficiency of enforcement (tier ranking) a logistic regression was conducted, using the individual variables included in the gender inequality scales. A logistic regression was an appropriate test because of the dichotomous dependent measure (tier two watch and tier three) and there were an insufficient number of tier three countries to warrant an ordinal measure. A forced entry model was also utilized to assess the sensitivity of the models.

Analysis 1

**Correlation Between Independent Variable Scales**

The two gender inequality scales, the Inequality Adjusted Human Development Rank and the Gender Inequality Scale Rank were strongly correlated ($r=0.90$, $p<0.001$). This correlation showed that the two gender inequality scales were too closely related and required separation to avoid multicollinearity, warranting separate stepwise logistic regressions. A stepwise logistic regression was utilized in an effort to maximize the predictive power of this model.
Correlation Between Control Variables

Pearson correlations were conducted among the control variables to determine if multicollinearity existed. The political stability and absence of violence variable was correlated with the voice and accountability variable in all three of the GNI groups (very impoverished countries: \( r = .72, p < .001 \), poor countries: \( r = .836, p < .001 \), developed countries: \( r = .60, p < .001 \)). The voice and accountability variable was weakly correlated with the corruption perception index in the first GNI group \( (r = .27, p < .05) \). These high correlations suggested that the political stability and voice and accountability variables assess the same concept. Thus, the voice and accountability measure was no longer used as a control variable. All other correlations among control variables were not found to be significant.

Examination of Contextual Control Variables with Gender Inequality Scales

The following control variables were utilized throughout this analysis: the percentage of the population living in urban areas, the net migration rate, the corruption perception index, and the political stability and absence of violence/terrorism percentile rank. Within the first GNI group \((0-3,000)\), the Gender Inequality Scale (GII) was not correlated with any of the control variables. The Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) had a moderate negative correlation with the percentage of the population living in urban areas \((r = -.41, p < .01)\). Additionally, the IHDI had a moderate correlation with the net migration rate \((r = .30, p < .05)\).

Among poor countries, the IHDI was moderately negatively correlated with the percentage of the population that lives in urban areas \((r = -.45, p < .01)\) and moderately
negatively correlated with the percentage of the population that lives in urban areas (r=-.45, p<.01). Additionally, the IHDI was moderately negatively correlated with the political stability and absence of violence variable (r=-.39, p<.01). The Pearson correlations between the CPI and the gender inequality scales can be found in Table 1. Among poor countries, the corruption scale was moderately correlated with the gender inequality scales. However, among developed countries, the correlation was significantly stronger between the gender inequality scales and the perception of corruption.

Table 1. Correlations between the Corruption Perception Index and Gender Inequality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poor Countries</th>
<th></th>
<th>Developed Countries</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index Rank</td>
<td>-.30*</td>
<td>Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index Rank</td>
<td>-.77***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Inequality Index Rank</td>
<td>-.34*</td>
<td>Gender Inequality Index Rank</td>
<td>-.49**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*significant at p ≤ .05
** significant at p ≤ .01
***significant at p ≤ .001

Predicting Tier Watch List Position

A logistic regression was conducted to determine if the IHDI and the GII were significant predictors of a country’s tier ranking, while maintaining a distinction between very impoverished countries, poor countries and developed countries based on the GNI. A logistic regression could not be conducted among developed countries due to a strong negative correlation between the CPI and the IHDI (r=-.77, p<.001) and a moderate negative correlation between the CPI and the GII (r=-.48, p<.01). These correlations demonstrate that the CPI and the two gender inequality scales were related at the country level. Developed countries that have high instances of gender inequality, as indicated by
the higher scale ranks, are more likely to have higher levels of perceived corruption, as indicated by a lower score on the CPI. Because of this, developed countries were not utilized in this analysis. Additionally, Vietnam, Cyprus, Barbados, Estonia, Qatar, Costa Rica, and Malta were removed from this analysis because they were found to be outliers with residuals beyond two standard deviations in the logistic regression. These countries were removed to increase the accuracy of the model.

Table 2. Predicting Tier Ranking among Very Impoverished Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Odds Ratio (Wald)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender Inequality Index:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption Perception Index</td>
<td>.05 (6.95)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Inequality Index Rank</td>
<td>1.10 (8.56)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption Perception Index</td>
<td>.12 (8.52)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index</td>
<td>1.04 (7.80)**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*significant at p ≤ .05  
**significant at p ≤ .01

Among very impoverished countries when utilizing the GII and after controlling for the effect of the other predictors, for every unit of increase in the CPI there was a decrease of 95.4% in the odds of ranking on the tier two watch list or tier three. The hypothesis was supported. For every unit of increase in the GII, there was an increase of 10.1% in the odds of being placed in the insufficient enforcement group (tier two watch list or tier three). The model predicting the odds of a country being ranked on tier two watch or tier three using the GII and CPI (n=44) was significant ($x^2(2)=29.45$, p<.001) with a Nagelkerke $R^2=.62$, suggesting that the model was a strong fit for the observed data. These results are displayed in Table 2. A logistic regression was conducted controlling for three additional variables (net migration, percent of the population living
in urban areas and political stability and absence of violence/terrorism).\(^1\) Despite including these additional controls, the gender inequality scale remained significant and no additional controls were significant.

Among very impoverished countries when utilizing the IHDI, and after controlling for the effect of the other predictors, for every unit of increase in the CPI, there was a decrease of 88% in the odds of being ranked on tier two watch or tier three. For every unit of increase in the IHDI there was an increase of 5.3% in the odds of being ranked on tier two watch or tier three. The model predicting the odds of a country being ranked on tier two watch or tier three using the IHDI and CPI (n=54) was significant (\(\chi^2(2)=25.1, \ p<.001\)) with a Nagelkerke \(R^2=.47\), suggesting a moderate fit to the observed data. Table 2 displays these results. Once again, after including the three additional controls, the IHDI and CPI were still significant predictors of tier ranking.\(^2\)

Among poor countries, when using the GII and after controlling for the effect of other predictors, for every unit of increase in the GII there was a reduction of 5.7% in the odds of a country being ranked on tier two watch or tier three. For every unit of increase in the CPI there was a reduction of 75.7% in the odds of a country being ranked on tier two watch or tier three. The model predicting the odds of a country being ranked on tier two watch or tier three using the GII and CPI (n=30) was significant (\(\chi^2(2)=11.89, \ p<.01\)).

---

\(^1\) The net migration rate, percent of population living in urban areas and the absence of violence/terrorism percentile rank were not significant. For every unit of increase in the GII there is an increase of 11% (1.110-1) in the odds of being placed in the insufficient enforcement group (tier two watch or tier three) (Wald(1) = 7.17, \(p < .01\)).

\(^2\) For every unit of increase in the IHDI, there is an increase of 4.5% (1.045-1) in the odds of being placed in the insufficient enforcement group (tier twow or tier three) (Wald(1) = 5.08, \(p < .05\)). For every unit of increase in the CPI, there is a decrease of 88.4% (1-.116) in the odds of being placed in the insufficient enforcement group (tier twow or tier three) (Wald(1) = 8.27, \(p < .01\)).
p<.01), with a Nagelkerke $R^2=.39$ indicating a moderate fit of the model to the observed data. These results are displayed in Table 3. When the additional controls were included through a forced entry logistic regression, the GII was not a significant predictor of tier ranking and none of the additional controls were significant. However, the CPI remained a significant predictor.$^3$

Table 3. Predicting Tier Ranking among Poor Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Odds Ratio (Wald)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender Inequality Index:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption Perception Index</td>
<td>.23 (6.04)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Inequality Index Rank</td>
<td>.94 (4.22)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption Perception Index</td>
<td>.25 (6.87)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index</td>
<td>1.01 (.36)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*significant p ≤ .05
**significant p ≤ .01

A second model among poor countries was conducted using the IHDI. After controlling for the effect of other predictors in the second model, every unit of increase in the CPI brought a reduction of 74.6% in the odds of a country being ranked on tier two watch or tier three. This model predicting the odds of a country being seen as insufficiently responding to human trafficking (n=39) was significant ($x^2(2)=13.09$, p<.01), with a (Nagelkerke R2=.36 indicating a moderate fit of the model to the observed data. These results are displayed in Table 3. Despite including the additional controls, the CPI remained a significant predictor of tier ranking and the IHDI was not significant.$^4$

$^3$ For every unit of increase in the CPI, there is a decrease of 85% (1-.151) in the odds of being placed in the insufficient enforcement group (tier two or tier three) (Wald(1) = 6.32, p < .05).

$^4$ For every unit of increase in the CPI, there is a decrease of 83% (1-.17) in the odds of being placed in the insufficient enforcement group (tier two or tier three) (Wald(1) = 7.4, p < .01).
The findings among very impoverished countries and poor countries are similar. As countries received higher scores on the CPI (indicating less perceived corruption), the likelihood of being placed on the tier two watch list or tier three was lessened. This finding demonstrates that countries with lower perceived corruption were less likely to be seen as failing to combat human trafficking. Among very impoverished countries, both gender inequality scales were significant predictors of insufficient responses to human trafficking. Countries with higher scores on the inequality scales were more likely to be found as having less than satisfactory tier rankings (tier two watch and tier three), supporting the idea that gender inequality could lead to lax enforcement of trafficking laws. The finding is similar among poor countries, with the exception of the IHDI, which was not found to be significant.

Analysis 2

**Relationship of Scales to Individual Items**

The second analysis took the components of the gender inequality scales and sought to determine if individual elements were predictors of tier ranking while controlling for corruption using the Corruption Perception Index (CPI). The individual items utilized were: adolescent fertility rate, the difference between educational opportunities for men and women, the percent of women in ministerial positions, women’s share of the adult labor force within a country, and an estimation of earned income differences between men and women. The difference in educational opportunities for men and women variable was ordinal and therefore a Somers’ d was used in the bivariate analyses. To examine the relationship between the scales and the individual
items related to gender inequality, a correlation was conducted with the GNI separations maintained.

Table 4. Gender Inequality among Very Impoverished Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index Rank</th>
<th>Adolescent Fertility Rate</th>
<th>Difference in Educational Opportunities</th>
<th>Women in Ministerial Positions</th>
<th>Women’s Share of Labor Force</th>
<th>Earned Income Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.34***</td>
<td>.55 ***</td>
<td>.192*</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.22*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender Inequality Index Rank</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.53***</td>
<td>.74 ***</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>-.25*</td>
<td>-.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Somers’ d with Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index Rank as dependent variable.
2 Somers’ d with Gender Inequality Index Rank as dependent variable.
*significant p < .05
**significant p < .01
***significant p < .001

It was found that, among very impoverished countries, the IHDI was moderately correlated with adolescent fertility rate, moderately correlated with the difference in educational opportunities, very weakly correlated with women in ministerial positions, and weakly correlated with earned income ratio. Within this GNI division, the GII was strongly correlated with adolescent fertility rate, very strongly correlated with the difference in educational opportunities, and weakly negatively correlated with women’s share of the labor force. These results are displayed in Table 4.

Among poor countries, the IHDI is not correlated with any of the component variables. However, the GII is moderately correlated with adolescent fertility rate and weakly negatively correlated with the earned income ratio. These results can be seen in Table 5.
### Table 5. Gender Inequality among Poor Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index Rank</th>
<th>Adolescent Fertility Rate</th>
<th>Difference in Educational Opportunities</th>
<th>Women in Ministerial Positions</th>
<th>Women’s Share of Labor Force</th>
<th>Earned Income Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.16 ¹</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Gender Inequality Index Rank                     | .36**                     | .03 ²                                | .05                           | -.09                       | -.26*              |

¹ Somers’ d with Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index Rank as dependent variable.
² Somers’ d with Gender Inequality Index Rank as dependent variable.
*significant p ≤ .05
**significant p ≤ .01

### Table 6. Gender Inequality among Developed Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index Rank</th>
<th>Adolescent Fertility Rate</th>
<th>Difference in Educational Opportunities</th>
<th>Women in Ministerial Positions</th>
<th>Women’s Share of Labor Force</th>
<th>Earned Income Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.31**</td>
<td>.74 ¹***</td>
<td>-.40***</td>
<td>-.29**</td>
<td>-.32**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Gender Inequality Index Rank                     | .51***                    | .46 ²**                               | .05                           | -.40***                    | -.27*              |

¹ Somers’ d with Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index Rank as dependent variable.
² Somers’ d with Gender Inequality Index Rank as dependent variable.
*significant p ≤ .05
**significant p ≤ .01
***significant p ≤ .001

Table 6 displays the correlations between the component variables and the gender inequality scales among developed countries. The IHDI was moderately correlated with adolescent fertility rate, very strongly correlated with the difference in educational opportunities, and strongly negatively correlated with women in ministerial positions.
Additionally, the IHDI was weakly negatively correlated with women’s share of the labor force and moderately negatively correlated with the estimated earned income ratio. Additionally, the GII is strongly correlated with adolescent fertility rate strongly correlated with the difference in educational opportunities strongly negatively correlated with women’s share of the labor force and weakly negatively correlated with the estimated earned income ratio.

**Logistic Regression for Components Predicting Tier Ranking**

A logistic regression was conducted to determine if individual components of the gender inequality scales were significant in predicting tier ranking while controlling for corruption using the CPI. The individual items tested for predictability included: adolescent fertility rate, difference in educational opportunities between men and women, the percent of women in ministerial positions, women’s share of the adult labor force, and the estimated earned income ratio. This regression was conducted while maintaining the separation based on the GNI for very impoverished, poor and developed countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Odds Ratio (Wald)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corruption Perception Index</td>
<td>.09 (11.2)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference in Educational Opportunities</td>
<td>22.21 (6.96)**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**significant p ≤ .01**

Table 7 presents the logistic regression findings for the characteristics of inequality that predicted insufficient enforcement of trafficking laws among very impoverished countries. When controlling for the effect of the other predictors, it was found that for every unit of increase in the CPI there was a reduction of 90.9% in the
odds of a country being placed on tier two watch or tier three. Also, the odds of being placed on the tier two watch list or tier three were 22.21% greater for countries where men have more higher educational opportunities than countries where men and women are equal or women have more opportunities. The model predicting the odds of a country being ranked on tier two watch or tier three using adolescent fertility rate, the difference in educational opportunities between men and women, the percent of women in ministerial positions, women’s share of the adult labor force, and the estimated earned income ratio (n=67) was significant ($x^2(2)=27.14$, $p<.001$) and had a Nagelkerke $R^2=.46$, indicating a moderate fit of the model to the observed data.

These finding once again support the idea that countries with higher scores on the CPI, representing less perceived corruption, were not as likely to be placed on the higher tier rankings. In other words, countries that are perceived to be less corrupt were more likely to appropriately respond to human trafficking, according to the Trafficking in Persons Report. Additionally, among very impoverished countries, disparities in educational achievements between men and women were found to increase the odds of being placed on the tier two watch list or tier three. When men have higher educational opportunities and subsequent achievement when compared to women, inequalities between men and women in many facets of everyday life can arise. This finding supports the notion that countries in which gender inequalities, such as imbalanced educational opportunities, exists are more likely to seen as inadequately responding to human trafficking.
Table 8. Gender Inequality predicting Tier Ranking in Developed Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Odds Ratio (Wald)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women in Ministerial Positions</td>
<td>.84 (7.61)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption Perception Index</td>
<td>.74 (1.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**significant p ≤ .01

Among poor countries, no significant predictors of insufficient enforcement were found. Among developed countries, after controlling for the effect of the other predictors, it was found that every unit of increase within the women in ministerial positions variable brought a reduction of 16.5% in the odds of a country being placed on the tier two watch list or tier three. The model predicting the odds of a country being ranked on tier two watch or tier three using adolescent fertility rate, difference in educational opportunities between men and women, the percent of women in ministerial positions, women’s share of the adult labor force, and the earned income ratio (n=48) was significant ($x^2(2)=22.39$, p<.001), with a likelihood of 59% (Nagelkerke $R^2=.59$) that the model accounted for the observed data. These findings are displayed in table 8. This is a statistically and practically significant finding because it shows that for every one woman a country employs in ministerial positions there is a 16.5% reduction in the odds of that country being seen as ineffectively combating human trafficking. Countries that have more women in ministerial positions were more likely to be seen as taking steps and implementing measures to combat human trafficking.

**Conclusion**

This study examined the relationship between gendered inequality and the effort a country makes to address the issue of human trafficking. Trafficking cases differ in terms
of context and victim characteristics, but commentators have determine that commonalities do exist among situations, and they can serve as starting points for addressing this issue. This study sought to determine whether or not countries with higher ratings of gender inequality would be less likely to respond to human trafficking.

Academically, this study continues the work of previous examinations that have focused on inequality as it relates to violations of human rights, such as human trafficking. It has been proposed that gender inequality is a risk factor for human trafficking, and this study empirically tested this claim, while controlling for other significant predictors. This study aimed to contribute to human trafficking policies and intervention techniques so that they may be better able to address the gender inequality needs of a country and to create lasting change for women and children who fall victim to exploitation.

The findings within this study give support for additional examinations of contextual gender biases as they relate to a country’s efforts to combat this injustice. A major finding across the analyses was the influence of the perception of corruption within a given country and how it can relate to the way in which a country operates. This finding suggests that barriers to a country comprehensively responding to the issue of human trafficking, based on the TVPA standards, may be imbedded in governmental structure. Making changes in the way a government operates is necessary to address not only human trafficking, but additional social and cultural issues as well. This finding also suggests that corruption among governmental agencies may play a roll in allowing human trafficking to thrive within a given country. Additionally, the second analysis provided a glimpse into the individual components of gender inequality and how they may influence
or predict a country’s response to trafficking. Disparities in educational achievements and the number of women in ministerial positions were found to be significant predictors of a country landing on the tier two watch list or tier three (insufficient response). These finding demonstrate the need for universal gender equality not only socially and culturally, but within governments and among key decision makers. Additionally, these findings build support for D’Cunha’s (2002) proposed gender equality framework to encompass a gender responsive rights-based approach to focus on equal human rights in countries where patriarchy and inequality are rampant.

In the past, studies have not focused on what contributes to the between country variation in enforcement of human trafficking laws. This issue is problematic due to the global nature and international consequences generated by trafficking. Strides have been made to universalize an approach to combating this issue. For example, the United Nations have considered various sanctions and interventions so that countries with substantial human trafficking problems can make a concentrated effort to punish traffickers and to provide victims with appropriate restorative and beneficial interventions. Furthermore, the United States Trafficking in Persons Report is a globally recognized effort to identify the discrepancies in trafficking responses. Within this study, the sample of 173 countries is representative of the world’s global regions to contribute to the cross-national approach to understanding human trafficking. Countries from East Asia and the Pacific, Europe and Central Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and North Africa, South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Western Europe, the South Pacific region, and North America were included.
Multiple measures of gender inequality were used to address the weaknesses in each of the measures, and to assess whether the findings could be replicated when different scales are used. While multiple measures increase the reliability of this study, each scale has specific weaknesses. The Gender Inequality Index (GII) is biased toward more developed countries as it includes more measures of employment and parliamentary representation (Human Development Reports, Gender Inequality Index, 2008). However, the GII attempts to use an aggregate strategy to go beyond methodological shortcomings and takes into account multiple dimensions of everyday life. Each dimension (family, identity, health, economic resources, physical integrity, education, work, and politics) is weighted within the measure. The highest weights are given to the most significant dimensions, which makes the GII a normalized weighted sum of the equality shortcomings within a given country (Ferrant, 2009). Additionally, the IHDI does not account for the same people experiencing multiple deprivations (Human Development Reports, Inequality-adjusted Human Development, 2010). Despite the limitations, these two measures cover a large number of countries and contain multiple indicators of gender inequality (Moser, 2007).

The control variables, and more specifically, the use of the World Governance Indicators (WGI), utilize citizen (not undocumented individuals or migrants) perception data from various sources to measure a country’s governance. Perceptions are an important contributor to understand social and cultural dynamics within a given country. Additionally, there are few alternatives to perception data when attempting to comprehend many areas of governance, such as corruption. Perception data can be
imprecise and subject to biases, which are taken into account with the margins of error reported in the WGI (Kaufmann et al., 2010). The margin of error (90% confidence level) does not mean that the WGI cannot be used to make meaningful comparisons of governance across countries or over time, but caution should be taken when interpreting results.

The scope of migration may not have been fully grasped in the net migration variable. Moreover, other factors such as relaxed border patrol, failure to enforce immigration laws, lack of immigration laws, and undocumented or fraudulent migrants may influence movement in and out of a country but are not accounted for within the net migration rate or within this study. However, measuring alternative concepts would be difficult, and the net migration rate represents a conceptual framework to understand fluctuations in a country’s population. Moreover, the dependent measure attempts to reduce migration for illegal purposes as part of its sufficient enforcement efforts. Finally, as authors have noted (La Strada International, 2008), living in rural areas can increase an individual’s likelihood of falling victim to traffickers. Because of this, the percent of a country’s population living in urban areas was included and controlled for.

The variables included in the second analysis as indicators of the gender inequality included: adolescent fertility rate, the difference between educational opportunities for men and women, the percent of women in ministerial positions, women’s share of the adult labor force within a country, and an estimation of the gap between earned income for males and females. The adolescent fertility is the number of births (per 1,000) to women between the ages of 15 to 19. This measure is only based on
data from registered live births via registration systems, the country’s census, or sample surveys. When empirical information is not available, a model is used to estimate the share of births to adolescents or extrapolations from trends that have been observed by researchers in earlier years (The World Bank, 2009). Because of these issues, this measure could underestimate the actual adolescent fertility rate of a given country. For example, unregistered and undocumented migrants or rural villagers may not be included in this measure, even though they may be most at risk for trafficking and most in need of prevention and intervention efforts.

The difference in educational achievements (literacy) between men and women in a country was included as an indicator of gender equality in the second analysis. In a meta-analysis of previous research, Klasen and Lamanna (2009) found that education is related to other well-being-related dimensions such as employment, pay and health and it can even influence the overall economic growth of a country. Through attempting to conceptualize the equality or disparity between the educational attainment of men and women within a country, this study contributes to a better understanding of the root causes to other gender based inequality, such as labor force participation. Literacy is a relative concept that can be defined in terms of school, work, home and social aspects of life, all of which require different skills. Critics of this measure argue that a more in depth assessment of reading, writing, and numeracy abilities should be established as opposed to asking an individual to write a short statement about their daily life. However, in order for this to happen, more unique measurement instruments are needed. Additionally, the data is often collected during national population censuses or through household surveys.
Official statistics can be out of date for most countries, and this measure does not include undocumented rural villagers or immigrants. Despite these shortcomings, understanding a country’s literacy levels is necessary to comprehend the development and disparities that may exist between genders (United Nations Adult Literacy Rate).

By including the percent of women in ministerial positions, women’s share of the adult workforce, and the estimated earned income for men and women, this study made an attempt to understand the visible female governmental and workforce participation within a country. Having female influence in governmental decision-making is vital to moving towards equal rights (D’Cunha, 2002). Similarly women’s share of the workforce was incorporated in the second analysis to understand female participation in financially contributing to themselves, their families, their communities, and their country. To increase the construct validity of this indicator, the monetary amount earned for men and for women in a given country was included. This allowed for a depiction of disparities between earnings of men and women. A better indicator that could be used to measure this concept, if data were readily available, would be whether or not countries have laws restricting the types of jobs or positions that women could hold, and the types of employment women seek compared to men. This would allow for a better understanding of the individual, social and cultural influences on gender inequality in the workforce.

The indicators of gender inequality, more specifically, adolescent fertility rate, women’s share of the adult workforce, income earned, and educational achievement may reflect individual choice rather than a patriarchal system. The measures that were used in the second analysis only document the data, and not the reasons behind the numbers.
Moreover, while factors outside of personal preference (i.e. cultural, community, family, or educational restrictions) may influence the types of jobs that females are allowed to occupy, there may also be an element of choice in some instances, which would influence the amount of money earned by females in a country. Social or cultural influences that promote gender inequality may be absent from these cases, and this should be considered when viewing results yielded from these indicators.

No unanimous solution for human trafficking exists. Each situation is different and intervention techniques should be designed to meet the needs of individual countries and areas. This study encourages the comprehension of relevant dimensions of gender inequality that predict the insufficiency of human trafficking enforcement. This information contributes to theory development, new gender inequality scale development for justice related issues, and provides recommendations about what needs to be addressed for countries to become more vigilant and proactive in their enforcement of human trafficking laws. The trafficking of human beings, for slave labor or sexual exploitation, has become an internationally recognized problem that affects an average of 2.5 million people at any given time (United Nations, 2006). The bottom line is that this injustice will continue to present itself in countries that do not actively combat its underlying root causes. This study only begins to address the question of which societal and cultural factors contribute to countries’ differential responses to trafficking. If gender inequality is one contributor to a government’s response, a greater globalized effort to eliminate inequality and promote equality between women and men will be needed.
REFERENCE LIST


VITA

Christina Fiorito was born and raised in Chicago, Illinois. She attended Loyola University Chicago from 2007-2011, where she earned a Bachelors of Science in Psychology and Criminal Justice from 2007 to 2011. As an undergraduate student Christina was involved and held leadership positions in a number of organizations, including the Panhellenic Council, Alpha Sigma Alpha, Psi Chi, Alpha Phi Sigma, the Criminal Justice Organization, Golden Key Honor Society, and the National Society of Collegiate Scholars. Christina pioneered and served as the president for the Loyola Women’s Club Softball Team and the International Student Volunteers Club on campus. As a graduating senior, Christina was awarded the Department of Criminal Justice Faculty Recognition award and graduated Magna Cum Laude.

She continued her education at Loyola University Chicago when she was accepted to the 5 year BS/MA program to earn a Master of Arts in Criminal Justice and Criminology. While completing her Master of Arts degree, Christina was elected Vice President of the Graduate Criminal Justice Organization, and remained the president of the Women’s Club Softball Team and the International Student Volunteers Club. Christina was awarded the Community and Global Stewards Fellowship in 2012 while working at the Department of Cook County’s Juvenile Probation Department. The focus of Christina’s thesis, human trafficking, is the field in which she aims to work. Christina is employed with Lutheran Social Services of New England’s Unaccompanied Refugee
Minors Unit near Boston, Massachusetts as a case manager.