

**FEEDING THE BEAST: MACROECONOMIC DRIVERS OF LEADERSHIP
RESPONSES TO FOREIGN POLICY ACTION AND THE GENDERED
CONSEQUENCES FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING**

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CONSEQUENCES FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	iv
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Literature Review, Theory, Hypotheses	
2. FOREIGN POLICY AND WOMEN’S RIGHTS	34
Sanctions, Government Spending on Primary Education, and Women’s Rights	
3. FOREIGN POLICY AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING	55
Sanctions, Military Force, Government Public Spending, and Human Trafficking Response	
4. INDONESIA	85
A Case Vignette	
5. CONCLUSION	141
Discussion of Findings and Suggestions for Moving Forward	
APPENDIX	
1. FIGURES AND TABLES FROM CHAPTER 2	148
2. FIGURES AND TABLES FROM CHAPTER 3	152
3. FIGURES AND TABLES FROM CHAPTER 4	157
BIBLIOGRAPHY	160
VITA	181

ABSTRACT

How do the gendered macroeconomic and macropolitical structures of the international system exacerbate the rise in human trafficking? In this dissertation project, I use a mixed method approach to examine the relationship between domestic leadership responses to foreign policy actions and how those responses lead to rises in human trafficking in the target state. I begin with cross-national, quantitative models to illustrate that following two different types of foreign policy action, namely, economic sanctions and military force, domestic leaders are driven by the macropolitical interstate system to choose between hoarding finite resources among elites within the target state or redistributing those resources among the populace. I argue that when leaders choose to hoard resources, the populace suffers from lack of social program support and women are particularly vulnerable under such conditions. Leadership focus on self-preservation reduces government support for public programs such as anti-trafficking policy. The populace is then much more likely to choose illicit economic activities such as human trafficking to survive and without support for anti-trafficking in the target state, human trafficking flourishes. The macroeconomic structure of global capitalism relies on cheap labor and cheap goods which specifically reduces the options for women under times of financial duress, and women will suffer significantly as government spending on safety net programs is reduced. I support the quantitative results using a qualitative case study on Indonesia, which I develop using historical documents and resources. Ultimately, this project highlights the importance of developing anti-trafficking policies that do more than punish individual perpetrators but instead, acknowledge the negative impacts of the macroeconomic and macropolitical structures in international relations and how those structures significantly harm women throughout the world.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Every year, thousands of people are trapped in a system of modern slavery. They are exploited, body and mind, and discarded as disposable commodities. This epidemic-level system of abuse is found in every region of the world, on every continent, in every country. Both men and women are victims and perpetrators, the rich and the poor alike are entangled in its machinations, adults, children, and infants suffer under its weight, and every race, ethnicity, language, and religion is impacted by this heinous enterprise. Human trafficking is a global problem that demands a global solution and yet, most of the academic literature and policy prescriptions on human trafficking apply a victim-centered, bottom-up approach to this issue. Anti-trafficking laws place the responsibility for ending human slavery on the backs of everyday citizens and local courts and law enforcement officials. Very few efforts to address human trafficking mention the role of the state, or more importantly, the role of the international system in contributing to this global problem. As a consequence, we know very little about the impact policies have on trafficking in the international arena. In this dissertation project, I address this oversight by examining the impact of the actors and institutions which hold the most power in the world in advancing the macropolitical and macroeconomic drivers of human trafficking.

I argue that the widely supported structures of the interstate system are primarily centered on gendered, structural violence and that these structures create a trickle-down effect that exacerbates human trafficking. The international embrace of neoliberal capitalism compounded by globalization and masculinized versions of financial risk taking has resulted in a widening of the gap in resources and wealth between the rich and the poor and accelerated the corporate reliance on cheap goods and cheap labor that leaves massive sections of the world population in abject poverty, and women in the world uniquely

impoverished. The global embrace of heavily masculinized, nationalistic, sovereignty focused, security driven violence has resulted in increased instability at the national level and rapidly rising migration flows that has left massive sections of the world population in serious risk, and women in the world uniquely endangered. States demonstrate their allegiance to these systems by implementing foreign policy actions that protect their own security and economics while virtually ignoring the disastrous outcomes for civilians in target states. Men and masculinity rule the political and economic institutions in these systems, but women experience the worst consequences of these narrowly focused foreign policy decisions. As the international system operates, states act to advance their interests, state leaders respond to one another to advance their interests, and citizens absorb the impact of these complicated relationships while their interests are disregarded.

I examine the impact of foreign policy action and the responsive choices to such action by domestic leadership on combatting human trafficking. I argue that driven by the macropolitical system of structural violence, states employ sanctions or military force against one another to alter perceived antagonistic or uncooperative behavior. In response, domestic leaders, driven by the macroeconomic system of structural violence, hoard resources among themselves and drastically reduce spending on social programs, shifting spending toward military assets or government protection. The economic and social impacts of sanctions and military force are fundamentally oppressive for civilians, forcing them to result to desperate means to survive. If the government maintains social programs that are vital to this survival, civilians are less likely to be ‘pushed’ or ‘pulled’ into illicit commodities such as human trafficking. But in times of crisis, the government restricts such programs exactly when they are needed most by the populace and civilians have

nowhere to turn for economic and personal support. The macroeconomic system keeps goods and wages low, the macropolitical system keeps borders and states insecure, the domestic leadership removes protections for civilians and diverts its attention away from anti-trafficking efforts, and human trafficking flourishes.

In the pages to follow, I provide a brief overview of the relevant literature on sanctions, military force, government spending, and human trafficking to lay the foundation for my theory. I then describe the theory of the gendered consequences of foreign policy on human trafficking and outline the causal mechanism. In the next section I describe the hypotheses to be tested in the following chapters and then move into an overview of the data and methodology I employ in the project. Finally, I give a brief overview of the main arguments to come in each chapter to provide an outline of the overall dissertation project.

Sanctions: Various Types, Similar Outcomes - for Civilians

Economic sanctions have enjoyed significant academic attention in the last few decades. As the most commonly employed foreign policy tool, sanctions have earned much attention. While many academics have examined why governments choose sanctions, how effective sanctions are at achieving political goals, which sanction types are most powerful or persuasive, and the impact of sanctions on everything from conflict outcomes to foreign aid, this project focuses on the impact of sanctions on civilians in the target state (Baldwin 1985, Selden 1999, Drury 2001, Hufbauer et al. 2007, Peksen 2009; 2011, Dizaji and van Bergeijk 2013). Though several other studies have taken this approach, they have primarily focused on the effects of comprehensive sanctions on poverty, human rights, and politics

in the target state. I discuss the impact of comprehensive sanctions in this project, but centrally focus on the impact of targeted and human rights sanctions.

These two “limited” sanction types were specifically created to have a lessened impact on civilians by targeting leadership directly (Biersteker et al 2016). While some implementations of these sanction types have helped to alleviate the crushing economic and political consequences of comprehensive sanctions, I find that these sanction types are still devastating to civilians. These sanction types do exactly what they are intended to do - hurt domestic leadership directly. Unfortunately, this direct impact pushes leadership to punish civilians by hoarding resources and diverting government funding away from social programs. In the wake of economic sanctions, civilians need such programs more than ever, and yet the pain felt by domestic leadership is translated into more pain for the civilian population.

Targeted sanctions are intended to specifically target individual leaders or elite groups within the target state instead of the wider civilian population (Brzoska 2003). The impact of comprehensive sanctions on innocent bystanders in the target state is well documented, with the case of Iraq emerging as the most well-known example. The multilateral, wide-ranging sanctions leveled against the Iraqi government in the 1990s were devastating on the population and did little to alter the behavior of dictator Saddam Hussein (Brzoska 2003). Hussein was isolated from the economic strain of the sanctions because he was surrounded by wealthy elites and military leaders who continued to prop up his regime while the Iraqi people literally starved to death. The civilian death toll from the sanctions and the various conflicts in the state during this period is still debated, but there is no question that well over a million Iraqi people died because of a direct or indirect

consequence of comprehensive sanctions, including approximately 900,000 children from 1990 to 1997 (Brooks 2002; Al-Jawaheri 2008). The international outcry over this and other examples of sanctions hurting the innocent opened the door to a shift toward direct accountability of leaders (Hufbauer and Oegg 2000).

In the years immediately following the events in Iraq, the United Nations General Assembly called for an overhaul of sanctions implementation, citing Iraq as an example of the worst failures of this foreign policy tool and the need to protect human lives in the target state (Hufbauer and Oegg 2000). The more limited, directed form of sanctions known as ‘targeted’ or ‘smart’ sanctions emerged that were intended to significantly reduce the negative impact experienced by citizens in the target state. Some scholars differentiate between targeted and ‘selective’ sanctions, arguing that selective sanctions are limited in *what* they target (i.e. a single type of commodity or financial transaction) while targeted sanctions are limited in *whom* they target (i.e. one leader or a group of elites) (Hufbauer and Oegg 2000). Other scholars argue that the two types are too similar to separate because they have the same intended purpose, namely, to hurt the powerful who are arguably responsible for whatever actions must be corrected in the state while protecting the innocent who have little role in such actions (Cortright and Lopez 2002). Targeted sanctions may be applied for various reasons including enforcing peace agreements, countering terrorism efforts, locating and prosecuting criminal leaders, reducing access to nuclear weapons, and punishing leaders for human rights violations (Biersteker 2010; Walldorf 2010).

The application of targeted sanctions includes choosing who will be targeted and in what ways, keeping in mind the intended outcomes the sender state hopes to achieve.

Cortright and Lopez (2002:17-18) elaborate on this process:

There are three general approaches to the task of strategic targeting. The first is consistent with the existing SDN [Specially Designated Nationals] system. Sanctioning authorities identify a distinct group of named individuals who are either engaged in illegal activity or who are known to have decision-making authority over objectionable government policies. These designated individuals and the entities they control are placed on an SDN list and are subjected to financial sanctions and travel bans. Such an approach requires solid intelligence and investigative work regarding the roles and activities of the targeted group...A second option...is to adopt a functional definition of those to be sanctioned...The goal would be to capture all those within the inner circle of the targeted regime. Such an approach assumes that those who benefit from an objectionable policy bear some responsibility for it...The final approach to targeting begins by casting a broad net over the economy of a society and then rolling back coercive pressures to signal support and encouragement for reformers and to protect innocent or vulnerable populations.

While such planning is certainly important in implementing foreign policy tools, even this determined policy approach has created consequences for innocent people. The creation of this “Specifically Designated Nationals” system means that the sender state gets to decide who is a threat and who is not. Many times, people who are not at all connected to the corrupt and abusive leadership in the target state are named on such lists. This naming results in violation of their human right to freedom of movement, a fair hearing, effective judicial review, and access to financial markets. The international reputation of someone placed on such a list is immediately impacted and if the person is innocent, it can take years for them to remove their name and restore their integrity (Biersteker 2010). Much of this international attitude toward such people listed comes from the work of human rights organizations who routinely “name and shame” perpetrators to increase international attention to human rights abuses (Murdie and Peksen 2013).

Comprehensive sanctions often cut off an entire sector of the economy from growth, either by stopping trade flows of essential commodities or blocking access to participation in outside investments. Targeted sanctions are generally focused on limiting leadership and elite access to specific financial markets, closing off new investment opportunities, and preventing assistance from ‘black knight’ states that may protect the regime (Hufbauer and Oegg 2000). One example of targeted sanctions is asset freezing, a practice of closing off elite access to overseas accounts, credit sources, and investments that directly impact those elites while avoiding wide-ranging impacts on civilians. If elites are repressing civilians or using military force against outside states, sanctions can be used to limit access to arms and resources needed to maintain conflict (Peksen 2009). The immediate financial impact of such financial targeting is problematic enough for elites, but there is often a wider international impact as well. Elites who are labeled as possible financial risks or criminal actors are likely to be shunned by the wider financial community which can lock them out of the market long-term. This makes accepting temporary illegal funding from sanctions busters an inadequate short-term solution to a much larger long-term problem (Lee and Gray 2017).

Restrictions on Visa allowances and travel bans can also target elites and leadership more directly, given that in many countries most overseas travelling is limited to the wealthy and powerful (Brooks 2002). However, such measures can backfire by restricting civilian access to foreign aid when flight bans are in effect. This specific concern halted the implementation of sanctions that included a flight ban on the country of Sudan in the late 1990s. While UN members wanted to implement sanctions to address human rights concerns in the country, a preliminary investigation into the possible impact on civilians

determined that a flight ban would keep humanitarian aid away from desperate, innocent people and the UN ultimately decided to abandon the flight ban (Hufbauer and Oegg 2000).

Another important element of targeted sanctions is the length of time committed to the use of this foreign policy tool. Comprehensive sanctions rarely have a specific time limit or undergo review processes while targeted sanctions are designed to be regularly assessed for effectiveness and adjusted as needed. The intent is to end sanctions if they are found to be ineffective or if they are creating serious unintended consequences (Brzoska 2003). Ultimately, sanctions application comes down to whether the sender state hopes to alter undesirable behavior of leadership or to restrain such behavior. The goals are similar but require very different mechanisms to be effective, in that restraining behavior requires reduction of resources while changing behavior requires realignment of leadership incentives (Brooks 2002). The pressure of targeted sanctions can increase slowly as needed and be adjusted with more accuracy than comprehensive sanctions, should leadership prove responsive (Biersteker 2010).

The effectiveness of sanctions is a controversial topic given that few scholars or officials agree on how to measure effectiveness. Further, effectiveness can change according to the intended goals of the sender state, the type of sanction implemented, and the response by the international community which can be supportive or conflictual (Lee and Gray 2017). Some more powerful states are less interested in effectiveness and more interested in moral obligations or at least the public perception of a moral obligation (Chan 2018). It also matters a great deal if the threat of sanctions is seen as credible by the target state which may alter its behavior prior to sanctions imposition or find outside funding sources to alleviate its discomfort during sanctions (Morgan 2015). However, despite an

unclear definition of “success,” some applications of targeted sanctions have been agreed upon as relatively successful. EU restrictions on travel for elites who supported Slobodan Milosevic during the conflict in Yugoslavia (1992-1995) are judged as effective because they severely restricted elites from conducting business outside the state which eventually pushed Milosevic to come to terms (Hubauer and Oegg 2000). Cortright and Lopez (2002:13) argue that sanctions applied in Iraq, Yugoslavia, Libya, Angola, and Cambodia were “at least partially effective.” The authors argue that in Libya, the dictator Qaddafi was isolated and weakened by sanctions and this placed him in a position of vulnerability that increased the chances of ending his brutal rule. Drezner (2015) argues that financial sanctions during the Cold War were effective at combatting money laundering, and sanctions against Iran aided in bringing president Hassan Rouhani to the bargaining table to sign the Iran Nuclear Deal in 2015.

Yet the record of clearly unsuccessful targeted or limited sanctions is damning for policy makers warming up to this tool. Cortright and Lopez (2002) argue that sanctions in Haiti and Somalia were only slightly effective, while those in Sierra Leone, Sudan, Liberia, Rwanda, Yugoslavia (1998), and Afghanistan were abject failures. In Haiti, an oil embargo was implemented by the Organization of American States in 1991 and then strengthened in 1993 and 1994. The intent was to cut the leadership off from oil revenue but instead, “the trade sanctions provided the Haitian military with substantial rents; the illicit trade in fuel continued, with profits accruing to the military administrators of the trade. Meanwhile, the population at large suffered” (Brooks 2002:43). In the case of Yugoslavia, financial restrictions imposed in the first round of sanctions did hurt elites, but export and import

embargos imposed in 1998 only exacerbated the trade in illicit goods and propped up Milosevic (Cortright and Lopez 2002).

These examples illustrate that a major issue with sanctions is their capacity to increase illicit commodities in the target state. As leadership and civilians look for ways to overcome economic strain, they often turn to black market goods that are inelastic (like oil, alcohol, and tobacco) and carry little risk of detection from an unstable government (Elliott 2002; Brooks 2002). This increased interest in smuggling black market commodities feeds into the creation of and support for transnational crime syndicates in the target state and its border states (Drezner 2015). These syndicates become comfortable enough moving arms or goods, they naturally begin to trade in services and human beings (Shelley 2010). Financial sanctions imposed against North Korea resulted in an increase in bartering and illicit cross-border networks. Smuggling with the support of Chinese networks in the form of inadequate customs enforcement, false customs declarations to evade taxes and regulation, and corrupt officials at border areas helped North Korea evade some of the intended economic consequences of these sanctions (Lee and Gray 2017). Importantly, when the illicit goods being smuggled are weapons, including small arms, not only do smugglers make a massive profit, but the increased presence of military weaponry makes the target state even more unstable and bolsters any conflictual relationships that may be happening simultaneously, such as civil conflicts or cross-border hostilities (Hufbauer and Oegg 2000). Therefore, citizens must compensate for both the economic and the physical instability created directly and indirectly by sanctions, even targeted sanctions. Finally, if the type of limited or targeted sanction happens to be an arms embargo, the trade in illicit

weapons will obliterate the impact of the embargo on altering state behavior (Cortright and Lopez 2000; Brzoska 2003).

The assumption about targeted sanctions is that they will hurt leaders and elites significantly enough to alter behavior but prevent citizens from feeling unintended pain. Even public opinion supports this assumption as citizens prefer such targeted attempts to comprehensive punishment (McLean and Roblyer 2017). Specifically, “as political elites face the cost of coercion more immediately through targeted sanctions, they should be more conciliatory towards the sender country’s demands for more respect for democratic freedoms and human rights” (Peksen and Drury 2009:408). Theoretically, targeted sanctions should have fewer humanitarian consequences for civilians, and the literature shows that they do, if what we measure is overall scores of human rights indices or cost of living increases (Cortright and Lopez 2002). However, this project illustrates that these targeted mechanisms are not only just as ineffective at altering state behavior as comprehensive sanctions, they also cause widespread pain to civilians. This widespread pain does not happen directly as it does under comprehensive sanctions when unemployment or inflation rises, or elites use force to suppress citizens, and it is not detectable by examining macroeconomic or generalized human rights measurements. This pain happens indirectly, as these impacts are driven by leadership hoarding of resources desperately needed by civilians and can only be measured by disaggregating the impact of sanctions on specific sectors in the economy and society.

As I show in the following chapters, the use of targeted sanctions impacts leadership severely enough that elites resort to pilfering funds from the government to support themselves, leaving civilians to rely on dangerous and illicit economies to survive.

Even the threat of sanctions can result in a defensive and counterproductive response from target leadership that ultimately makes human rights of civilians worse (Drury and Li 2006). Strikingly, I find that comprehensive sanctions do not have this impact on government spending but instead, *increase* government economic support for civilians. This indicates that leaders have become aware of the negative outcomes for civilians under comprehensive sanctions and understand that repression is damaging to leadership tenure in office. If leaders support civilians under comprehensive sanctions, they can argue that any pain civilians continue to feel is a result of the inhumane practices of the sender state and not a reflection of poor domestic leadership (Al-Jawheri 2008). Since leaders feel little of this pain directly, they maintain their access to outside resources as needed and continue to spend on domestic programs. When targeted sanctions are applied, however, leaders do feel this pain directly, and suddenly elites are competing for resources alongside civilians. Unsurprisingly, elites then choose to hoard resources away from civilians and drive them into an exploitative, criminal economy.

Military Force and Gendered Security Outcomes

Much of the current political science literature on war examines the relationship between conflict and variables like regime type, leadership accountability, state repression, leadership tenure, INGOs, and other ‘gender neutral’¹ topics (Geddes and Zaller 1989; Diehl 1992; Mansfield and Snyder 1995; Bueno de Mesquita and Siverson 1995; Davenport 1995; Biddle and Long 2004; Chiozza and Goemans 2004; Arena 2008; Debs and Goemans 2010; Bell et al 2013a, Chiba et al 2014, DeMerritt 2015). However, many

¹ This is in reference to the presentation of such topics as ‘gender neutral’ by such authors in that the authors do not engage in acknowledgement of the gendered aspects of these topics. See Fraser (2009) or Enloe (2012) for a discussion on why these issues are not gender neutral.

other scholars in the last thirty years have worked to build an impressive body of work on the truly gender specific aspects of war and conflict which are the most relevant works on conflict for this project.

The gender equality variables employed in Chapter 2 are directly from the body of work of Mary Caprioli (2000, 2003, 2005). Caprioli (2000) found that gender works in both causal directions in war and peace as gender equality within the state leads to more peaceful behavior by state leadership in the international system. Caprioli and Boyer (2001) expand upon this work and find that even when states do participate in violence at the international level, states with higher levels of gender equality use less violent means than those with lower levels of gender equality. This impact of gender equality on leadership behavior suggests that respect for women's access to rights in the domestic sphere translates into respect for other human rights in the international sphere. Some scholars have taken issue with Caprioli's (2000, 2003, 2005) approach to assessing gender rights given that the author relies heavily upon statistical analysis to support her conclusions. I will not enter into this disagreement within feminist literature here, but I do provide a short discussion related to this in Chapter 2.

In his book that explores the complex connections between war and gender, Joshua Goldstein (2001) argues that war and gender are linked in a bicausal relationship given the biological and cultural connections between the two. He argues that changes in the concept of gender will change the practice of war and vice versa. Furthermore, he argues that the interdependence of these two powerful constructions make them difficult to change or stop. Another valuable approach to the study of this relationship comes from J. Ann Tickner (2001:51):

By looking at the effects of war on women, we can gain a better understanding of the unequal gender relations that sustain military activities. When we reveal social practices that support war and that are variable across societies, we find that war is a cultural construction that depends on myths of protection; it is not inevitable...The evidence we now have about women in conflict situations severely strains the protection myth; yet, such myths have been important in upholding the legitimacy of war and the impossibility of peace. A deeper look into these gendered constructions can help us to understand not only some of the causes of war but how certain ways of thinking about security have been legitimized at the expense of others, both in the discipline of IR and in political practice.

Sjoberg and Gentry (2007) expand upon this understanding of gender and war by identifying the common tropes of women as 'mothers, monsters, and whores' within the conflict narrative. They argue women are portrayed through these lenses around the world and that these typologies place women in a 'constant victim' position that is hard to overcome and that these stereotypes fuel the practice of the international 'protection racket.' They also acknowledge that men face similar stereotyping in the conflict apparatus, typified as naturally violent, destructive, and willing to kill for the state. The authors argue for understanding the complexities of women and men as individuals in conflict. These stereotypes of men as powerful and women as weak translate into social expectations for the behavior of leaders in times of stress. Society generally expects political leaders to be men or to at least embody traditionally masculine behaviors such as strength, rationality, independence, and assertiveness. Leaders that do not represent such qualities are perceived as weak and vulnerable. These expectations result in an international system, primarily led by men, that is constantly reinforced by a tit-for-tat relationship that breeds conflict (Sjoberg 2014).

As for the direct impact of conflict on citizens, and particularly on women, literature in this area is not hard to come by. Nicole Detraz (2012) provides a wide array of evidence linking security and gender including peacekeeping operations. In a recent and excellent

study into rape in civil war, Dara Cohen (2016) finds that rape is a tool of combat socialization employed by soldiers to create and solidify bonds of loyalty. The author points out that despite the common argument that rape is used as an ordered military strategy, a tool for genocide, or a 'natural' side-effect of conflict, these explanations are not supported by the evidence. Instead, the vulnerability that war exposes men to, the insecurity and uncertainty of conflict, the expectation of intensely masculine behavior at all times, and the power of group pressure combine to push men toward developing an interdependent, cohesive relationship. Cohen (2016) finds that men use rape as the mechanism to form this relationship and the economic and physical insecurity of women in the target state makes them direct targets for this heinous behavior.

Ultimately, the consequences of war are fundamentally different for men and women in the target state. The state plays a central role in war and security given its overarching power. As Detraz (2012:7) explains:

The fact that the state has been the key actor associated with "security" has particular implications both for the position of states in the international system, and for the way security is studied and carried out. Many scholars argue that states have typically benefitted from being seen as the sole providers of security and the object that needs to be secure...States derive legitimacy from this role of state security provision. This implies that the states' association as the protectors of security gives it a particular authority. It is understood as legitimate for states to use deadly force as long as that force is deployed in the name of state security...we tend to see an obligation for some actor, often the state, to address security issues or "fix" them

This justification for state use of force bleeds over into the use of force against its own citizens as will be discussed at length in Chapter 4. While previous literature has examined many of the unique consequences of war on women from varying perspectives, little work has established a connection between war, gender, and human trafficking.

Human Trafficking: A Global Epidemic

As noted at the start of this project, human trafficking is a massively complex, global crime. It covers every country in the world in a web of corruption, smuggling, migration, exploitation, abuse, slavery, kidnapping, rape, murder, imprisonment, and desperation. Human beings are trafficked for many different reasons, including but not limited to forced labor (including sex work), sexual exploitation, child pornography, removal of organs, child soldiers, forced marriage, children selling, and forced begging (UNODC 2016). While record keeping and data collection on this enterprise is difficult to maintain or rely upon, very conservative estimates suggest that millions of people are trafficked around the world and the combined profit from all trafficking is in the hundreds of billions of dollars every year (UNODC 2016). Chapters 2 and 3 describe more in-depth detail of the scope of human trafficking, but it is important for this chapter to discuss the overall system of data collection and standard interpretations of the practice.

The United Nations Office on Crime and Drugs Global Report on Trafficking in Persons (UNODC), and the United States Department of State Annual Trafficking in Persons Report (USTIP) are the primary sources for human trafficking data. The UNODC reports are now released every two years and include two years of data each, delayed by about two years. Therefore, the 2016 UNODC report will include data from 2012-2014. USTIP reports are released annually and include data from the previous year. Both data sources are based primarily on law enforcement data of prosecutions for trafficking, migration flow data, immigration documents provided by governments, and some witness accounts.

There are considerable issues with this kind of data, because it simply cannot measure the true magnitude of such an illicit and shadowy enterprise. Yet, these two major sources of information are the best current resources for understanding and monitoring human trafficking. The UNODC has defined human trafficking in three elements:

- (1) ACTION: recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons;
- (2) MEANS: 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; and
- (3) PURPOSE: exploitation

The presence of coercion and exploitation are important for distinguishing trafficking from other illicit economies such as smuggling or sex work. Beyond definitions, these resources also adopt a ranking system to measure the magnitude of this abusive practice. USTIP reports rely on a tiered ranking system. USTIP (2017:28-29) describes the system:

Tier 1: The governments of countries that fully meet the TVPA's minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; *Tier 2:* The governments of countries that do not fully meet the TVPA's minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards; *Tier 2 Watch List:* The government of countries that do not fully meet the TVPA's minimum standards, but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards, and for which: a. the *absolute number* of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or is significantly increasing; b. there is a failure to provide evidence of *increasing efforts* to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year, including increased investigations, prosecution, and convictions of trafficking crimes, increased assistance to victims, and decreasing evidence of complicity in severe forms of trafficking by government officials; or c. the determination that a country is making significant efforts to bring itself into compliance with minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take *additional steps over the next year.*; *Tier 3:* The governments of countries that do not fully meet the TVPA's minimum standards and are not making significant efforts to do so. The TVPA lists additional factors to determine whether a country should be on Tier 2 (or Tier 2 Watch List) versus Tier 3: first, the extent to which the country is a country of origin, transit, or destination for severe forms of trafficking; second, the extent to which the country's government does not meet the TVPA's minimum standards and, in particular, the extent to which officials or government employees have been complicit in severe forms of trafficking; and third, reasonable measures that the government would need to undertake to be in compliance with the minimum standards in light of the government's resources and

capabilities to address and eliminate severe forms of trafficking in persons. A 2008 amendment to the TVPA provides that any country that has been ranked Tier 2 Watch List for two consecutive years and that would otherwise be ranked Tier 2 Watch List for the next year will instead be ranked Tier 3 in that third year. This automatic downgrade provision came into effect for the first time in the 2013 Report. The Secretary of State is authorized to waive the automatic downgrade based on credible evidence that a waiver is justified because the government has a written plan that, if implemented, would constitute making significant efforts to meet the TVPA's minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking and is devoting sufficient resources to implement the plan. The Secretary can only issue this waiver for two consecutive years. After the third year, a country must either go up to Tier 1 or 2 or down to Tier 3.

Beyond the ranking system, the US State Department also implements funding restrictions on Tier 3 countries as determined by the US government. These include (USTIP 2017:29):

Pursuant to the TVPA, governments of countries on Tier 3 may be subject to certain restrictions on assistance, whereby the President may determine not to provide U.S. government nonhumanitarian, nontrade-related foreign assistance. In addition, the President may determine to withhold funding for government official or employee participation in educational and cultural exchange programs for certain Tier 3 countries. Consistent with the TVPA, the President may also determine to instruct the U.S. Executive Director of each multilateral development bank and the International Monetary Fund to vote against and use his or her best efforts to deny any loans or other uses of the institutions' funds to a designated Tier 3 country for most purpose (except for humanitarian, traderelated, and certain development-related assistance). Alternatively, the President may waive application of the foregoing restrictions upon a determination that the provision to a Tier 3 country of such assistance would promote the purposes of the TVPA or is otherwise in the national interest of the United States. The TVPA also authorizes the President to waive funding restrictions if necessary to avoid significant adverse effects on vulnerable populations, including women and children. Applicable funding restrictions apply for the next Fiscal Year, which begins October 1, 2017.

The funding restrictions placed on noncompliant countries are possibly a powerful tool for combatting human trafficking. Yet, as I discuss throughout this project, restricting funding in the form of loans and aid of any kind can be devastating, especially to a developing country. Furthermore, the USTIP report readily admits that the US President may waive such restrictions based on "the national interest of the United States" (USTIP 2017). This

essentially allows the US President to use this waiver to shore up his or her power within the international system by punishing or rewarding states at any time as long as the action is justified as a national interest.

Trafficking organizations are not generally run by amateur criminals with little resources. Many trafficking syndicates work together across the world and participate in other forms of illicit trafficking such as arms and drug trafficking (Shelley 2010). They have fully established networks, millions of dollars in resources, high-priced attorneys and police officials on their payroll, experience with navigating immigration routes and border crossing points, and enough illegal documentation to disappear long before they are brought to justice (Naibaho 2011). Furthermore, identifying trafficking victims is complex. Some victims simply do not believe they are being trafficked. Others may wish to escape but fear the repercussions of returning home. They may have fled a dangerous or impoverished situation and do not want to be forcibly returned, they may fear punishment or derision from family members or neighbors if they were involved in sex trafficking, they may have established a small support network in the destination country and do not wish to leave (Page and Piatt 2016). Even those that do seek help often abandon prosecution of their abusers because most states require that victims testify against anyone involved in their trafficking (Naibaho 2011). Given that most of these traffickers are highly skilled and dangerous criminals, it is no wonder that so few victims wish to come forward. Finally, if victims do agree to testify and the court proceedings do in fact result in a conviction (a statistical rarity in itself), the punishment for trafficking human beings is quite low, with most states treating it as a misdemeanor. This means that even the convicted traffickers are back on the street, acquiring more victims soon after arrest while the victim is forcibly

returned to his/her home country and living with the negative consequences of being trafficked for many years.

In defense of law enforcement, combatting human trafficking is a massive undertaking and requires a specific skill set. Working with victims in a way that does not further traumatize them, finding places and resources to house victims while they await prosecution of their traffickers, locating the criminals higher up in the enterprise who direct the operations, examining millions of people, cars, boats, and trains as they move between borders, all of these things are beyond the scope of standard law enforcement training (Naibaho 2011). To further complicate matters, witnesses are rarely willing to testify, hearings can take many months or years (time that is not available to insecure victims away from home), law enforcement lack the ability to offer total protection to victims in the waiting period, and some law enforcement officials may be abusive or distrustful of victims (Naibaho 2011). If all these obstacles are overcome and the case proceeds, prosecution must present a case that is usually void of physical evidence and that carries a very minimal sentence for the defendant.

A Macroeconomic and Macropolitical Theory of the Gendered Consequences of Foreign Policy

The devastating consequences for civilians that emerge from the use of foreign policy tools such as sanctions and military force are not news to anyone in the modern age. Scholars and policy makers have been discussing these consequences for decades if not centuries. So why do states continue to use these mechanisms to get what they want? The overall economic and political structure of the international system has become a driving force behind leadership decision making, a force that is prioritized over and above human rights.

Targeted sanctions present the international community with the opportunity to directly negotiate with elites which essentially narrows the bargaining field (Brzoska 2003). The application of sanctions is supposed to prevent war, but its notoriously poor record of effectiveness combined with the instability it causes in the target state seems to compliment more than prevent conflict. State leaders are ultimately constrained by a cycle of choices that elevate capitalist, security-driven options over redistributive, open ended options. Marinov (2005:565) describes how sanctions fit into this cycle:

Economic coercion occupies the middle ground "between words and war." Its relatively frequent use can be explained as the intersection between high demand and available supply. The need to intervene is a practical necessity in a world in which the leaders and citizens of some states choose to (or are forced to) take interest in activities beyond the border of the territory they live in.

The increasingly globalized world requires that states interact significantly more often than just a century ago. These interactions are marred by a hierarchical international system that encourages competition over resources and a tit-for-tat approach to conflict resolution born from repeated strategic interactions that ultimately embeds structural violence into the everyday lives of citizens (Morgan 2015). The international financial system is deeply hierarchical and interdependent, a situation that makes economic sanctions a valuable tool for wealthy, developed states and a frightening consequence for poor, underdeveloped states (Marinov 2005).

Yet even an acknowledgement of this interconnected system and its power over the lives of everyday people is incomplete because it misses a key factor in how this system effects those people – this system is heavily gendered². From a feminist political economy

² It is important that I point out that though the international system is heavily gendered and that this social construction of gender matters for the actions of people in the system, not every person in the system understands or practices gender in the same way. Gender is an experience for each individual, and while there are similarities across societies and regions regarding gender expectations, gender means something

view, this means that the system fundamentally impacts men and women differently *because of* and *in response to* their sexed gender and the social constructions surrounding the expectations of their gender. According to True (2012:29-30), a feminist political economy approach:

comprehends the global, political-economic structures that both condition and heighten women's vulnerability to violence. It addresses the lack of structural and causal analysis in social psychology and population health approaches to violence against women...it analyzes political and economic power as part of the same transnational authority structure, highlighting the masculine nature of the integrated political-economic authority structure extending from the household to the global realm.

This approach is combined here with a feminist security theory (FST), which is described by Blanchard (2003:1290) as theory that:

...questions the extent to which women are secured by state "protection" in times of war and peace...FST contests discourses wherein women are linked unreflectively with peace, arguing that the identification of women with peace be balanced by recognition of the participation, support, and inspiration women have given to war making...

These two theories of feminist economy and security are often placed within different feminist international relations (IR) work and are rarely applied to the same project. I hope to contribute to closing that gap with this dissertation project. Feminist IR scholars need to speak to and with one another to provide stronger, more complete research that engages with gender scholarship.

Traditional IR scholarship on the international economy and security rarely takes gender seriously as an important factor. Power is preferred by IR realists, cooperation and liberalism is preferred by IR liberalists, and while IR constructivists make room for gender more readily, this subdiscipline is also guilty of "adding gender and stirring" when

different to each person and must not be considered a defined and narrow concept applicable to everyone in the same way. For an excellent discussion on this issue, see Sjoberg and Gentry (2007).

formulating and testing theories. Feminist approaches to these areas acknowledge the powerful relationship between gender and the human experience and discuss how this connection produces different results in the economy and the world for men and women (Blanchard 2003). Ultimately, the power of gender forms and informs the prioritization of heavily masculinized concepts like ‘power’ ‘security’ and ‘wealth’ over heavily feminized concepts like ‘cooperation’ ‘peace’ and ‘redistribution of resources’ (Caprioli and Boyer 2001). The monopoly of power held by men in the international system means that these traditionally masculinized concepts are typified as ‘good’ and ‘rational’ which leads to an international system that is primarily organized around competition in economics and security. The lack of access to power for most women in the world means that traditionally feminine concepts are actively suppressed by powerful actors in and around the international system leading to a rejection of such concepts as possible goals. Enloe (2014:44-45) connects the power of gender to the economic system:

only if one investigated the popular ideas about the good daughter, feminine respectability, marriageability, and the practices of domestic violence could one make realistic sense of the contemporary political economy...the beliefs, practices, and policies that were bricks in the wall separating women workers from their ability to organize were thicker, and the resultant walls higher, than most nonfeminist observers had wanted to admit. To ignore men's wielding of domestic violence, to treat women's and men's ideas about the "good woman" as if they were "just" local culture, was to severely underestimate what it was taking to maximize globalized profits

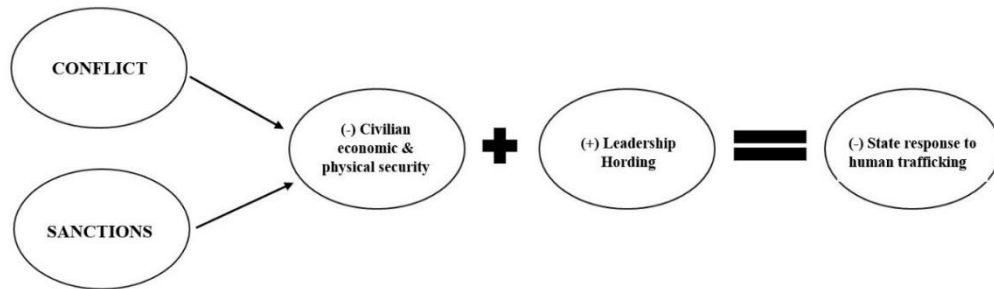
As for conflict, the concept of gender as tied to violence matters for both men and women. Men, expected to carry the burden of ‘protector’ at all times, and women, expected to carry the burden of ‘victim’ at all times, find themselves trapped in a system of reciprocal state violence whether they choose such roles or not. Sjoberg (2014:60) explains:

the invisibility of people who do not fit into a stereotypical notion of the gender characteristics associated with their (perceived) biological sex's part in accounts of

people's behavior in war. Accounts of war rely on particular notions of how women behave as women and how men behave as men to make wars work - to inspire fighting, to motivate sacrifice...Women who do not act the part of "beautiful souls"....are invisible in war stories; so are men who do not act the part of "just warriors"

In this dissertation project, I directly engage in the gendered aspects of the international system, keeping in mind these important theories described above. The overall theory of this project is illustrated in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Causal Effect of Foreign Policy on Human Trafficking



As illustrated in the theory above, the exogenous foreign policy tools of conflict and sanctions impact civilians of the target state through reduced economic and physical security while also encouraging target state leadership to hoard limited available resources. This combination of insecurity and leadership self-interest results in reduced state response to human trafficking and arguably, worse levels of human trafficking around the world.

Given the information described in the above literature review, I expect to find support for the following ten hypotheses in the project:

Hypothesis 1: The impact of human rights sanctions will lead to a reduction in government spending on education in the target state.

Hypothesis 2: The impact of targeted sanctions will lead to a reduction in government spending on education in the target state.

Hypothesis 3: Increased government spending on education will mitigate the negative impact of human rights sanctions on women's equality by decreasing overall fertility rates.

Hypothesis 4: Increased government spending on education will mitigate the negative impact of targeted sanctions on women's equality by decreasing overall fertility rates.

Hypothesis 5: Increased government spending on education will mitigate the negative impact of human rights sanctions on women's equality by increasing the overall percentage of female labor in the workforce.

Hypothesis 6: Increased government spending on education will mitigate the negative impact of targeted sanctions on women's equality by increasing the overall percentage of female labor in the workforce.

Hypothesis 7: The imposition of sanctions will result in a reduction of government spending on social programs as the leadership hordes finite resources.

Hypothesis 8: The imposition of military force will result in an increase of government spending on the military, as resources are diverted away from social programs.

Hypothesis 9: The imposition of human rights sanctions or targeted sanctions will result in a reduction in government response to human trafficking.

Hypothesis 10: The imposition of military force will result in a reduction in government response to human trafficking.

In Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, I present ten hypotheses to be tested by the statistical models.

I examine the outcome of each of these hypotheses again in the case study on Indonesia in

Chapter 4. I now turn to a discussion of the methodological approach and data used to test

the hypotheses.

Methodological Approach and Data Resources

For the methodology of this project, I follow a specific practice defined and presented by Lieberman (2005:435-436). Lieberman presents a “nested analysis” approach to studying political science which he states:

combines the statistical analysis of a large sample of cases with the in-depth investigation of one or more of the cases contained within the large sample.” Essentially, the method requires an initial quantitative analysis of data, often using econometric analysis in some version, “in which the primary causal inferences are derived from statistical analyses which ultimately lead to quantitative estimates of the robustness of a theoretical model

In the large-N analysis contained in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 I employ a cross-sectional, time-series regression model, panel corrected for heteroskedasticity on a sample of 155 countries from 1990-2015. The results from these large-N analyses are the starting point for understanding the connection between foreign policy outcomes and human trafficking. However, given the problematic nature of the data on human trafficking and the importance of providing a strong causal story that supports the theory, a complementary small-N analysis is essential. As such, Lieberman’s (2005) nested analysis model is suited to this purpose.

In the next step in the methodological process I develop a single case study to strengthen the evidence presented in the large-N analyses through “qualitative comparisons of cases and/or process tracing of causal chains within cases across time, and in which the relationship between theory and facts is captured largely in narrative form” (436). Lieberman (2005) argues that the small-N analysis can take two forms, one of a Model-testing Small-N Analysis (Mt-SNA) or a Model-building Small-N Analysis (Mb-SNA). The purpose of the Mt-SNA is to test the theory

through the gathering of evidence such as interviews, surveys, primary or secondary sources, etc.

in order to accomplish two main purposes (442-443):

First, if there were strong hypotheses that could not be considered in the LNA because of lack of cross-country data, the analyst should try to assess the strength of the hypothesis in the case study or studies...Second, the scholar should verify that the cause preceded the effect. Cross-country statistical databases (used in the LNA) are often highly limited in terms of temporal scope, and the SNA can be used to verify that prior historical factors did not produce the observed results.

As noted, the Mt-SNA is perfectly suited to this project given that quantitative data on human trafficking, beyond the theoretical reasons described by Suchland (2015), is difficult to find and often fraught with missingness. Some scholars have argued that a good explanation for why so little quantitative analyses exist in the study of human trafficking is the lack of strong data that can be verified mathematically. This use of the Mt-SNA via an individual case study on Indonesia will provide a pathway to filling in problems with quantitative data and further give strength to the causal connection between foreign policy outcomes and human trafficking. The use of Mb-SNA is only appropriate when the results from the large-N analysis contradict the theory or when the quality of the statistical data is so poor that it cannot address the major hypotheses. The negative outcomes of economic sanctions and military force on civilians outlined in this literature review coupled with the excellent quantitative evidence in the trafficking literature that suggests such outcomes increase trafficking, support my theory at the forefront. Further, the statistical analyses in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 provide strong support for the theory as well. Therefore, a Mb-SNA approach will not be necessary for this project. The case study provides further support for the causal connections shown from the tested hypotheses within the quantitative analysis portion.

Within the case study, I employ the method of process tracing described by Bennett and George (1997). Process tracing allows researchers to track the effect of independent variables on dependent variables using qualitative evidence. Specifically, it aids researchers in identifying the causal effect of the independent variables on the change in value of the dependent variable when it is not possible to isolate each individual variable and test them in an experimental setting. For this project, for example, I am not able to go backward in history and see what would happen to human trafficking if no states ever imposed sanctions or military force on one another, or if the international system was redistributive instead of extractive. This is similar to what quantitative analysis attempts to do when the researcher includes control variables in an econometric model. The statistical regressions I use in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 can tell us the correlations between the variables and suggest possible causation, but they are not “by themselves sufficient for defining causal explanations, nor can they rectify the inherent limits of covariation as the observational basis for causal inference” (Bennett and George 1997:2). In other words, correlation does not prove causation, and statistical analysis only gets us so far in connecting the dots.

Applying process tracing to case study analysis allows researchers to connect both causal effects and causal mechanisms. I can use the case study in Chapter 4 on Indonesia to follow the line of causal mechanisms that produce causal effects between foreign policy decisions and human trafficking responses. The causal mechanisms of my theory are leadership responses in the form of resource hoarding while the causal effect is deviation from anti-trafficking policy in the target state. Other intervening factors such as the macroeconomic and macropolitical structures of the international system are also

important, as are possible control variables such as regime type, population, and GDP. These variables are all presented in the statistical, large-N analysis portion in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, but the partial correlations provided in those results do not adequately test the theory without application to direct historical evidence. Chapter 4 seeks to fill that gap by tracing the theory through the information on Indonesia to examine what impact foreign policy and leadership spending has on anti-trafficking efforts. It also highlights the consequences of this relationship for women in a much more humanistic and direct way than can be done with a statistical analysis on cross-sectional variables like fertility rates and female participation in the labor force.

This project is designed as a theory-building contribution to the literature, in that there are existing theories about the effects of sanctions and military force on domestic leadership actions as well as on general human rights, but there are no current theories on the relationship between foreign policy action and human trafficking. The theory I propose, is new in its construction though it is supported by previous theories surrounding negative outcomes for civilians in the wake of foreign policy action. Therefore, the use of process tracing is done in this case via the ‘process verification’ method. Bennett and George (1997:15) elaborate:

...there may already exist within the relevant scholarly community well-developed alternative theories on the phenomenon at hand, which not only allows process verification but raises the possibility that it can assess their validity, either as alternative theories, where only one or a few is likely to survive the test, or as different causal paths to similar outcomes (i.e. equifinality). This requires that these theories provide, explicitly or implicitly, well-defined causal mechanisms and predicted causal processes for the case at hand, or, more often, that the researcher uses the theory to specify the predicated process, hopefully in its entirety but at least in important respects, through which it should operate if it is to explain the case.

Here, theories already exist in the literature that suggest that poverty and conflict exacerbate human trafficking. Yet, few studies have examined the mechanism that connects these outcomes to one another. This project provides a causal mechanism to trace two prominent foreign policy actions, one that creates poverty and one that creates conflict, directly to lack of domestic effort to address human trafficking. The case study on Indonesia in Chapter 4 allows a qualitative test of this theory that not only supports the causal mechanism, but reinforces the previous theories on human trafficking, poverty, and conflict.

For the data in this project, I relied upon several quantitative data sets and qualitative historical resources. Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 each contain a variables table that describes the type, range, and source for each variable used in the regression models, and all variables are also applied to the case study of Indonesia in Chapter 4. The data on human rights and comprehensive sanctions comes from the Threat and Imposition of Sanctions (TIES) v.4 dataset (Hufbauer et al 2007). This dataset version includes cases of threats and use of sanctions from 1945-2014 for 160 countries. The targeted sanctions data comes from the Targeted Sanctions Consortium Qualitative Database (Biersteker, Eckert, Tourinho 2016) and includes incidents of any targeted or limited sanctions from 1991 to 2015. Government education spending comes from the World Bank and is supported by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics. This variable includes the percentage of government expenditures on primary education as a percentage of GDP in a given year (worldbank.org). Fertility rate is also from the World Bank and records the expected number of live births over a woman's lifetime based on factors like age, life expectancy, maternal mortality rates, infant mortality rates, education, access to social spending, etc. Female percentage of the

labor force comes from the World Bank and reveals the percentage of women working in the labor force. This is the percentage of women working in the acknowledged labor force however, which must be noted. That means that this number does not include women who do domestic unpaid labor, sex work, or other forms of labor not recognized as legitimate by the state.

Conflict data is from the Correlates of War, Militarized Interstate Dispute v4.2 dataset (Palmer et al. 2015) which includes data on the presence of hostile disputes from 1816-2015. Democracy data is from the *polity2* indicator of the PolityIV dataset (Marshall and Jaggers 2002) which includes a ranking of level of democracy for each country in the world on a scale from -10 for least democratic to +10 for most democratic. GDP and population both come from the World Bank. Historical documentation and articles related to Indonesia are cited in the references page.

Project Overview: What to Expect

Chapter 2 begins the tracing of the theory through the quantitative evidence by examining the impact of economic sanctions on government spending on education and the subsequent consequences for women's rights in the target state. I begin with this approach so that I can examine the first foreign policy tool, namely sanctions, and its effects on women more generally. Because the overall project is focused on the unique impacts of these leadership choices, both foreign and domestic, on women, a general examination of these impacts on standard gender equality measures is warranted. I argue in Chapter 2, that human rights sanctions and targeted sanctions negatively impact women in the target state via significant loss of government spending on education. This loss of investment in education results in an increase in fertility rates and a decrease in women's participation in

the labor force in the target state, two counterproductive outcomes for women's rights and success. However, I find that if governments *increase* spending on education during the sanctions period, the negative impact of sanctions on women will be significantly mitigated. This first core chapter illustrates the importance of government social spending for women in the target state more generally and highlights the dangers of sanctions, even sanctions designed to improve human rights and protect civilians.

In Chapter 3, I continue to examine sanctions, but I also include military force as my second relevant foreign policy action in the causal story. Here, I broaden the scope of the government spending as well, by combining data on government spending on primary education with data on government spending on public healthcare and social programs such as unemployment and retirement. This allows me to apply the shock of the exogenous foreign policy actions against government social spending overall to determine if the effects found in Chapter 2 can be applied more widely. I also expand the dependent variable to human trafficking responses by the state. While Chapter 2 illustrates the general negative impact of foreign policy action on women in the target state, Chapter 3 examines how this impact can lead to increased risk for women in human trafficking. I argue that the economic strain and physical insecurity created by sanctions and conflict from the international system forces domestic leaders to hoard resources away from public spending and toward elite protection and military expenditures. This pulls attention away from government anti-trafficking programs resulting in reduced response to human trafficking. Given the already established impacts of poverty and insecurity in and around the use of sanctions and conflict, I argue this lack of response to human trafficking places women in the most

exploitative and insecure situation in the target state, opening up direct avenues to increases in human trafficking.

In Chapter 4, I trace the causal effects through the case study of Indonesia to determine if the effects support the causal mechanism suggested in the statistical analyses of Chapter 2 and 3. I find that in Indonesia, the impact of human rights sanctions and the Aceh regional conflict on the government of Indonesia did in fact result in a government reduction in social spending, particularly in spending on education. This reduction in spending did in fact place women at higher risk for trafficking and occurred simultaneously with a reduced state response to human trafficking in the aftermath of sanctions and conflict. Indonesia presents a case in which some of the most prolific instances of human trafficking occur and yet where the state still prioritizes its own economic growth and physical security over the human rights of its people, and especially of its women.

In Chapter 5, I present a brief discussion on the main findings from each core chapter. I then discuss the current approaches to combatting human trafficking that focus on prosecution and victim responsibility for the criminal enterprise. In the final section, I discuss possible improvements to this framework that include suggested changes to the international system of structural violence that perpetuates these leadership decisions as well as domestic support for civilians that addresses the push and pull factors of human trafficking. I argue that while this global problem is complex and overwhelming, the best avenue for ending this heinous practice of modern human slavery is to fundamentally reorganize the priorities of the international system and specifically support the needs of women around the world.

CHAPTER 2: FOREIGN POLICY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Economic sanctions are an attractive tool in statecraft, particularly when one considers the violent alternatives. Applying economic sanctions sends a signal of resolve to the target state without the use of direct military action, which can cause tremendous collateral damage. However, sanctions themselves can have tremendous unintended consequences. The comprehensive sanctions regime imposed on Iraq in the 1990s, for example, inflicted widespread suffering on the citizens of Iraq, including crippling levels of unemployment, poverty, and starvation. During the first five years of the sanction regime, “the price for a family’s food supply for a month increased 250-fold” (Drezner 2015:757). The humanitarian consequences of the sanctions on Iraq were so severe, that the international outcry forced the United Nations Security Council to completely revise their decision-making process related to sanctions imposition (Brzoska 2003). While some have argued that the impact of the sanctions in Iraq was uniquely severe (Cortright and Lopez 2002), all states targeted by sanctions incur some level of unintended negative consequences on their populace.

While nations design economic sanctions to create financial strain on the target state and coerce state leaders to alter their behavior, already-vulnerable populations, especially women and children, fare the worst under sanctions (Drury and Peksen 2014). For poor, rural mothers and their children, the sanctions in Iraq had particularly devastating consequences as child mortality rates rose considerably, violence against women increased, and female employment rates fell from 23% to 10% in only five years (Al-Ali 2005). Sanctions can therefore present a major set-back for the cause of gender equality in

developing countries, which are most likely to experience sanctions. However, research on economic sanctions has not identified the mechanisms by which sanctions burden women. Furthermore, academic work in this area in recent years has suggested that two particular sanction types, humanitarian sanctions and targeted sanctions, are not only more effective in achieving the goals of the sender state but are also more humane. Evidence indicates that human rights sanctions and targeted sanctions produce consequences for civilians in the target state that are considerably less negative than those following the use of comprehensive sanctions. In this chapter, I examine the impact of human rights sanctions and targeted sanctions on social spending, which correlates strongly with women's health and welfare indicators, used to assess gender equality. I aim to unwrap the specific mechanisms by which these seemingly preferential foreign policy tools negatively impact women in the target state. Using a time-series, cross-sectional regression analysis of 152 countries from 1990-2014, I show that despite their supposed "lesser of two evils" reputation, human rights and targeted sanctions severely restrict women's rights in the target state via significant loss of government spending on education. However, while post-sanction cuts in government education spending negatively affect women by significantly increasing fertility rates and decreasing women's participation in the labor force, an increase in government education spending during the sanctions period can ameliorate much of the burden these "smart" sanctions inflict on women. Unfortunately, target governments are highly unlikely to take such important steps to protect women, illustrating that even smart sanctions, despite their reputation as less corrosive of human rights, do not provide sufficient measures to address civilian needs.

Negative Impacts of Economic Sanctions

Though states do not intentionally set out to hurt innocent civilians when implementing economic sanctions, such consequences occur with a high frequency. Sender states impose sanctions for various reasons including compellence, deterrence, or even simply to satisfy domestic interest groups within the sender state. Some states engage in sanctions more often than others. The United States institutes economic sanctions much more frequently than any other state (Drury 2001). Scholars and policy analysts alike criticize sanctions as often ineffectual, but success stories do exist. The financial restrictions placed on supporters of Slobodan Milosevic during the genocide of the 1990s crippled businesses by isolating them from the wider financial market and this eventually helped to bring Milosevic to justice (Hufbauer and Oegg 2000). Travel sanctions imposed upon Libya were at least partially successful in ending the brutal reign of Muammar Qaddafi, and targeted financial sanctions imposed on Iran have been credited with bringing to bear the 2015 nuclear agreement (Cortright and Lopez 2002; Drezner 2015). Despite a poor record of success, sanctions are increasingly used in place of military intervention and as such, the record of unintended consequences is growing as well.

One oft cited negative consequence of sanctions is an increase in government repression by the targeted state. Peksen and Drury (2011) argue that economic sanctions threaten the long-term political survival of leaders in the target state government and this motivates the regime to restrict democratic freedoms of citizens to hinder any challenge to its authority. In many cases, this harsh implementation of restrictive government ultimately solidifies power within the regime, particularly when these sanctions are comprehensive economic sanctions.

As the target regime attempts to deflect the worst consequences of sanctions, citizens within the target state absorb the anger of the regime through abuse of their human rights. Peksen (2009) shows that economic sanctions have a serious, detrimental effect on the human rights of citizens within target regimes, and extensive sanctions, such as comprehensive and financial sanctions, have the harshest effects. He argues that the longer sanctions are imposed, the greater accumulating human rights cost they will inflict on target countries. The irony of this finding is that many sanctions are implemented precisely to prevent or stop humanitarian crises from happening and yet, as the target regime feels the heaviest financial impacts of sanctions, the regime punishes its civilians with increasing severity.

A second criticism of economic sanctions is that they impose financial distress on already-poor civilians. Economic sanctions can instigate nationwide financial disasters including high levels of unemployment, low levels of production, and even a currency crisis in the target country. Peksen and Son (2015) argue that sanctions can trigger a currency crisis in the target state by increasing the level of financial insecurity in the state which significantly reduces outside investment, increases inflation, and undermines economic growth. They point out that sanctions also contribute to a steep decline in a target state's gross national product (GNP), the growth of black markets, and a reduction in access to markets for exports and imports. Like several other authors, they find that high cost sanctions are the most detrimental types of sanctions to the overall stability of markets and finances in target countries. Economic sanctions reduce the effectiveness of the target government politically and financially. Citizens feel these impacts in the rising prices of

their goods, the loss of their employment or reduction in their wages, and in the loss of their personal health (Al-Jawaheri 2008).

Importantly, economic sanctions are most effective only in the initial, short-term sanctioning period though they often persist for long periods of time (Dizaji and van Bergeijk 2013). This means that despite losing overall effectiveness, sanctions continue to deliver negative shocks to political freedoms, human rights, and health as they remain in place. Target regimes threatened by economic sanctions and financial turmoil may respond with violence against their own people or may begin with a slashing of government spending on the programs that the most vulnerable civilians depend on for survival.

Unique Consequences for Women

Drury and Peksen (2012) show that economic sanctions negatively impact women, particularly in the poorest countries. The authors highlight the unequal suffering women experience within target states through higher unemployment, cultural discrimination in hierarchical social structures, loss of access to public health, and increase in human rights abuse. They measure the negative impact on women using the Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Database utilizing the variables on women's presence in the labor force as well as women's political and social rights. The authors proposed that cuts to government social programs may be primarily responsible for sanctions' undue harm to women, though they do not test this directly.

Women rely overwhelmingly on government social spending, far more than men (Lakshmi 2001). Women are also instrumental in the creation and continued development of the welfare state over time in many countries. Andrew (1984), for example, documents the central role women have played and continue to play in advancing the welfare state, as

both workers in and clients of the welfare state. In primary care giver roles, women utilize government social programs to keep their families out of poverty, especially during times of great financial crisis. In more developed countries and in most democracies, women have been able to exercise the right to vote to push for increases in government services (Abrams and Settle 1998). Unfortunately, this does little good in nondemocratic states or in states reeling from the immediate impacts of economic sanctions.

The fact that women rely more on welfare programs can work against them in many states in which political and social hierarchies place women at the bottom. Many states expect women to be married and largely dependent upon the income of their husband, placing single women and especially single mothers, as the most economically vulnerable group of women in the state. Women who work attempt to do so within societies that usually pay them less, and women are the first to become unemployed when the government faces a financial crisis (Huber et al. 2009). Women are threatened by changes to government welfare programs even during strong financial times and even in developed democracies. In states such as Canada, which has traditionally supported a welfare for all system, political parties differ on their perceptions of welfare and the necessity for programs that benefit women and children. As political tides change so too does policy on welfare, even in the richest and most developed nations (Lakshmi 2001). In less developed nations, women are even more vulnerable to poverty and disease, and shifting political policies can have an even greater impact on their wellbeing. When states are sanctioned, political policies change quickly, and women are most often the losers in such situations (Pribble 2006).

Buck, Gallant, and Nossal (1998) focus specifically on the case of sanctions against Iraq and how those sanctions disproportionately impacted women. They argue that the Iraqi sanctions produced gender-specific suffering. Under the sanctions, women confronted a stark decrease in available food, clean water, employment, health services, and housing. While the sanctions decreased availability of these items, the target government (in this case, Iraq) exacerbated the shortages by also participating in the capture of food (Buck, Gallant, and Nossal 1998). As women are frequently the primary care giver to the children in the home, women must work even harder to provide children with food, water, shelter, and health care. They shoulder the stress of managing shortages for their dependents as well as for themselves.

Spend More, Hurt Less - in Theory

Existing research on economic sanctions and women's relationship with the welfare state suggests that decreased welfare spending is one mechanism by which sanctions disproportionately hurt women. Economic sanctions place a steep financial burden on the target state, and the government must scramble to reduce expenditures to survive the sanction period. A vulnerable regime is in a precarious position, particularly if sanctions are high cost and the state was already at an economic disadvantage prior to implementation of sanctions (Peksen and Drury 2011). States typically disperse welfare spending across three categories: health, education, and social (retirement, income subsidies). While spending cuts to all three categories may create financial hardship for women, education spending is likely to be most impactful because short-term disruptions in girls' education can have a long-term impact on women's economic opportunities outside the home.

Education is critical to female empowerment, and girls face more barriers to attaining education, regardless of geographic locations or the imposition of sanctions. In India, for example, illiteracy rates are the highest among women in the world despite the democratic nature of India's government and its increasing financial growth in the last decade. Even without pressure from economic sanctions, the reality for girls in India is that they will receive only four years of formal education on average and only one girl in 100 will receive 12 years of formal schooling (Agapitova and Moreno 2017). Arms, Bickett, and Graff (2008) found that among special education programs in the US, girls were underserved relative to boys and those girls not receiving learning disability services when needed, were much more likely to become teenage mothers, leave school without graduating, and live their adult years in poverty and on public assistance. Much of this may have to do with what Estevez-Abe (2011:33) notes is a "gender bias in education." She argues that job training programs that rely on apprenticeships and are more vocational in nature, are more likely to be gender-biased against women due to a "statistical discrimination" present in employers who believe women are more likely to quit the job early to fulfill family obligations. This leads to women having less opportunities at higher-paying jobs than men and ultimately earning much less over their lifetimes than men.

Under a sanction regime, the marginal benefit and importance of educating girls and young women increases as a country's economy falters. However, sanctions are likely to reduce the amount of educational opportunities available to girls and women. When families are unable to afford to send their daughters to school, basic skills, such as literacy, lapse. According to Al-Ali (2005:47) "Illiteracy drastically reduced in the 1970s and 1980s, rose steadily after the Iran-Iraq war and grew between 1985 and 1995 from 8% to 45%.

The drop-out rate for girls in primary education reached 35%...[and] 55% of women aged 15-49 are illiterate.”

Even short-term disruptions can thwart the long-term education and employment prospects for girls. Remedial schooling becomes difficult after just one or two missed years (Agapitova and Moreno 2017). Other times, girls leave school and become caretakers of younger siblings, and their household responsibilities become a reason not to rematriculate even if the government restores funding and educational attainment again becomes an option. One to two years of reduced educational opportunity can have an especially dramatic effect on women of child-bearing age, whose lives can change trajectory with the birth of a child. Intuitively, then, longer spells without education will only worsen women’s prospects in this regard. While the majority of countries that experience sanctions spend between one and two years under a sanction episode, many countries spend as many as twenty-five or even forty years under sanctions (the average sanctions period is 12 years).

Education is a critical issue for women because it is the key to attaining gender equality. While it is difficult to measure a broad concept such as gender equality, scholars generally operationalize the variable by measuring women’s fertility rates and women’s participation in the labor force (Caprioli 2000).³

³ It is necessary to clarify what I mean by “gender” in this analysis. While space does not allow for a full review of the excellent literature surrounding the debate over the term “gender,” I acknowledge a few key points. The notion of “gender” is often split into two theoretical camps, one that explains gender as biological and one that explains gender as socially constructed. The biological argument asserts that gender is derived from biology and reflects specific differences between men and women. This argument posits that women have essential characteristics that are more common in them than men and these characteristics drive the behavior and choices of women. Therefore, this argument assumes that women are more nurturing, less aggressive, and more likely to rely on their role as reproductive rather than destructive beings (Caprioli 2000). On the other hand, gender is argued to be a social construction, formed via the expectations and evolution of society. This argument posits that women and men are not inherently different, and they behave based on many other stimulants not based on biological difference (Tickner 1992). In this view, gender is a byproduct of social relationships and the nature of society, not a fixed category that never changes (Sadik 1997). Ultimately, this analysis relies on the latter definition of gender, in that it reflects the society in which it is constructed. The specific measurements used to identify gender

Education impacts gender equality as measured here, via its effect on women's opportunities to leave the home. These opportunities are reflected in fertility rates among women (with lower fertility rates indicating more opportunity for education and employment), and in women's participation in the labor force. Fernandez (2013) finds that among other factors, education continues to play an important role in the evolution of female labor participation, with women participating more in the mainstream labor force as education opportunities increase. Fertility and labor force participation are also connected to one another. Bloom et al. (2009:81) find that "on average...each additional child reduces female labor force participation by between 5 and 10 percentage points for women between the ages of 20 and 44. Aggregating these estimates over the reproductive life of a representative woman, this implies that each birth reduces total labor supply by about 1.9 years per woman." While sanctions will likely reduce the education opportunities for girls, states that resist the urge to cut spending on education will see better outcomes for women. Therefore, when education-spending increases, fertility rates will decrease as a sign of increased opportunities for women outside the home, and women's percentage of participation in the labor force will increase for similar reasons.

Smart Sanctions – Only Different in Theory

While it seems clear from the literature that economic sanctions can and do have disastrous effects on civilian populations in target states, newer 'smart' sanctions should, in theory, be able to minimize the collateral damage to women. Most sanctions implemented prior to the 1990s were comprehensive in nature, meaning that they were meant to inflict economic damage on the target state as a whole to alter the behavior of a

equality within the state are measurements of women's roles in society and as such, reflect the larger, societal expectations placed on women. See also (Eveline and Bacchi 2005).

small number of actors within the target state (Hufbauer and Oegg 2000). However, following the disastrous consequences of comprehensive sanctions against Iraq in the 1990s, the international community began to increase pressure on governments like the United States to mitigate the humanitarian consequences of economic coercion. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan requested a “less blunt and more effective instrument” than the current comprehensive practice (Brzoska 2003), and policy experts answered this call for reform with ‘smart’ sanctions.

Smart sanctions are designed to inflict economic strain on particular actors within the target state who are not only most responsible for the implementation of sanctions, but who are the few actors with the power to alter policy to meet the demands of the sender state. This “targeted” approach to economic coercion is intended to shield civilians from the negative humanitarian effects of comprehensive sanctions while still maintaining a powerful foreign policy position (Brzoska 2003). Smart sanctions are varied in form and content, as are comprehensive sanctions. In fact, smart sanctions can be designed to do everything from reducing funding for illicit criminal activity such as terrorism or human trafficking, to delaying the manufacturing of weapons of mass destruction, intervening in unregulated banking activity, and enforcing peacekeeping efforts (Biersteker 2010). While comprehensive sanctions are designed to impact the macroeconomy of the target state and therefore have a wider impact on a larger number of people, targeted sanctions are designed to impact the microeconomy of the target state and have a finite impact on a smaller number of people – the people authoritarian leaders must satisfy to maintain power (Elliott 2002).

Most impressively, evidence has shown that smart sanctions are especially effective against authoritarian or mixed regime leaders, which are precisely the states most likely to

be sanctioned and have the lowest levels of gender equality (Brooks 2002; Biersteker 2010; Drezner 2015). Authoritarian leaders simply have a smaller constituency to satisfy because such leaders do not rely on the masses for a democratic election. Authoritarian leaders rely on their small group of political insiders, prominent business owners, or high-ranking military officials to remain in power and it is this small group which must be financially supported by authoritarian leadership for power to be maintained (Brooks 2002).

The current application of targeted sanctions by the United Nations only includes direct demands by the Security Council to the wider international community to punish the actor or actors targeted for economic coercion and does not directly address protection of civilians within the sanctions policy. For example, UNSCR 757 (1992) was designed to constrain the genocidal leadership of Slobodan Milosevic and included strict guidelines for UN member states to follow:

States shall prevent: (a) The import into their territories of all commodities and products originating in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]...(b) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which would promote or are calculated to promote the export or transshipment of any commodities or products originating in the [FRY]...no State shall make available to the authorities in the [FRY]...or to any commercial, industrial or public utility undertaking in [FRY], any funds or any other financial or economic resources...all States shall: (a) Deny permission to any aircraft to take off from, land in or overfly their territory if it is destined to land in or has taken off from the territory of the [FRY]...prevent the participation in sporting events on their territory of persons or groups representing the [FRY]...suspend scientific and technical cooperation and cultural exchanges and visits involving persons or groups officially sponsored by or representing the [FRY]...

As discussed above, this targeted resolution had a positive impact on altering the trajectory of Milosevic and his supporters, and yet the resolution gives no specific demands related to protecting the civilian population, except where discussing allowing humanitarian aid to cross into the FRY as needed. These comprehensive sanctions which included an arms

embargo, financial restrictions, travel ban, and commodities embargo, still resulted in economic collapse and social unrest among the civilian population, despite the narrow focus on a small number of bad actors (Biersteker, Eckert, Tourinho 2016). Yugoslavia is only one example of targeted sanctions focusing on the punishment of a specific individual or group of individuals in the language and terms of the sanctions document, in fact, most sanctions resolutions via the UN Security Council, the European Union, or even the United States do not directly address the needs of civilians during a sanction episode. Were these resolutions to do so, this attention to civilian needs could be included in the demands explored above. For example, the UNSCR 757 could include that, “all States will support the monitoring of civilian education rates, particularly female civilians, and provide assistance as needed in maintaining access to and quality of primary education as determined by UN investigators.” If the international community is to protect the long-term success of girls and women, these sanction episodes must shift focus away from targeting violators with punitive measures alone, and toward a more comprehensive demand that states protect civilian lives. The standard design of both comprehensive and targeted sanctions does not do enough to directly support civilians, especially women.

Regardless of whether a sanction regime is targeted or comprehensive, there is good reason to think that it will jeopardize the regime’s tax base or sources of economic rents, and that the regime will, in turn, reduce public spending as it shifts remaining financial resources to its selectorate in order to maintain power. Statistical evidence in support of this theory should thus confirm the following hypotheses regarding the relationship between sanctions imposition, education spending, and gender equality:

Hypothesis 1: The impact of human rights sanctions will lead to a reduction in government spending on education in the target state.

Hypothesis 2: The impact of targeted sanctions will lead to a reduction in government spending on education in the target state.

Hypothesis 3: Increased government spending on education will mitigate the negative impact of human rights sanctions on women's equality by decreasing overall fertility rates.

Hypothesis 4: Increased government spending on education will mitigate the negative impact of targeted sanctions on women's equality by decreasing overall fertility rates.

Hypothesis 5: Increased government spending on education will mitigate the negative impact of human rights sanctions on women's equality by increasing the overall percentage of female labor in the workforce.

Hypothesis 6: Increased government spending on education will mitigate the negative impact of targeted sanctions on women's equality by increasing the overall percentage of female labor in the workforce.

Sanctions and Education Spending: Analysis and Results

Evaluating the first hypothesis requires an examination of the relationship between government spending on education and the imposition of human rights sanctions and targeted sanctions. Figure 1 provides a double histogram of the rate of government spending on education as a percentage of GDP for the 152 countries that have experienced economic sanctions. Drury and Peksen (2014) and Hufbauer et al. (2007) compile the sanctions data using primary sources on economic sanction behavior on countries that experience sanctions from 1990-2014. I aggregate the effect of all types of sanctions⁴ on education spending. UNESCO Institute for Statistics provides the data for *government education spending*, which includes government expenditures on primary public education (K-12) as a percentage of GDP in a given year. Given that this paper focuses on the impacts

⁴ Previous literature on sanctions reveals that sanction type can impact outcomes and thus, I have also performed tests on multilateral, unilateral, economic, and human rights sanctions. Due to space constraints, I have not included those results here, but they are available in the online appendix.

of women related to education spending, I chose this as my measurement of government social spending.⁵

[See Figure 1 in Appendix A]

The darkly shaded histogram represents the percentage of GDP each government in the dataset spent on public education prior to the implementation of sanctions. Most countries in the sample spent between three and seven percent of their GDP on public education. The white histogram represents the percentage of GDP each government spent on public education during the sanctions period. Most countries in the sample reduced their spending on education significantly, by one to five percent of their GDP. For large, very wealthy countries, a one or two percent difference in spending can be offset by private tuition payments, but for smaller, less developed countries, this difference can be devastating. This illustration provides a clear picture of how significantly sanctions impact government spending on primary education and allow for a transition into testing the second piece of this puzzle.

Table 1 below presents additional evidence of the quantitative impact of sanctions on government spending in education. The method of analysis is a time-series cross-sectional generalized least squares regression with panels corrected standard errors to

⁵ The World Bank provides data on government social spending in three categories: education, health, and social. Government spending on health is related to availability of healthcare based on financial need, while government spending on society is related to support of unemployment, retirement, and other various social programs not related to health or education. While each of these programs is important to civilians and certainly will impact their lives negatively if funding is removed or decreased under a financial crisis, spending on education is particularly connected to the gender equality measurements. Health spending of course matters for women, but the need for healthcare varies among women and girls. Social spending on employment or retirement programs of course matter for women, but the need for such programs also varies among women and girls. However, education is shown again and again and again to be vitally important for the long-term economic, social, and political benefit of women and girls. Simply put, education matters for women and girls but it especially matters under times of extraneous financial pressure which may last many years

address heteroskedasticity.⁶ The model includes control variables for size of a country's population, the level of democracy, and whether they are experiencing war. Table 2 reports sources for these variables.

[See Table 1 in Appendix A]

[See Table 2 in Appendix A]

Table 1 displays the results of regressing the first dependent variable, *government spending* on *education*, on *sanctions*. These results suggest that when sanctions are in effect, governments spend considerably less on public education. The coefficient on *sanctions* is negative and statistically significant. This tendency declines in wealthier countries. The coefficient on *GDP* is positive and significant. However, when governments have more people or are involved in an active conflict, they spend less on public education as revealed by the negative and significant coefficients on *Population (log)*, and *Wars*, respectively.

Figure 2 provides a marginal effects graph of the impact of sanctions on government spending for a more complete picture of this relationship

[See Figure 2 in Appendix A]

As suggested by the double histogram in Figure 1, the onset of a sanctions episode dramatically reduces government spending on public education as a percentage of GDP. When sanctions onset occurs, illustrated by a value of "1" on the x axis above, government

⁶ All models are tested for issues with multicollinearity, unit specific error, and autocorrelation and these results encouraged the use of this specific technique, following Wooldridge (2009). The generalized least squares technique is particularly suited for use with time-series cross-sectional data where autocorrelation is often a problem. Autocorrelation may be a problem in this dataset given that spending and sanction impacts from the past could theoretically influence such impacts in the present. Generalized least squares is a panel variant of the Prais-Winsten technique and helps correct for first order auto-regression. I employ the use of the option to correct for groupwise heteroskedasticity, but do not correct for contemporaneous correlation. These models are not particularly susceptible to contemporaneous correlation, and the panels are unbalanced and hence, this technique is not possible here.

spending on public education drops nearly a full percentage point of overall GDP. Given that the average length of a sanction episode is twelve years, millions of young girls and women are at risk of losing a significant proportion of government spending on their education for the entire trajectory of their early schooling if the target state experiences sanctions just as the young girls begin Kindergarten.

Sanctions, Education Spending, and Gender Equality: Analysis and Results

To assess the second and third hypotheses regarding the effect of sanctions and education spending on gender equality, I run two additional cross-sectional time series models using two common indicators of gender equality as the dependent variables. Following Caprioli (2003, 2005), I operationalize *gender equality* using two variables: levels of fertility rates and female percentage of the labor force. Change in *fertility rate*, is the annual change in the predicted number of live births over the lifetime of a woman. The second dependent variable is the change in *female percentage of labor force*, which is the change in the percentage of women who are active in the overall labor force. The labor force is made up of workers over the age of fifteen who meet the International Labor Organization's definition of an economically active participation. Data for the dependent variables is taken from the World Bank World Development indicators dataset.

If welfare spending mitigates the negative impact of sanctions on gender equality, we should see fertility rates go up under sanctions but drop under increased welfare spending. As described in Caprioli (2003), high fertility rates are an indication of less opportunity for women outside the home. If spending on education mitigates the impact of sanctions on female workers, the percentage of female workers in the labor force should go down under sanctions but go up under increased welfare spending. These two dependent

variables are examined in change form due to issues with stationarity inherent with panel data.

The main independent variable in both models is an interaction term between *government education spending* and the *sanctions* dummy to measure the mitigating impact of welfare spending on sanctions. If government spending on education mitigates the impact of sanctions on women, the interaction variable will be statistically significant. The models also include the same set of control variables in the first model: level of democracy, population, GDP, and an indicator of whether a country is at war. The sources of these variables can be found in Table 2 above.

Table 3 reports the results of the models that test hypotheses two and three, regarding the effect of education spending during sanctions on the *fertility rate* and *female percentage of labor Force*, which represent the level of gender equality in a state.

[See Table 3 in Appendix A]

The model results support both remaining hypotheses. Model 1 reveals that sanctions increase fertility rates, while government spending on education decreases fertility rates. Furthermore, government spending on education during a sanctions regime has the additional impact of further decreasing fertility rates. The marginal effects graph in Figure 3 below illustrates the substantive impact of the interaction term for Model 1.

[See Figure 3 in Appendix A]

Figure 3 shows that when education spending is reduced to zero during a sanctions period, the fertility rate increases very slightly, less than .01% over a woman's lifetime and the result is not statistically significant as evidenced by the upper left-hand corner of the figure. However, under the mean value of spending on education (approximately 4% of GDP), the

change in fertility rate decreases by about .1% and the change is statistically significant. The impact of spending on the change in fertility rates continues to grow as spending increases. Under the maximum value of welfare spending, the change in fertility rate decreases by a full .6% over a woman's lifetime and this result is also significant at the .01 level.

In Model 2, the coefficient on the interaction term is positive and statistically significant, suggesting that government spending on education during sanctions tends to further increase female participation in the labor force. The marginal effects plot in Figure 4 better illustrates the substantive effect of this variable.

[See Figure 4 in Appendix A]

In Figure 4, when welfare spending is at its lowest, the female percentage in the labor force decreases, though this result is not statistically significant. However, when welfare spending increased to the mean value of at least 4% of a country's GDP, the change in the female percentage of the labor force increases a full .5% over the lower spending values. This increase illustrates that more government spending on education is not only mitigating the impact of sanctions on women in the workforce but reversing that impact in a positive direction. This result is statistically significant at the .01 level.

At the highest levels of education spending, or 44% of the GDP, the change in women's percentage of the work force increases by over 2% from lower spending values, and this result is significant at the .05 level. As with fertility rates, the impact of government spending on education under sanctions is more impactful and arguably more vital than when sanctions are not present. The average change in fertility rates and labor force

participation for a one percent increase in education spending as a percentage of GDP is much smaller than when there are no sanctions targeting the state.

The control variables perform somewhat inconsistently across both models. While *democracy* increases fertility rates, it does not have a statistically significant effect on labor force participation, which is surprising. Higher GDP increases fertility rates and female participation which may confound the effect of democracy, given that democracies tend to have higher GDP.

The impact of sanctions on social spending and gender equality warrants a reconsideration of the effectiveness of sanctions, and a rethink of sanction architecture. The imposition of sanctions may in fact be a “better” choice in many ways than military intervention, such sanctions may in fact have unintended consequences on civilians, those civilians most impacted may in fact be overwhelmingly female, but none of these current realities are immutable. If sanctions must be imposed, sender states could consider results like those presented here to create sanctions that punish leaders but protect women. Sanctions can be designed by sender states in ways that specifically aim to not only alter leadership behavior but also protect civilian lives. Yet, despite their emerging reputation as a more humane way to coerce state behavior, smart sanctions are still not smart enough to protect the future of women.

Conclusion

When countries are targeted with sanctions, economic growth suffers, unemployment increases, and household incomes fall. When those overall conditions decline, the relative benefit of social spending becomes much more important and has a greater impact when the rest of the economy is struggling. Every dollar spent on civilians

matters – especially for the lives of women. States targeted by sanctions reduce spending on education in the post-sanctions period, particularly on public education. When such spending is reduced, women’s prospects for education and earnings diminish, fertility rates increase, and the percentage of women in the labor force declines.

Target states can in fact mitigate the negative impacts on women through an increase in spending on primary education in the post-sanctions period. Higher education spending translates into greater education attainment by women, which encourages women to post-pone childbearing and invest in their own economic future. Increased government spending on education mitigates the negative impact of sanctions on women by increasing the percentage of female workers in the labor force. Taken together, the results in this paper reveal that gender equality in a target state can benefit significantly from increased spending on education under the imposition of sanctions. However, a targeted government under financial duress is highly unlikely to suddenly increase spending for public programs. Countries that impose sanctions can demand a restoration of education funding as a condition of sanctions relief, though the international community has not yet attempted such a specific focus on civilian protections, even within targeted sanctions. While not a perfect solution, such a demand may encourage target states to work hastily to help women and girls recover the ground they lost during the sanctions and illustrate to the world that sender states have more than their own interests in mind when implementing economic coercion.

CHAPTER 3: FOREIGN POLICY AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

At the intersection of economy, gender, and security is the global, heavily gendered problem of human trafficking. In this chapter, I examine the relationship between the gendered, structural behavior of sanctioned states under crisis and the ultimate change in levels of government response to human trafficking within these targeted states. I argue that the structural violence of economic sanctions and the overt violence of military force pressures target states to respond to post-sanctions and military economic crises in gendered ways that either protect elites or support the populace. These responses are gendered in that they disproportionately impact women as sexual and labor commodities in unique ways. Target states may choose to protect elites, the majority of whom are male, by hoarding resources and reducing available social services women depend upon. This lack of support from the state creates economic and physical barriers for women that then expose women to higher risk for human trafficking. Simultaneously, leadership diverts funding away from efforts to combat human trafficking and thereby increases the supply of women as commodities.

If, however, states respond to protect the populace by continuing to fund social programs and efforts against trafficking, women are directly supported and the supply of women as commodities decreases as human trafficking efforts from the state are prioritized. This paper deviates from current work on sex trafficking by placing the responsibility and the solution for human trafficking not on the victims or the perpetrators, but on the macroeconomic structure of the global capitalist system and on the macropolitical structure of the interstate system. I argue that the structural, global problem of human trafficking needs a structural, global solution that places human life above wealth

and that is informed by the phenomenal work on feminist political economy and feminist security studies that speaks directly to ending human trafficking as a global enterprise.

Using a time-series, cross-national quantitative analysis of 152 countries from 1989-2015, I show that both sanctions and military force come with unintended consequences for human trafficking. In the aftermath of sanctions imposition, particularly the imposition of targeted or human rights sanctions, leadership hoards resources and diverts funding away from social programs such as unemployment, health care, and education. The state behaves similarly following the use of military force against the target leadership, and additionally, the state increases its funding of military support in this period. The shift away from social services in the aftermath of these foreign policy actions, includes a shift away from state efforts to combat human trafficking. Because sanctions and military force both create conditions that exacerbate the level of human trafficking the target state, this period after imposition is critical for addressing the global exchange of human beings for profit.

Unfortunately, faced with economic strain and an expectation of returned violence, domestic leadership reduces its social and legal support for trafficked people during this vulnerable period. The macroeconomic expectations of global capitalism push the leadership to respond to economic sanctions by hoarding and push women into unique positions of scarcity and survival connected to human trafficking. Furthermore, the macropolitical expectations of global violence push the leadership to respond to military force by diverting resources toward increased military funding and away from social programs that might help to support women during the crisis. This, coupled with the insecurity of the state during wartime, the influx of thousands of combatants into the state,

and the lack of law enforcement resources during this time, exacerbate the problem of human trafficking exactly when the state has reduced its focus on this global crime.

In the pages following, I first discuss the human costs associated with the use of economic sanctions and military force as foreign policy tools. I then give an overview of the current literature on human trafficking, focusing on the unique consequences for women in the world. Next, I discuss the theory, tying together the macroeconomic and macropolitical international system and the domestic leadership responses to the system. I then describe the quantitative data and methodology, as well as discuss the findings. Finally, I provide a brief discussion of the challenges and future steps in the work on human trafficking as a gender and security topic in political science.

Sanctions: Foreign Policy with Unintended Consequences for Human Rights

The body of literature on economic sanctions has covered an array of topics, including general effectiveness of sanctions, as well as the impact of sanctions on the target state economy, respect for human rights, and prevalence of conflict (Hufbauer, Schott, Elliott 2007; Chan and Drury eds. 2000; Allen 2005; Hultman and Peksen 2015). However, thus far, no work has examined the impact of the structural violence of sanctions on the prevalence of human trafficking.

Despite this gap in the literature, most of the recent scholarship on economic sanctions has explored sanctions outcomes in the target state that are crucial for understanding the increase in human trafficking, particularly sex and labor trafficking, providing the impetus for this project. Whether or not economic sanctions can be considered an effective foreign policy tool is up for some critical debate. On the one hand, it matters a great deal what type of sanctions are being implemented, what the goal or goals of the sender state are for the

sanctions, which target state is on the receiving end of sanctions, and the duration of the sanctions (Hufbauer, Schott, Elliott 2007). In this chapter, I examine each of these varieties of sanctions as independent variables in my analyses. I include measurements for comprehensive, human rights, and targeted sanctions, all countries that have been senders or targets for economic sanctions, sanctions seeking a range of policy or behavioral changes by the target state, and long-term as well as short-term sanctions.

Many states employ economic sanctions as an option for altering the behavior of the target state in a way that reduces the use of physical conflict. The goal is for the target state to avoid loss of life and resources for all states involved in a dispute (Drury 1998). Democracies are typically most likely to employ sanctions as a foreign policy tool, both for the reason of avoiding conflict and due to institutional constraints that push democratic leaders to seek out non-violent options that also show national resolve against an opponent state (Hart, Jr. 2000). Regime type also plays a role in the behavior of the target state, since democratic leaders will be more likely to fear domestic audience costs that come with capitulation to foreign demands while non-democratic leaders will face less challenges to their leadership tenure and therefore enjoy more freedom in responses to sanctions episodes (Allen 2005). Whether or not the global community becomes involved on the side of the sender or target state involves a number of factors but includes the perceived salience of the issue given for the implementation of sanctions (Ang and Peksen 2007), the perceived reputational and economic costs faced by potential sanctions busters (Early 2011), and willingness to avoid the diffusion of conflict by neighboring states actively being targeted by sanctions (Escriba- Folch 2010).

Sanction type is important to consider given the varied outcomes in effectiveness and civilian post-sanction experiences. A substantial body of literature exists on the humanitarian consequences of comprehensive sanctions, which are wide-ranging in scope and impact most civilians in the target state negatively. Following the use of comprehensive sanctions against the Hussein regime in Iraq during the 1990s, nearly a million Iraqi civilians died from abject poverty, starvation, health crises, and other related effects of this foreign policy tool (Al-Jawaheri 2008). The international outcry that followed inspired the UN Secretary General, Kofi-Annan to urge states to come up with a way to enact sanctions that were less damaging to innocent populations (Hufbauer and Oegg 2000). While policy makers and leaders were already employing some limited forms of sanctions such as individual arms embargoes or travel bans, the development of specifically targeted sanctions grew considerably in this time period.

Targeted sanctions are intended to target one leader or a specific group of leaders in a way that directs economic pain away from the wider civilian population. They differ from 'selective sanctions' which are simply the use of limited tools that are still applied widely to the state and may still harm civilians in larger numbers. Targeted sanctions aim to home in on the persons thought to be most responsible for the bad behavior in the state (Hufbauer and Oegg 2000). This is done through investigation into such leaders and elites that identifies them as "Specially Designated Nationals" who are then monitored by the sender state. These SDNs are then subjected to sanctions tools like asset freezes, travel and Visa restrictions, isolation from international agreements, and public exposure for their alleged undesirable behavior (Cortright and Lopez 2002). This public exposure is a powerful tool that mirrors the international 'naming and shaming' of human rights violators

(Keck and Sikkink 1998). Members on the list of SDNs face scrutiny from international organizations, multinational corporations, and other states who wish to distance themselves from those appearing to violate established human rights norms.

While targeted sanctions have enjoyed some success, specifically in Yugoslavia (1992-1995), Libya, Angola, and Cambodia, where this refined tool achieved at least partial success in meeting the stated goals of the sender state (Cortright and Lopez 2002). However, many other uses of targeted sanctions have been ineffective such as in Haiti, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Liberia, Rwanda, Yugoslavia (1998), Afghanistan, and North Korea (Cortright and Lopez 2002; Lee and Gray 2017). The use of such sanction type has certainly limited the immediate impact on civilians and directed that impact toward elites, but thus far these sanctions have done very little to achieve policy changes in the way that comprehensive sanctions have (Drezner 2015). Furthermore, as I show in this paper, targeted sanctions do not absolve citizens from economic strain. In fact, I illustrate here that targeted sanctions do exactly what they are intended to do up front, namely, hurt leaders and elites directly. However, this pain is then passed on to citizens when leaders hoard resources away from social programs citizens rely on to survive. In the aftermath of sanctions directed at leaders, the adverse effects for civilians are felt second-hand through the loss of social programs instead of first-hand through lower employment or GDP as is the case following comprehensive sanctions. Furthermore, my results show that comprehensive sanctions actually lead to *more* government social spending while targeted sanctions lead to much less. This indicates that governments do try to mitigate the wider economic impact of sanctions on civilians or at least attempt to keep civilians from revolting by funding these much-needed safety net programs under comprehensive

sanctions. Yet, under targeted sanctions, when leadership is finally feeling the negative impacts intended by sanctions, they result to resource hoarding to survive and leave civilians to fend for themselves.

Military Force: Foreign Policy with (Some) Unintended Consequences

While sanctions are intended to avoid conflict in the target state with the goal of reducing civilian death, military force is used with full knowledge that civilians will absorb unintended consequences along the way. State stability certainly matters during such a crucial time, with states experiencing unstable events like democratization more prone to engage in conflict (Mansfield and Snyder 1995), states under military rule more likely to repress civilians (Davenport 1995), insecure leaders worried over loss of power more likely to enter into and engage in longer conflicts (Chiozza and Goemans 2004; Debs and Goemans 2010), and major power states more likely to engage in hostilities given their material advantages (Chiba, Machain, Reed 2014). However, the most important impact of war and conflict happens at the civilian level and these consequences are often drivers of increases in human trafficking.

Civilians face myriad concerns in the duration of and immediate aftermath to armed conflict. Despite the assumed record of peacefulness associated with democracies, civilians are just as likely to be victimized by democracies in war, and “democracies are even more likely to target noncombatants in wars of attrition. This may be because the electoral institutions of democracies give leaders greater incentives to target civilians to mitigate their costs of fighting or to win a stalemated war” (Downes 2006:190). In this environment of violence and instability, women are particularly targeted by combatants for abduction, abuse, murder, and rape (Goldstein 2001). Cohen (2016) finds that male combatants use

rape as a 'bonding tool' in war. Combatants need to form bonds of loyalty in order to rely upon one another in the most desperate circumstances, and while other literature has found that rape is used as a tool of war by leaders or as a method of control over the population via genocide, Cohen (2016) argues that the evidence of civil war reveals rape used as a formation of a pseudo-brotherhood between soldiers. Women are expected to act as 'always victim' in conflict, avoiding participation as a combatant, running from enemy forces with small children in tow, hiding in the shadows until the conflict has ended, despite the fact that in reality, women serve many roles in conflict including that of soldier, patriot, nurse, diplomat, spy, etc. (Sjoberg 2014).

Because women face the worst consequences of war, they are also the most likely to be displaced by conflict. Most fighting forces are still majority male, which means that on the battlefield men take the brunt of killing, torture, imprisonment, and abuse. However, women are left behind to manage the home, raise children, find food, protect resources, maintain farms, take up paid work, and eventually, relocate as an internally displaced person or a refugee to escape the surrounding violence (Sjoberg 2014). The movement of refugees in and around war time as well as the instability of makeshift refugee camps monitored by sometimes corrupt 'peacekeepers' opens the door to human trafficking. Because human trafficking relies upon instability, desperation, freedom of movement, and fear to thrive, the conflict zone is the perfect location for trafficking syndicates to operate (Shelley 2010). Thousands of women, children, and men disappear from refugee camps and escaping crowds as the government focuses on the military apparatus and conflict drives people out of safe areas. Even those who remain within the camps are exploited and

abused by soldiers and peacekeepers while living in the most desperate conditions of their lives.

Feminist Political Economy: A Foundation for A Macro Approach

Approaching problems of the international political economy through a feminist lens is centered on the idea of questioning long accepted capitalist hegemonies and applying a more inclusive understanding to how the global economy functions (Gibson-Graham 1996). Feminist political economy tries to make feminist sense (Enloe 2014) of the economic structures within and between states that deeply impact the lives of individuals by asking what happens to women when most economic decisions are made and enforced by men and overwhelmingly favor a capitalist structure (Fraser 2009). True (2012:29-30) provides a more specific detailing of this approach:

A feminist political economy method comprehends the global, political-economic structures that both condition and heighten women's vulnerability to violence. It addresses the lack of structural and causal analysis in social psychology and population health approaches to violence against women, criminal justice and human rights perspectives, and cultural anthropology and security studies...It analyzes political and economic power as part of the same transnational authority structure, highlighting the masculine nature of the integrated political-economic authority structure extending from the household to the global realm.

The overall structure of authority, including political, economic, and physical authority is derived from a masculine approach to problem solving and generally includes a vast majority of men formulating policy that impacts the entire world. This article pulls from the literature on feminist political economy to ask how this masculine formation of capitalism based largely in economic principles of supply and demand is used to ensure that a global economic enterprise such as human trafficking continues to grow. A good starting point for such an undertaking, is to examine the problem through True's (2012:20) suggested core elements of "gender division within the family and household

economy...the contemporary global, macro-economy in which capitalist competition fuels the quest for cheap sources of labor, often women's labor, and for deregulated investment conditions...[and] the masculine protector and feminine-protected identities associated with war and militarism, and division of war front/home front associated with armed conflict and its aftermath." This pattern allows us to ask questions about the relationship between the structural violence of sanctions and the structural state responses to such violence that fuels human trafficking, such as: under what economic conditions do women live within the sanctioned state before and after sanctions occur? How does the global reliance upon cheap labor impact women in the sanctioned state in the post-sanctions period and what does the state do in response to sanctions to make this situation worse for women? How does the state's status quo regarding gender roles in times of conflict impact the economic choices of women in the post-sanctions period? From this understanding of a feminist examination of political economy springs the focus of this chapter.

Related to the importance of examining the political economy through a gendered lens is the recognition that the market, no matter which market one examines, is not gender neutral. It is impacted by outside forces that are gendered, of course, but the market itself is built upon older gender ideas held and perpetuated by owners, employers, investors, and workers that are recycled through generations (Caraway 2009). Many of these biases, which may be both positive and negative for women, result in the lack of opportunities for similar wage earning and reliance on women's labor as a cheap form of production for companies. Furthermore, the building of states from the start and the overall push for democratization as well as the rise of globalization during development have all been controlled by a hegemonic and overtly masculine construction of markets, employment,

and wealth (Beneria 2003). These economic realities for women on the ground are directly related to rises in sex trafficking via the power of the macroeconomic forces from above, thereby providing a foundation for a macroeconomic approach to the problem of sex trafficking. Given that the sex trafficking business has been estimated to produce revenue of at least \$58.6 billion with profits of \$39.7 billion (Kara 2009), this is no small economic problem.

Human Trafficking: A Global Problem in Search of a Global Solution

A broad examination of the literature on human trafficking reveals a similarly complex issue as economic sanctions. Definitions of 'human trafficking', 'sex trafficking', 'labor trafficking', 'smuggling v. migration v. trafficking', 'sex work', and others are often debated in a circular (Jaleel 2016) and less-than-productive manner within this literature (Meshkovska et al 2015). However, much of this disagreement surrounds the vague concept of 'consent' among women who, despite being the majority of human trafficking victims, are often unsure of what level of consent has occurred in their personal trafficking situation, and even when they insist they are not victims, are often not believed by investigating authorities (Hua and Nigorizawa 2010). For this article, I focus solely on the structural impact of sanctions on 'sex trafficking', and adopt the definition used by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) as follows (14-15): "Trafficking in persons is a crime that includes three elements: 1) the ACT of recruiting, transporting, transferring, harbouring or receiving a person; 2) by MEANS of e.g. coercion, deception or abuse of vulnerability; 3) for the PURPOSE OF EXPLOITATION. Forms of exploitation specified in the definition of trafficking in persons include, sexual exploitation" (UNODC Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2016). As noted by this

definition, trafficking also includes slavery and forced labor, but the main focus of this article is on sex trafficking and sexual exploitation. This analysis focuses specifically upon the crime of sex trafficking because, as others have noted, “it is one of the most severe forms of human trafficking, and thus it is this type of trafficking that most researchers attempt to analyze and understand” (Meshkovska et al 2015:380). Within the UN definition of sex trafficking as outlined above, the issue of consent is deemed “irrelevant” if the victim is a child or a person under the age 18. The UNODC has determined that if any means of coercion, deception, or abuse of vulnerability, are used on a minor, then consent cannot be considered an element of the crime.

As for adult victims, the issue of consent is of course, still widely debated. This article takes the position that sex trafficking is always a form of economic, physical, psychological, and sexual exploitation. As such, the participation in sexual trafficking is exploitation of the vulnerable by the powerful (Barberet 2014) and is a criminal act on the part of the traffickers, the 'clients', the criminal organizations, the corrupt law enforcement and political officials, and the largely complicit international community, all of whom facilitate the growth of human trafficking. In referring to sex trafficking, I specifically differentiate sex trafficking from sex work through the element of exploitation such that, sex trafficking occurs as soon as the victim is exploited by the trafficker outside of any previously agreed upon and fully consensual relationship (Weitzer 2011). For example, if the victim agrees to move illegally between countries in the promise of a job and is then subjected to abuse, harm, or forced sexual exploitation at any time, sex trafficking has occurred. If a sex worker sets up an agreed upon service in exchange for payment under consensual and clearly defined terms and this agreement is respected by all parties

involved, then sex trafficking has not occurred. If, however, a sex worker or any other victim agrees to sex work with a trafficker and at any time the agreement is broken by the trafficker which results in the exploitation of the victim, despite the initial consensual agreement to participate in sex work, sex trafficking has occurred. At the heart of the difference between sex trafficking and sex work is consent and agreement to specific circumstances. This is an important distinction to make, because women's choices in sex work, while heavily debated, are nonetheless part of the larger global economy that drives state responses to economic crises, and thus cannot be excluded from an analysis that seeks to connect those state responses to the economy of sex trafficking (Dewey 2012).

The literature on human trafficking includes several other elements surrounding this global issue that are connected to the larger global economy as well. One such issue is the role of organized crime in facilitating the growth of human trafficking around the world (Chin and Finckenauer 2011). In fact, Cacho (2014) argues that organized crime syndicates have found a great deal of economic profit from the kidnapping, sale and enslavement of women and children and have continued to use those profits to exacerbate human trafficking each year. Much of this is due to the worldwide illicit drug trade which has already provided a foundation for traffickers of a secret network among those who seek out prohibited 'goods'. However, as Shelley (2010:3) argues, "For organized crime groups, human beings have one added advantage over drugs: they can be sold repeatedly." Shelley also notes that it is much easier for individual criminals at the lower levels of organized crime groups to make money in trafficking human beings than in trafficking drugs, because human beings are fairly easy to obtain, while illicit drugs must be grown or manufactured, packaged, shipped, etc. and lower-level traffickers often lack the resources to do so

independently, leading to less personal enrichment. Humans, on the other hand, can be tracked, kidnapped, enslaved, and sold in a relatively short time period, leading to direct profit for individuals over high-level organizers.

Another aspect of human trafficking that adds to its complexity, is the impact of globalization and the concurrent spread of technology. The use of the Internet has made it much easier for purchasers to search for and pay for women and girls of specific physical, ethnic, racial, cultural, demographic types and much easier for sellers to anonymously make financial transactions across the often untraceable web. Shelley (2010) points out that text messaging via the use of cheap and easily accessible cell phones allows buyers and sellers of human beings to exchange information, set up transactions, link with a network of known customers, and make business deals across the world in a matter of seconds. Given that many of these forms of technology can be incredibly difficult for law enforcement to track, most transactions go by in a matter of moments and leave little to no evidence in their wake (Page and Piatt 2016). Understanding how globalization has helped to further the growth of human trafficking is a key part of this analysis and is discussed further in the theory section.

Much of the literature on trafficking comes from the medical field, because sex trafficking results in extremely high rates of sexually transmitted diseases including HIV and AIDS as well as low life-expectancy of victims often attributed to either disease or abuse of drugs and alcohol (Oram et al. 2016). Particularly in East Asia, often considered the epicenter of sex trafficking, the spread of sexually transmitted disease has been astounding, with as much as 20% of infected military men from the area reporting HIV and/or AIDS (Shelley 2010). Furthermore, the continued spread of such diseases has

created fear in many clients of contracting STDs from trafficked women. Instead of slowing or stopping the demand for access to sex however, this fear has resulted in clients searching for very young victims, usually younger than age ten, because these clients believe that the younger victims will be less likely to be infected. Unfortunately, the ultimate reality is that these female children are more susceptible to vaginal lesions from forced sexual relations which actually spread HIV and AIDS into their bloodstream much faster, resulting in a quicker spread of such diseases. Furthermore, as women age and have their own children post-HIV/AIDS, those children also often become infected and very often are trafficked as well, further exacerbating the cycle (Shelley 2010).

Also important to note is the impact of alcohol and drugs on trafficking victims. Many victims of trafficking are introduced to alcohol and drugs at a young age or even forced to use drugs to keep them compliant. Once those victims become dependent upon illicit drugs or alcohol, this addiction results in further control of the victims through by traffickers and continued physical, financial, and psychological indebtedness as well as a very short lifespan. As Shelley (2010:73) notes, “These conditions contributed to the untimely demise of youthful U.S. trafficking victims, who often survive only seven years after they have been trafficked into prostitution.” Ultimately, the overall health of victims in sex trafficking is significantly lower than it otherwise would be without involvement in such a practice (Helton 2016).

While the main topics surrounding human trafficking have been briefly discussed above, other issues such as labor trafficking and its connection to sex trafficking, regional issues that are often specific to particular areas of the world yet impact the global system of sex trafficking as a whole (Dewey 2008; O’Brien, Hayes, and Carpenter 2013), the role

of international governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations in both contributing to the rise of and attempting to end sex trafficking (Foerster 2009; Foot 2016), the impact of the sex trafficking on children (Havlicek 2016; Reid et al. 2017), and the general role of law enforcement are also important pieces to the picture of the global problem of sex trafficking (Rao and Presenti 2012). This article is primarily interested in the economic consequences of economic sanctions and how states respond to those consequences in ways that exacerbate human trafficking and thus, there is not sufficient room within this article to discuss all important avenues of this phenomenon. However, future plans for this project are discussed at the end of this paper and will include a broader exploration of those currently omitted topics. I now turn to discussing the theoretical arguments that form the foundation of this analysis.

Connecting the Dots: A Macroeconomic and Macropolitical Theory

The theory presented by this article applies a macro approach to a macro problem, something that is largely missing from current work on human trafficking. As Suchland (2015) points out, most research on sex trafficking since its growth in the postsocialist era of the 1990s has taken a victim-centered approach that places both the responsibility for engagement in sex trafficking as well as the solutions for ending sex trafficking in the hands of the victim. Furthermore, this approach has redirected the feminist movement opposing “Violence Against Women” as a individual-level problem requiring solutions that simply reaffirm the structural mechanisms in place that have led to a rise of violence against women in the first place (Suchland 2015). This article addresses that problem by applying a structural examination to the issue of sex trafficking via the structural violence of economic sanctions and the structural responses of target states that lead to a rise in sex

trafficking. As Tickner (1992) has argued, economic security is at the heart of global security and this has been followed up by several feminist scholars in the area of feminist security studies (Sjoberg 2015; True 2015). However, much of the recent work in feminist security studies and particularly in human trafficking has not tied together the macro conditions of economy and security that drive human trafficking as a global enterprise (Suchland 2015). This chapter fills this gap by directly linking the behavior of states to the outcomes that drive sex trafficking and redirecting the focus away from common juridical solutions that are victim-centered and toward macroeconomic and political solutions that are global-centered. The story begins with a state that is sanctioned and begins to experience a varied set of crises. Here, I examine major economic crisis outcomes of sanctions already strongly supported by the sanctions literature. Once the state begins to feel these consequences, the state leadership must respond in a way that addresses these problems. I argue that the state is likely to respond in one of two ways, with an “elite response” (see Allison 2015; Eisenstein 2010) or a “populist response.” In the “elite response,” the government leadership will act to preserve access to resources, including money, aid, food, security, and political power for itself and its small cohort of elites during a time of crisis. It is important to note that the government and these “elites” are nearly all men in most states and are most often operating in alignment with principles of capitalism. These state actions detrimentally impact most of the population, particularly women, and therefore increase the likelihood that the supply of sex trafficking victims will increase. The figure below illustrates the theory in motion:

[Figure 1 - Appendix B]

As illustrated above, during the economic crisis period following sanctions, a government that hoards resources creates a domestic condition of higher rates of unemployment, poverty, and disease and a lower rate of education, investment, etc. These negative circumstances disproportionately impact women and have already been shown to increase levels of human trafficking. When faced with such dire circumstances, the population will be forced to pursue illegal, black market enterprises in order to survive, one of which, will be human trafficking. As the supply of trafficking “commodities” (i.e. humans) begins to increase, the practice of trafficking these people into and out of the country also increases. This approach is a fairly common “supply-side” approach in current trafficking literature, but unlike other work, this project does not place the onus of addressing the issue of human trafficking or of understanding its growth on the backs of the individuals. Instead, this project points to the macroeconomic and political forces above the individual that create the circumstances tying victims and perpetrators to the human trafficking market. It illustrates that the choice of the government to hoard resources during an economic crisis directly impacts the human trafficking market as government anti-trafficking investment decreases.

In the “populist response,” the state will act in the best interest of the populace at large, even if that means a reduction in resources for the state and the elites. The caveat, however, is that the state must take specific actions that ensure that women will not end up on the bottom. For example, as the economic crisis unfolds, the government will be more likely to increase taxes on the wealthy and put more money into social programs, increasing education and reducing unemployment for example. If the state provides resources that directly help women, the positive outcomes will be even greater. In these cases, the supply

of women as commodities will be much lower, and trafficking will either remain stagnant or decrease as a result. The project supports this theory using the connection of two excellent bodies of literature, feminist political economy, and feminist security studies. In a recent special issue in *Politics & Gender* (11:2, 2015), several prominent feminist scholars made a call for work that bridges the gaps between these two areas of research. They argued that each academic branch had much to offer the other, and that scholars should work to find ways to connect the strong foundational arguments of FPE scholars to those of FSS scholars (Sjoberg 2015). This article directly speaks to that request. The authors also point to the importance of linking the “everyday” of a gendered political economy to gendered violence and emphasize the need for stories of real women with real experiences to adequately capture this relationship (Elias and Rai 2015).

Ultimately, the change in supply of women and the outcome of a higher or lower rate of human trafficking is dependent upon the gender roles, expectations, guidelines, and restrictions present within each target state which control and inform the actions of the state and within the overall economic patterns adhered to within states on the global market. Therefore, examining only the internal responses of states to the crisis will not be enough. I also point out that the changes needed to address a global issue like human trafficking must come from the global level, including the way that the dominant forces of capitalism work between and within states. The very act of viewing women as a “commodity” to be supplied to (mostly) male consumers is heavily gendered. The reality of women as (mostly) victims of sex trafficking and men as (mostly) perpetrators of sex trafficking is heavily gendered. The outcomes of human trafficking that result in economic growth for men and a reduction in security for women is heavily gendered. Examining this problem purely from

an economic/security position without acknowledgement of these heavily gendered aspects would be a mistake.

Given the theoretical evidence above, I test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 7: The imposition of sanctions will result in a reduction of government spending on social programs as the leadership hoards finite resources.

Hypothesis 8: The imposition of military force will result in an increase of government spending on the military, as resources are diverted away from social programs.

Hypothesis 9: The imposition of human rights sanctions or targeted sanctions will result in a reduction in government response to human trafficking.

Hypothesis 10: The imposition of military force will result in a reduction in government response to human trafficking.

I now turn to a discussion of the data sources and methodology employed to test these hypotheses.

Data and Methodology

Measuring levels of human trafficking is incredibly difficult. Most evidence gathered on trafficking comes from police reports, court filings, and reports from international organizations. The problem with this for the purposes of this article, is that the evidence focuses almost entirely on trafficking that has been detected and prosecuted. Many trafficking victims are never found, many do not wish to come forward out of fear for their personal safety, the safety of their families, or fear of deportation from the country to which they were trafficked, and which may be their only home. A newly released quantitative database on trafficking victims helps to fill this gap, but this data is rife with missingness and is currently not cross-national enough to be tested from a global perspective.⁷

⁷ This dataset is the Counter-Trafficking Data Collaborative and is compiled by the International Organization of Migration and Polaris, a non-governmental organization dedicated to the eradication of

Fortunately, scholars have worked to find other ways to examine trafficking from a wider picture to allow for more rigorous quantitative analysis. For the purposes of this article, the dependent variable is the *3P Index Total*, an ordinal variable that comes from the 3P Anti-trafficking Policy Index (Cho 2015). Developed by economics scholar, Seo-Young Cho, the Index is compiled from both the United Nations Global Reports on Trafficking in Persons and the United States Department of State Trafficking in Persons Reports. The UN reports are currently available from 2006-2016, with the reports containing information on sex trafficking numbers from 1996-2014, while the US TIP reports are currently available from 2011-2017. The UN Reports each contain approximately three previous years' worth of data while the US TIP Reports include data from the year before publication. These data resources are the most comprehensive and trusted sources for current data on sex trafficking and the Index uses both resources in order to produce a cross-check of information within each.

The 3P Index includes a disaggregated measure of state response to human trafficking across three areas: prosecution, protection, and prevention. Each area is scored from 1-5, with a "1" representing no effort on the part of the government to address that area of anti-trafficking, and a "5" representing full effort in policy and practice in each area. "Prosecution" involves evidence that the state actively prosecutes and convicts traffickers, establishes anti-trafficking policy within its laws, and enforces those laws regularly. "Protection" involves evidence that the state provides shelter and basic resources to trafficking victims, allows victims amnesty from deportation, and provides legal and medical support to victims as needed. "Prevention" involves active public campaigning

trafficking. The CTDC program is funded by the United States Department of State and is available at ctdatacollaborative.org.

against trafficking that is supported by the government, government cooperation with local and international organizations to combat trafficking, and other preventative actions (Cho 2015). The Index also includes an overall measure that totals all three disaggregated categories to provide an aggregate score that reflects that effort of the state as a whole to address trafficking through these three major mechanisms. This scale is from 3-15 and is the variable used in this article for the dependent variable, *3P Index Total*. I have added a one-year, three-year, and five-year lag to the dependent variable in the models below to allow for the government to adjust its practices over time in the aftermath of sanctions imposition. The final dataset includes 189 countries from 2000 to 2015.

The main independent variables in the analysis, are the imposition of military force and sanctions. Military force is from the Correlates of War Military Interstate Dispute dataset v.4.2. The variable is dichotomous, with a value of “0” indicating no use of military force, and a value of “1” indicating use of military force. The sanctions data is from the TIES 4.0 dataset (Morgan, Bapat, Kobayashi 2014). The Threat and Imposition of Sanctions (TIES) dataset captures data on sanctions imposition gathered from numerous sources including Lexis-Nexis, the New York Times, and London Times. The full dataset contains information from 1945-2010 and covers over 190 countries. The main independent variables are coded as “1” if sanctions were imposed on the target state within a given year, and “0” if no sanctions were imposed. I have provided disaggregated sanctions data to indicate whether sanction type is comprehensive, human rights, or targeted. Targeted sanction data comes from the Targeted Sanctions Consortium Qualitative Database and identifies sanctions that were imposed on specific targets with the intention of reducing negative consequences for the wider population (Biersteker,

Eckert, Tourinho 2016). Control variables include government spending on the military, government spending on social programs, democracy, GDP, and population. Table 1 below illustrates the range and source of all variables in the analysis.

[See Table 1 - Appendix B]

Previous work in the area of sex trafficking has largely avoided the use of quantitative methods given the problematic nature of statistical information on this phenomenon. As Suchland (2015:167) argues, “statistics do not lend a specific ethical response to trafficking. Statistics are norms abstracted from their referential objects, not strategies. In this way, statistics are purely formal, seemingly sterile, and can be used to any end. Thus, the work to generate an economic grasp of trafficking can further carceral approaches or obscure critical economic analyses.” Taking this and other similar arguments to heart, this article seeks to avoid such pitfalls while still maintaining a rigorous, mathematical approach that has value of its own (Woolridge 2009). The method of estimation is a time series, cross-sectional regression analysis with generalized least squares to adjust for problems with autocorrelation. Tests for issues of groupwise heteroskedasticity and contemporaneous correlation indicated that the generalized least squares method is the most appropriate for this dataset.

Results

Recall that my theory expects that the imposition of sanctions or military force will reduce state capacity and willingness to address human trafficking given the severe economic burden placed upon the state by the aggressor and the hoarding of resources by government leadership. If it is true that government leadership is hoarding resources in the aftermath of sanction imposition, and diverting those resources toward the military

following the imposition of force, we should see a decrease in social spending by the government in the wake of sanctions imposition as well as an increase in military spending by the government in the wake of the imposition of military force. This will tell us that the government is less concerned with funding social programs and supporting the populace during an economic crisis, and more concerned with protecting the government's bottom line. It will also tell us that in the initial period of conflict, the government is focused primarily on responding with military force and less interested in supporting public programs. Table 2 below provides results for the first regression model.

[See Table 2- Appendix B]

The dependent variable of each model is lagged one year to address the likelihood of collinearity in the results. Because governments do not start each year with a 'blank slate' of spending, spending variables impact one another from year to year. So, whatever money the government allocated to military or social spending in the year prior to the imposition of war or sanctions, will impact what it will allocate the following year. The main independent variables are also lagged one year, but this lag is to deal with time dependence. The effect of war or sanctions will certainly take time to impact government spending decisions and hence, the one-year lag.

In the first model, the dependent variable is the percentage of GDP the government allocates to military expenditures. The coefficient for Wars is positive and statistically significant at the .01 level. This is our expected result since War should increase spending on the military. The coefficient on comprehensive sanctions is also positive and significant, revealing that even in the presence of sanctions the government feels threatened enough to increase military spending, even more so than when facing a conflict as the size of the

coefficient reveals. Targeted sanctions have a positive impact, but this result is not significant, but importantly, social spending has a negative impact. This is the first clue that the government prioritizes military spending in the aftermath of war and sanctions. More spending on social programs during this time reduces military spending. The control variables indicate that democracies spend less on the military, wealthier countries spend more, and the coefficient on population is not significant.

Model 2 reveals the impact of these foreign policy tools on government social spending. Government social spending includes fiscal support for unemployment benefits, public health care, and primary public education. Wars have a positive and statistically significant effect on social spending as do comprehensive sanctions. This is a somewhat surprising finding, because it tells us that the government is not neglecting social spending in the immediate aftermath of war and sanctions but instead trying to mitigate damages created by these actions. Human rights sanctions reveals a negative coefficient but it is not statistically significant. Importantly, government military spending has a negative and statistically significant coefficient. This supports the finding in Model 1, that military spending and social spending do have an antagonistic relationship. Democracies spend more on social spending, as do wealthier countries, while more populated countries spend less, all intuitively accurate results. From these models we can assume that while the government is not immediately ignoring or underfunding social programs during wars and sanctions, the leadership is prioritizing military spending. This suggests that as the war or sanctions period drags on, we may find that the government is more likely to fund military expenditures and less likely to support social safety programs.

For more substantive results, Figure 2 below presents the marginal effects of human rights sanctions and war on government spending.

[See Figure 2 – Appendix B]

The graph to the left reveals the impact of human rights sanctions on government social spending. The human rights sanctions variable is dichotomous so we do not gain much from the center of the graph, but it is clear that moving from no sanctions to sanctions results in a steady drop of government social spending. The graph to the right reveals the impact of war on military spending. Again, military spending is a dichotomous variable, but moving from no war to war results in a significant increase in spending on the military, just one year post war imposition.

Together, these results support hypotheses 7 and 8. As the government panics in the aftermath of the imposition of human rights sanctions, it hoards resources away from the populace in an “elite” response. This response means less money for social programs which directly impact the economic choices of civilians in the post sanctions target state. This hoarding of resources means a lack of commitment to anti-trafficking policy, prevention, and prosecution and this coupled with the dire circumstances of civilians unsupported by their government, means more human trafficking in the target state. The outcomes for civilians in the post-war state are similar. As the government responds to the imposition of force, it diverts money away from social programs and toward military spending. This reduces resources available for public programs such as anti-trafficking policies, resulting in a significant decrease in government attention to this global issue at the very time when the exogenous factors of foreign policy imposition have pushed civilians into the most insecure physical and economic circumstances.

To connect this spending outcome to human trafficking response, Table 3 illustrates the findings of the regression model of the foreign policy actions on government response to human trafficking.

[See Table 3 - Appendix B]

Table 3 reveals the impact the imposition of sanctions or war on the 3P Index Total, one year beyond imposition. Wars reveals a negative coefficient that is statistically significant at the .05 level. As the state endures the aftermath of conflict one-year post imposition, it reduces its total efforts to combat human trafficking. Comprehensive sanctions, conversely, have a positive coefficient that is statistically significant at the .01 level and reveals an increase of a full point on the 3P scale. This continues to show that comprehensive sanctions are met by an *increase* in response to civilian needs by domestic leadership, contrary to expectations given the literature on the negative impacts of comprehensive sanctions on human rights. However, both human rights sanctions and targeted sanctions have a negative coefficient and the effect of targeted sanctions is nearly as powerful in the opposite direction as comprehensive sanctions. This result indicates that targeted sanctions are having a directly negative impact on the leadership, in such a way, that the leadership reduces its efforts to address social issues such as human trafficking.

Government military spending has a negative and statistically significant coefficient indicating that when the government spends more on the military, it does less to combat human trafficking. But, as we would expect, government social spending has a significantly positive impact on efforts to combat human trafficking. The control variables respond as expected, indicating that democracies, wealthier countries, and more populated

countries all do more to combat human trafficking overall. For a look at the marginal effects of spending on trafficking, Figure 3 provides an illustration.

[See Figure 3 – Appendix B]

In the first panel of Figure 3, as government spending on the military rises from 0% to 17% of GDP, human trafficking efforts fall 3 full points on a 3-15 scale. The second panel reveals that as government social spending increases from 0% to 60% of GDP, human trafficking efforts rise 1.5 points on this scale. Unfortunately, few countries in the sample ever come close to 60% of spending, with the mean at 21%. This means that for most countries, even reaching the mean level will only increase trafficking efforts by about .5 point on the scale, not nearly enough to make up for the significant drop in these efforts if the government is increasing its spending on the military in the aftermath of war as Table 2 suggests that certainly will do.

The 3P index is comprised of three separate scores, one for each of the 3 ‘P’s’ in the government’s response ranking. Table 4 below provides the results of disaggregating the 3P Index.

[See Table 4 – Appendix B]

Model 1 presents the results for the impact of war and sanctions on prevention efforts by the government. These include efforts by the government to inform the public about human trafficking, train litigators, judges, government officials, etc. about human trafficking policies and warning signs, protect borders, create anti-human trafficking programs, and cooperate with NGOs and other states working on human trafficking (Cho 2015). In the first year following conflict, the state reduces its efforts at prevention. The same effect occurs in the wake of human rights sanctions and targeted sanctions. All three coefficients

are statistically significant. The coefficient for comprehensive sanctions is positive but not significant. Increased military spending leads to less prevention efforts, while increased social spending leads to more prevention efforts, with all results achieving statistical significance at the .01 level.

Model 2 presents the results for the impact of foreign policy actions on protection efforts. Protection includes efforts by the government to grant amnesty for victims, remove identification restrictions for victims, provide legal assistance, housing permits, shelter, medical assistance, job training, and rehabilitation for victims, aid victims in returning to their home country as requested (Cho 2015). Protection is less impacted by war than prevention, but human rights sanctions and targeted sanctions both have negative and statistically significant impacts on protection efforts by the government. Again, this suggests that these ‘smart sanctions’ may be harming civilians more than aggregate human rights indices suggest. Government military spending negatively impacts protection, while social spending positively impacts protection.

Model 3 reveals the results on government efforts of prosecution. Prosecution includes government efforts to adopt and enforce human trafficking laws, adopt legislation to combat child trafficking, include stringent penalties for trafficking criminals, support and maintain significant levels of prosecutions and convictions, and collect and maintain data on human trafficking (Cho 2015). While war has a negative impact on prosecution, the result is not statistically significant. Prosecution is the area consistently supported by governments in anti-trafficking efforts, so it is not a surprise that at least some level of persistence in this area continues even in the presence of conflict. However, comprehensive sanctions have a positive and statistically significant impact on human trafficking

prosecution. The result for human rights sanctions is positive but not significant, but targeted sanctions have a negative and statistically significant impact at the .01 level on prosecution efforts. Military spending again negatively impacts prosecution while social spending positively impacts prosecution of trafficking criminals in the target state.

Among these results, we can see a clear pattern in some areas. While the impact of wars is variable across models, human rights sanctions have a negative impact in two of the three anti-trafficking areas. Most significantly here, targeted sanctions have a strongly negative, significant impact on anti-trafficking efforts in the target state. As leadership is directly harmed by targeted sanctions, they respond by reducing efforts to protect the population. Military spending also has a consistently negative impact on anti-trafficking, while social spending has a consistently positive impact on the efforts to combat human trafficking. Democracies, wealthy countries, and highly population countries consistently do more to fight human trafficking, even in the face of war and sanctions. For substantive results on these regression findings, see Figures 4, 5, and 6 below.

[See Figure 4, Figure 5, Figure 6 – Appendix B]

The marginal effects figures above all reveal consistent impacts of government spending on human trafficking efforts. As the government spends more on the military, efforts to prosecute criminals, protect victims, and prevent trafficking all drop considerably. However, as the government spends more on social programs, efforts to prosecute, protect, and prevent all rise considerably, with prosecution gaining the most ground. The results of these regressions and marginal effects graphs all support hypotheses 9 and 10. I now turn to supporting the causal mechanism of the theory through qualitative case evidence.

CHAPTER 4: INDONESIA

As noted several times in this project, the quantitative data available on human trafficking is sparse and problematic in many ways. The sheer volume of victims around the world, the illicit nature of the crimes committed, the economic, social, and physical danger facing victims who cooperate with prosecution, the minimal penalties for perpetrators, and the myriad other complications of human trafficking make vigorous and consistent data collection on this heinous practice nearly impossible. In Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, I highlighted some current attempts at such data collection being carried out by phenomenal organizations and people dedicated to eradicating this crime and I sincerely hope those efforts continue and are well-supported. However, in the present period, an analysis of human trafficking would simply not be complete without some qualitative evidence to support quantitative results.

In this chapter, I present a case vignette on the state of Indonesia. I have chosen Indonesia as the “perfect storm” of my earlier independent variables in that the state has experienced sanctions, military force, fluctuation in government spending, reduced rights for women, and significant increases in human trafficking. This selection does not meet the rigorous requirements of a full qualitative case study, but does present real world, country-level evidence of the argument presented throughout this project. Namely, that the imposition of foreign policy action on the state reduces state commitment to social spending, leading to particularly devastating consequences for women including human trafficking.

Gender, Culture, and Power in the State of Indonesia

The many ethnic and cultural differences among the Indonesian people are illustrated in various interpretations of gender roles in society. While there are far too many iterations of gender and culture to cover here, it is important to note that it is not my intent to convey that all men or all women in Indonesia embrace the same constructions of gender. In fact, scholars have pointed out that, “there are many other gendered categories in addition to heterosexual femininity [or masculinity]...[including] homosexual *gay* and *lesi* (lesbians) in contemporary Indonesia, ‘transgendered’ categories such as *banci* or *waria* (those persons who regard themselves as belonging to a ‘male-to-female, transvestite subject-position’) and ‘female-to-male transgendered persons’ (known most often as *tomboi* or *hunter*)” (Clark 2010:16). It is important to note as well, that ‘gender’ does not mean only women or women’s issues, though that is a common misconception in Indonesia and much of the rest of the world (Clark 2010). This section then, will examine gender roles for men and women, as well as heterosexual and non-heterosexual people in Indonesia.

There are several attributes of Indonesia that make the country less amenable to gender equity and specifically less embracing of feminism or women’s rights. Funding for public education has dropped since the mid-1990s, and maternal mortality rates in the country are some of the highest in the world (Smyth 1994). While gains have been made in closing the gender income gap in the country, these gains are moving more slowly than those in the rest of the world (Ukhova 2015). The country is majority Muslim in its religious practice and as such, there are many millions of people within the state who adhere to the strictly conservative notions of the subordination of women found in the

Muslim faith. While the state is approximately 90% Muslim, many minority religions flourish in the islands and the intensity with which women adhere to Islam is quite variable.⁸ Further exacerbating this influence, is the increase in men of Indonesia embracing the more strictly traditional and sexist iterations of Islam as a response to a feeling of disempowerment. Particularly after the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 and the disappointment created by a string of failed leaders immediately after the fall of Suharto, Indonesian men flocked to the beliefs of hardline Islamic groups which were “increasingly suspicious of feminism and the recent proliferation of women’s groups” (Clark 2010:23). This dovetailed perfectly with the priorities of the state, given that in the post-authoritarian era, the political discourse surrounding a return to ‘traditional’ family values and sanctification of the domestic woman was consistently reinforced by many Islamic leaders (Clark 2010). Beyond an economic link, men have also turned toward Islam as the post-authoritarian government has embraced more and more democratic, liberal (Western) practices. Faced with a growing sense of international criticism of the Muslim faith and an increasingly Westernized world, men in Indonesia have often seen Islam as a kind of last hope for their cultural traditions and beliefs.

For the Indonesian people, gender roles and expectations are formed and informed by the long history of colonization and oppression from the West. Islamic leaders were intent on a state that is as non-Western as possible and led a push in the early 2000s for a resurgence of polygamy. While most Indonesian women, even those who adhere to the Islamic faith, do not support polygamy in practice, many women do accept polygamy in

⁸ It must be said clearly and distinctly that Muslim men and women are not in any way a monolith, and that although the standard religious texts in the Muslim faith do subordinate women, not all who practice the faith embrace or support such ideas. For an excellent examination of variations on gender and economics in Muslim communities, see Kongar et al (2014).

their own lives. Colonialism from the West left deep wounds in the Indonesian culture such that the idea of the “Western-influenced modern woman” who is educated, outspoken, powerful, and desirable is a threat to the Indonesian ideas of gender roles for women in much the same way that the West was a threat to the survival of Indonesian culture under colonialism (Clark 2010). Ironically, one of the most non-Western things Indonesian men could have done to support Indonesian women would have been to ensure women workers, particularly garment workers, were supported in labor rights. Indonesian women have been trafficked into the garment industry, usually making clothes and shoes for Western-led corporations, and work in terrible conditions for low pay (Gardener 2012). Yet, most Indonesian men were not interested in this form of gender role reorganization. All of this is particularly difficult to reconcile with the historical perception of Indonesian women as more powerful and more autonomous in society compared to other Asian nations. In fact Blackburn (2004:6) notes:

From early times visitors to Indonesia, as to other parts of the region, have been impressed by the apparently high status of female inhabitants, as evident in their control of family finances and their high degree of public visibility, particularly in commerce...Nevertheless it is striking that this celebrated high status has not translated into a commensurate recognition by the state in Indonesia. Women have not found it easy to enter the public political arena and articulate their needs and concerns to the state.

Without legal, political, or social backing for increased participation in the public sphere, women in Indonesia lacked real power to effect change.

The Suharto regime was nearly as emasculating and infantilizing as colonial rule, so that by the end of Suharto’s reign, Indonesian men were looking to re-empower their sex with a return to strongly patriarchal society. Interestingly, while they separated from Suharto’s general authoritarian principles in political life, they doubled-down on his

‘family-based citizen-state’ and reinforced the ideas of the people as ‘mother’ of the nation and the ruler as ‘father’ of the nation (Day 2002). Given this clear power separation, the gendered hierarchy is meant to trickle down into the life of all Indonesians, with the father (male) at the top and the mother (female) below him. Traditional expectations for marriage followed a typical patrilineal kinship system, in which “lineage is determined through the father, and the marriage rules specify that daughters upon marriage move to the household of the groom...” (Rammohan and Johar 2009:32). Many of these ideas have remained embedded in Indonesian culture despite some advances women have made in marriage equality. Despite the heavy reliance on strict Islamic marriage law in many areas, the state agreed to enact a uniform Marriage Law in 1974 that supported monogamy, gave women more power in divorce proceedings, and set a minimum marriage age to cut down on child brides (Blackburn 2004). Many of these advances did impact the attitudes and practices of average citizens but the patriarchal system was still preferred by many traditional and powerful men. While men were pushing for a return to a stronger patriarchy, however, women were beginning to increase their public presence.

Women’s activist groups and feminist discourse did not begin to grow within mainstream Indonesian society until after the resignation of Suharto in 1998 (Clark 2010). Between the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis and the 2008 global financial crisis, women’s activism has increased substantially. Western feminism has influenced many more Indonesian women as technology and globalization has connected more women from the West to women of Indonesia. Once the Suharto regime ended, the state suddenly began to open up and shake the proverbial chains of long authoritarian rule. In 2001, Indonesia elected its first female president, Megawati Sukarnoputri. This election was certainly a

symbolic victory for women and unimaginable just three years before. But the failure of her administration to rule effectively and the subsequent transition to an unstable state, replaced the overpowering state apparatus with an inadequate guardian that could not manage social services or law and order (Blackburn 2004). Furthermore, Megawati showed no interest in addressing women's needs or issues while in power.

Grass-roots groups began to form under the support of local and international women's non-government organizations (NGOs), and women rejected the push for a more deeply entrenched patriarchal order. Women's activist groups exploded onto the public scene following the end of Suharto's rule, as female citizens filled rallies, collected food for the poor, and demanded an end to violence against women (Rinaldo 2013). These organizations combined with local and international NGOs to further issues of equality, human rights, and social justice across the state. One of the first areas of focus for women's groups in Indonesia has been education. While most male and female Indonesians were illiterate in 1900, by 1999 nearly all elementary children were being educated. The literacy of girls is still behind that of boys, but the gains made have been important (Blackburn 2004). The main mechanism for impacting women's access to gender equity as described in Chapter 2, is government funding of education. The progress achieved in education in Indonesia has increased the power of women within the state, though there are still many changes to be made.

More Indonesian women entered the workforce and more men became unemployed following the 1997 Crisis (Clark 2010). This collection of effects has resulted in a female population that is becoming more progressive and a male population that is becoming more conservative. While women have attempted to enter the world of politics

within the Indonesian state for many years, they have been faced with significant barriers to their participation. Despite growth rates that exceeded many other world regions after 2008, and despite the election of a female president, women's political representation in Indonesia has not increased much in the last decade. The country is in the bottom 10% of states in East Asia and the Pacific region for women's representation in parliament, and common barriers to political access have included religious subordination, heavy militarization of the state and preference for men in positions of power, and lack of support from political parties (Paxton and Hughes 2017).

Some institutional barriers have been mitigated in recent years, for example, "during the 2004 parliamentary election Indonesian parties were for the first time required to nominate at least 30 percent of female candidates on their lists" (Clark 2010:14). Yet, this quota came with no mandatory consequence for parties that did not comply and most largely ignored the attempt to nominally provide equitable access to political power. The widely-held belief in Indonesia (and in all patriarchal societies) is that politics is a masculine realm and women do not belong in political spaces. This myth is reinforced when political parties not only keep women out but also ignore the needs and concerns of women when creating policies. Furthermore, even if women had more political access, under the authoritarian Suharto regime a vote meant very little for women or men. The old guard of male-dominated politics and the Islamic movement to restrict women's political power resulted in deeply sexist debates leading up to the election of Indonesia's first female president in 2001 (Blackburn 2004). Most of this attempt at making women invisible is connected to fear of emasculation, as "there continues to be a persistent social perception, inculcated through the New Order's patriarchal gender regime, that the feminine is a threat

to male dominance, including, by extension, the state's dominance" (Clark 2010:14-15). Suharto's regime certainly operated from the expectation that gender rights, feminism, or other attempts to reconfigure the social and cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity were a threat to the state's ability to control the population.

For men, particularly for non-heterosexual men, the rule of Suharto included authoritarian control over any representations of male sexuality including homophobia that the regime considered detrimental to the state. This meant that Indonesian men were expected to prove male virility, heterosexuality, physical and economic power, and even misogyny if any suspicion of non-heteronormative behavior arose. Further, the male identity in Indonesia was shaped by the colonial, nationalist, authoritarian politics that surrounded the history of the nation and demanded the embrace of traditionally conservative behavior (Clark 2010). For women, their bodies were maintained by the state as access to birth control or decisions about reproduction were controlled by the state. Suharto supported strict family planning and opened access to birth control for women in the mid-1990s, leading to a 50% reduction in the birth rate in the 20th century, but this family planning ignored women's health issues and did nothing for maternal mortality or access to medical care. The strict Islamic society also rejected the legality of abortion, restricted sex education, and argued that women's health issues were too sexual to be part of a public discussion (Blackburn 2004).

Gendered Economics in Indonesia

Modern economic liberalization in Indonesia began primarily with the power transition between President Sukarno and President Suharto in the late 1960s. Prior to this period, the Sukarno regime looked upon open markets and other liberal economic elements with

suspicion, as such elements like capitalism and foreign capital inflows were associated with colonialism and exploitation (Chwiero 2010). Sukarno's unwillingness to support market reforms, however, resulted in massive inflation, risky financial policies, overvaluation of currency and exchange, and fiscal insolvency of the government. When the Sukarno regime ended in 1965 and Suharto's military gained control, a group of highly regarded, Western-trained economists known as the UI economists (for University of Indonesia) began to publish economic papers and give public seminars on the benefits of liberalization. Once afraid to openly argue such reforms under the Sukarno regime, the transfer of power to Suharto emboldened the UI economists to advise the new regime to undertake policy changes to repair the damage done by Sukarno's failed economic design (Chwiero 2010).

Even though these liberal reforms were not supported by the traditional beliefs and interests of the Indonesian public, Suharto saw an opportunity to bolster support among a select group of elites upon whom he would depend to remain in power. Suharto was admittedly uneducated in macroeconomics, and therefore used the already established reputation of the UI economists to create public trust in his fiscal policy choices. The support of the Suharto regime allowed the UI economists to capture key government positions and push forward the New Order in Indonesia beginning in 1966 and lasting until 1998 (Chwiero 2010). The mass public expected this New Order to alleviate the pain from the economic deterioration under Sukarno, and Suharto desperately needed to convince the public that he could deliver development to them despite his authoritarian grip on power. Furthermore, the opening up to liberalized policies satisfied important external actors, namely Western, highly developed actors, whose investment and support Suharto wanted to secure. The changes brought about by the UI economists under Suharto

eventually led to unprecedented positive support for Indonesia by the IMF and the World Bank, further cementing the country inside the neoliberal model driven by these Bretton Woods institutions (Chwieroth 2010). This shift toward these neoliberal policies would eventually open up Indonesia to the macroeconomic global system of capitalism, globalization, and the supply and demand structure that feeds the beast of human trafficking.

Beyond the economic liberalization that began under Suharto, Indonesians also suffered tremendous loss under the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997. Brought on by an increase in globalized trade and liberalization of financial markets in the region, the Asian Financial Crisis had devastating consequences for millions of people. Thailand, Indonesia, South Korea, Malaysia, and the Philippines felt the worst impact of the Crisis as they were forced to float currency which created high levels of inflation and unemployment in the region (Aslanbeigui and Summerfield 2000). In Indonesia specifically, massive inflation caused the purchasing power of the Rupiah to drop more than 140 percent while GDP growth declined, manufacturing labor dropped, and malnutrition doubled. Women and children felt these impacts far more than men, as “malnutrition was killing 450 pre-school age children each day” and while wages for female factory workers increased from 1997 to 1999, “this increase of just over 100 percent barely accommodated the impact of the Asian crisis” (Hancock 2001).

In the aftermath of the Crisis, demand for female workers increased significantly as men became unemployed in skilled and heavy industry trades and women began leaving home in large numbers to work in low-wage, light industry trades such as domestic work and the garment industry. The cultural belief of *kodrat* was embraced by many Indonesians

far into this time. *Kodrat* “devalues women’s contributions in the workforce by defining women’s destiny as motherhood...a hindrance to women struggling for recognition as workers” (Blackburn 2004:223). Yet the global economy demanded more workers, and as men had been conditioned and trained to work in industries that were failing, and society already undervalued women’s labor, the switch from home to low-wage work was not a giant cognitive leap for the state.

As demand for female workers increased in neighboring countries such as Malaysia, the impact of the Crisis meant that millions of Indonesian women sought work abroad through temporary employment contracts. “By 2007, women made up 79 percent of Indonesian contract workers deployed overseas with most of these women taking up employment as domestic workers” (Elias 2013:398). Because employment opportunities were scarce and families were suffering, women took these jobs out of desperation, but were significantly vulnerable to abuse, exploitation, and trafficking in such work. This contract employment mechanism is rife with gendered problems for women. State governments agree to trade citizens back and forth for labor as needed, usually with one state enjoying a large population but in need of revenue (Indonesia) and another state doing well economically but lacking in bodies willing or able to do low-wage work (Malaysia). Workers agree to labor contracts for a certain price, the home government uses brokers to assist the workers in travelling abroad, the destination government then takes control over the workers and inevitably decides the fate of each person who enters the destination country (Enloe 2014). In some cases, the destination government follows the contract, pays the workers, and returns them to their home country. But in many, many cases, the destination country seizes travel documents, extends contracts beyond agreed upon terms

and length, and participates in the eventual trafficking of human beings. The arrangement between the two states becomes “bilateral dependency,” and can create strain between governments even under the best conditions. However, most disagreement between such states centers on economic gains, and ignores the need for human rights policy to protect workers (Enloe 2014).

The rising economic emancipation of women came alongside the simultaneous perception of emasculation of men in the country. The loss of economic power that men experienced created a sense of overall disempowerment which manifested itself as misogyny when men began to feel “a continuing renegotiation of nation, gender, and hegemonic masculinities in the post-New Order period” (Clark 2010:21). The response of the state to the Crisis was to continue to embrace financial liberalization and acceptance of gendered policies by international financial institutions that prioritized male employment and protections over the needs of female workers (Aslanbeigui and Summerfield 2000). Suharto gambled with the willingness of political elites to accept fiscal volatility and it ultimately cost him his regime (Dunning 2005). Suharto’s rule was particularly precarious following this response to the Crisis coupled with his embrace of a “sultanistic” rule in his last decade of power (Chandra and Kammen 2002). His resignation in May 1998 ushered in a new opportunity for democratization but did little to change the cultural gender norms embedded in Indonesian society. The vulnerability of these female workers in such corrupt and profit-driven system means they need and deserve activism that supports their rights. Unfortunately, women’s organizations spent very little time on this issue of female labor rights until the 21st century. Some of this is due to splintering among rich and poor women in the state, while some of this is due to lack of resources (Blackburn 2004).

Cultural illustrations of expected gender roles in Indonesia were like those in most other patriarchal societies, including in representations of women and men on television. Depictions of heterosexual women in Indonesian television have primarily been framed within a domestic setting, performing domestic duties such as childrearing, cooking, and cleaning. Women who appear in public settings are shown in a less pious light, often as smoking cigarettes or engaging in sexualized behavior or dress. Heterosexual men are depicted positively in the public sphere as playing sports or working in an important industry, while they are virtually nonexistent in television depictions of the private sphere (Clark 2010). Meanwhile, depictions of non-heterosexual men and women are truly nonexistent. During the 1990s, Indonesia faced a serious AIDS and HIV crisis (as did much of the world), and the government push to end this disease was focused on the attempted eradication of homosexual behavior. While homosexual groups and activists finally started to make inroads in society and culture in the late 1990s, after the fall of Suharto homophobic attacks increased significantly – another indicator of the state’s power in entrenching male superiority and heterosexuality into the lives of all Indonesians (Clark 2010).

Human Rights Sanctions: A Moral Embargo (2000-2005)

The imposition of sanctions continues to be a popular and controversial foreign policy tool. Often, this “non-violent” option is counterproductive for the sender state and, as noted in Chapter 2 and in Chapter 3, devastating for civilians in the target state. The main theory of this project is that when sanctions are imposed, domestic leadership is forced to choose between hoarding of resources and redistribution of resources as economic strain reduces available funds. In the face of conflict, states are also prone to further divide scarce

resources between civilian support and military spending. This is especially true for nondemocratic governments like Indonesia, in which leaders must maintain security and power while also placating a select elite population to avoid a coup. McLean et al (2018:383-384) have argued that sanctions impact governments severely enough, that even counterterrorism efforts are sidelined while under economic strain. They connect this counterproductive outcome to Indonesia:

...the transnational terrorist group known as Jemaah Islamiyah maintains cells in multiple Southeast Asian states. Based in Indonesia, the group has attempted to attack the interests of the US, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore. Although the Indonesian government views the group as hostile, and has made efforts to crack down on it since the infamous 2002 Bali nightclub bombing, the group continues to draw support and local contributions from within Indonesian territory, as well as from charitable organizations in the Middle East...it is often quite difficult for the government of the home base to crack down and stop the passive support given to the group from other non-state actors.

The authors go on to illustrate how sanctions imposition can negatively interfere with government responses to terrorist groups such as the Jemaah Islamiyah, particularly if the sanctions are comprehensive and are aimed at target states fighting transnational terrorist groups. This is because sanctions create political instability in the target state, and any time the government is unstable, concerted efforts to address wide ranging issues such as terrorism (or, as illustrated here, human trafficking) are severely restricted. The government is unable to adequately pay its security forces or support its military and counterterrorism efforts often fail (McLean et al 2018). Just as terrorist groups benefit from government instability, so too do illicit criminal networks that move human beings across borders, suggesting that sanctions can also restrict government anti-trafficking efforts to the detriment of many.

In the case of Indonesia, sanctions were imposed at the end of 1999 by the United States and the European Union as punishment for Indonesian military abuses of civilians in East Timor. The sanction type was an arms embargo and the duration of the sanctions lasted until 2005. An arms embargo is meant to limit the trade and transfer of arms and arms-related materials to a single country or region (Biersteker et al. 2016). These are the most commonly applied sanction type by the United Nations, though the embargo on Indonesia did not include the UN. Arms embargos can be considered targeted or limited sanctions, particularly if they are directed at one specific actor or a small number of important actors in the state. Of the types of sanctions that are considered damaging to the general public, arms embargoes are one of the least impactful. The argument for this is that the embargo will likely impact fighting forces the most and not expand out to negatively affect the greater population (Biersteker et al 2016). One important finding of this project, however, is that targeted or human rights sanctions do in fact have a significantly negative impact on civilians. Because leadership is more likely to be hurt by these sanction types, they are compelled to hoard resources away from social programs far more than under comprehensive sanctions. This sanctions episode in Indonesia is considered a human rights sanction because it was imposed against Indonesia *because of* human rights violations committed by the government during the conflict in East Timor. Arms embargoes are the most popular form of sanctions and are often accompanied by other sanction types (Biersteker et al 2016). In this sanction episode, the arms embargo was meant to aid in the cessation of hostilities which were directly related to the human rights violations against civilians.

The struggle for independence in East Timor began when Indonesia invaded and annexed the nation in 1975. The Indonesian government pushed the people of East Timor to speak the Indonesian language and practice Indonesian culture (Mason 2005). Resistance from citizens resulted in swift and violent repression by the Indonesian security forces and military. The women of East Timor faced the same violence as men, but also faced the widespread use of rape by the Indonesian military. Rape was employed as a mechanism to instill fear and control in women and to punish those who were participating in nonviolent resistance against the state (Mason 2005). The significant stress and abuse of citizens became an international story in late 1999, when an Indonesian military push against secessionist in East Timor resulted in the killing of more than 1,500 civilians and the destruction of more than 70% of the East Timor infrastructure (Morrissey 2006). This heinous act resulted in the US and the EU implementing full arms embargoes on Indonesia in 1999.

The European Union declined to renew its arms embargo in 2000, but the US persisted in restricting arms to Indonesia for the next five years. An important shift in US foreign policy occurred after September 11, 2001, when the so-called War on Terror became the top priority of the George W. Bush presidential administration. In line with this pivot toward addressing terrorism and coupled with the Bush administration's conflation of terrorism with Islam, Indonesia became a strategically important location (Morrissey 2006). As the largest Muslim nation in the world and the third most populous democracy, Indonesia offered an opportunity for the US to expand its anti-terror mission in East Asia and the Pacific. But the arms embargo began to act as an impediment to this US strategy. As such, the US abandoned the embargo in 2005, arguing that Indonesia now represented

national security interests for the US and that if the government of Indonesia were to “fully account for human rights violations in East Timor,” the ban would be lifted (Morrissey 2006). In 2005, the US defense department argued that Indonesia has made great strides in democratic reform under President Yudhoyono, and that the return of political control to the people and away from the military illustrated the state’s willingness to democratize and respect civilian human rights. The arms embargo was abandoned before its goals were realized, so it cannot be considered a “success” even in a direct foreign policy assessment. But, its impact on the Yudhoyono administration did direct government spending away from social programs and toward the military to compensate for the embargo. The results of such as shift in priorities were uniquely damaging to women in the state.

Gendered Security in Indonesia

Both Sukarno and Suharto embraced traditional Javanese cultural expectations during their respective regimes. In line with these expectations, both men (and Suharto in particular) modelled their ruling style “on the values of *gagah* (heroic) caste of warriors located in the upper echelons of the *wayang* world – the *satria*, or warriors, who were in turn models for the rulers of the aristocratic Javanese courts” (Clark 2010:10). This historical and cultural prioritization of war and heroism was manifested in the ruling power of Suharto, who set himself atop the hierarchy of power in Indonesia and ruled with an authoritarian-like attitude. Suharto clearly equated power with force and masculinity (*maskulinitas* in Indonesia), an equation that influenced his prioritization of military force and repression of civilians. Up until his resignation in May of 1998, Suharto maintained this heavily masculinized practice of rule and violence (Clark 2010).

The gendered and hetero-normative focus of the Suharto regime has been directly linked to notions of state security. Suharto's embrace of patriarchal power and suppression of feminist discourse reveals a weakness within the New Order regime that the state's dominance will be undermined by shifting cultural demands toward gender equity. Suharto led a military regime, one that depended upon male domination to thrive and one that "was intolerant of any perceived threats to the hetero-normative social order – so much so that, for some, orchestrated attacks against homosexual gatherings have been interpreted as evidence of both masculine and state insecurity" (Clark 2010: 15). Furthermore, the increasing economic instability within the state following the Crisis, resulted in a substantial rise in everyday violence between civilians – a circumstance that has particularly bad effects on women (Tadjoeddin and Murshed 2007).

Even in the post-authoritarian era, the Indonesian government relied heavily upon conflation of gender norms and security. Financial regulatory reforms following the Asian Financial crisis of 1997 and the fall of the Suharto regime included a focus on competitiveness and open migration flows in domestic work. The government embraced the "innate 'cheapness' of migrant domestic work performed by 'unskilled' rural migrants [read: women] and the value for money that domestic worker remittances represent" (Elias 2013:400). Control over the largely female labor force that allows a stream of revenue to fill up the government's coffers makes surviving foreign policy action against the state far more palatable. Furthermore, competition between regional neighbors such as Malaysia and Indonesia is centered not only in economic growth, but in a long and violent history of colonialism and the push for self-reliance in the global system. While Malaysia and Indonesia are culturally and linguistically similar and therefore enjoy some common

ground, as they built their own post-colonial nations, the macropolitical system of sovereign, competitive states influenced their relationship leading to a more antagonistic relationship in the current period (Elias 2013). The income from these remittances is argued to be directly related to economic development, particularly within the Asian region, but can be particularly costly for female workers as they are relied upon to continue the flow of such remittances via repeated, short-term employment abroad (Rosewarne 2012).

The physical security of women in Indonesia has been precarious for centuries, and even in the last few decades, women have had to endure various forms of torture, abuse, and sexual assault in and around conflict areas. Even the 1998 student riots against the authoritarian Suharto regime included widespread rape and sexual violence against women in the country (Wandita 1998). No data was collected on domestic violence or sexual assault in Indonesia until the fallout from the riots. Women's movements and the state paid little attention to issues of violence against women, and the state was so weak in the aftermath of the fall of Suharto, that enforcing law and order was nearly impossible (Blackburn 2004). As the conflict between the Aceh people and the Indonesian government began to escalate, the women of this region became directly impacted by "a complex interplay of indigenous matrifocality, Islamic beliefs and practices, and state violence" (Siapno 2002:xi).

The Aceh region is the most Islamic region by concentration in the Indonesian state. The hostilities between the Aceh people and the Indonesian government have been exacerbated by the presence of such a densely populated area that is firmly religious challenging a secular government (Siapno 2002). Though the Acehnese have fought for autonomy during colonialism and authoritarianism, the Suharto regime widely publicized

their independence efforts as ‘Islamic fundamentalism,’ reducing their grievances to religious extremism instead of legitimate concerns over the power of the state. Many of the Aceh people are rural and poor, and the influx of military installations, checkpoints, police stations, and heavily armed soldiers has been destabilizing and traumatic for the region. Women have faced considerable suppression of their rights and access to the public under Islam in the region, but outside Aceh, under the firm grip of the Suharto regime, women did not fare much better (Siapno 2002). Within Aceh, Islam is not practiced in the same ways or with the same intensity by every citizen. Some women do adhere to stricter forms of the religion, others find a balance between women’s rights and Islam, and others do not practice religion at all. Even without the intervention of the state apparatus, tension exists in Aceh related to the matrifocal culture which seeks to elevate and empower women, and the Islamic practice that often seeks to diminish and silence women (Siapno 2002). Overall, the Acehnese were able to find common ground between Islam and the indigenous belief systems that empowered women and embraced this parallel existence with little disruption – until the tension with the Indonesian government could no longer be contained.

Aceh Conflict: Displacement and Devastation (2003-2005 & 2008)

In August of 2005, the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Indonesian military forces (TNI) finally signed a peace agreement, bringing the hostilities of over 30 years to an end (Beardsley and McQuinn 2009). While Indonesian independence was won in 1945, the Aceh region has been a place of contention since at least the 1960s. The GAM and TNI repeatedly clashed over the proposed autonomy of Aceh, with tension and violence escalating and then abating in cycles until riots in the city of Lhokseumawe reignited activists from the student community in the Aceh region. While the government refused to

accept the change in political status for the province, military forces attacked demonstrators in 1999, killing several (Czaika and Kis-Katos 2009). By late 1999, protestors had swelled to over two million strong, and rallies halted business and life in the Aceh region. As the Indonesian military forces began to repress the Acehnese with more and more violence, the people began fleeing the conflict and became internally displaced persons (Czaika and Kis-Katos 2009).

Hostilities were relatively under control until the most intense period of the conflict from 1999 to 2004 (Czaika and Kis-Katos 2009). A temporary humanitarian halt of violence was agreed upon in May of 2000, but one day prior to the implementation of this ceasefire, over 6,000 people in North Aceh fled their homes to escape escalating conflict. By early 2001, the Indonesian military had renewed its commitment to repressing the GAM rebel forces and the subsequent offensive resulted in hundreds of civilian deaths. Furthermore, at least 32,000 people escaped the region in the wake of this recurring violence (Czaika and Kis-Katos 2009). While a ceasefire was again agreed upon in early 2003, it failed soon thereafter, leading the Indonesian government to declare martial law and forcibly relocate thousands more from Aceh.

Forced displacements by the military were often beneficial to the government, as civilians were recruited as militia fighters, military auxiliary units, and counter-insurgency supporters. With each new round of violence and displacement, more and more civilians suffered the consequences. Between May of 2003 and December of 2004, “an estimated 2,300 people were killed in struggles between the Indonesian government, the militias, and the GAM...around 150,000 persons became internally displaced” (Czaika and Kis-Katos 2009:402). Disagreement between various factions within GAM and the oft changing

power distribution of the government and the military failed to stabilize peace until the Memorandum of Understanding emerged from Helsinki peace talks in late 2005 (Beardsley and McQuinn 2009). Yet the devastating consequences surrounding this on-again, off-again conflict, including displacement and forced migration, have specifically made the Indonesian people vulnerable to trafficking networks. Massive displacement reduced the Aceh population significantly and compounded the already worsening socioeconomic conditions for those who remained and tried to survive among the chaos and conflict. Those that survived the fighting, were often forced to remain away from home and family for months or years as they tried to rebuild their lives. This loss of stability most certainly impacted the women of Aceh in unique ways, given what we already know about which gender typically carries the weight of survival during and after armed conflict. The socioeconomic ‘push and pull factors’ that already disadvantage women in underdeveloped countries would drive up migration and internal displacements alone, but coupled with the presence of conflict, these factors are exacerbated (Czaika and Kis-Katos 2009). Given this recipe for disaster, women are most in need of support for government public programs and attention to combatting human trafficking, both of which are in low supply during and after the presence of conflict.

To trace the theory of the project through the case of Indonesia, we need to know what happens to the women of Indonesia during and after sanctions and conflict. Figure 1 below illustrates the impact of sanctions and conflict on the gender variables from Chapter 2 in Indonesia⁹.

[See Figure 1 – Appendix C]

⁹ See Table 1 – Appendix C for summary statistics of the relevant variables of interest on Indonesia

The first panel includes a line graph plotting the rate of government spending on education and the fertility rate for women in Indonesia from 1990 to 2015. Government spending on education rose significantly in 1997, as the Suharto regime sought to prove its support for civilians. This increase continued uninterrupted until 2002. Spending dropped between 2002 and 2005, during the same period when both the human rights sanctions and the Aceh conflict were occurring. After the cessation of the sanctions and the ceasefire in Aceh, spending increased again until just before the resumption of hostilities in Aceh when spending dropped again. Within a year after hostilities again ended in Aceh, spending began to climb once more. Fertility rates began to fall from 1990 to 2000 which is strong progress for women in the region. However, this progress stalled in the year 2000 when sanctions were implemented. The fertility rate rose slightly following the end of hostilities in Aceh but dipped again to the same level as in 2000 and did not drop further in this time period. It appears that government spending on education was certainly impacted negatively by both sanctions and conflict, and though fertility rates did not climb during this period, progress toward lower rates stalled.

Panel 2 plots the change in female participation in the labor force from 1990 to 2015. Recall that women's labor participation did frequently change throughout the Suharto regime, but grew significantly following the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis when female workers were in high demand. While these rates never returned to their highest point in 1994, a significant gain in 1998 is a unique rebound for any working population one year after such a devastating financial crisis. Of particular interest here, is the overlap between a steep decline in women's participation in the labor force and the sanctions and conflict periods. Women's labor participation began to fall significantly in 1999, and by

2000 when sanctions were implemented against the state, participation was at its lowest in nearly a decade. Women's participation continued to fall and remained very low until 2005, when both sanctions and hostilities in Aceh ended. Women immediately recovered most of their loss in the labor force at this point and only lost a small proportion of this recovery when conflict in Aceh erupted again in 2008. This was also the year of the 2008 US Financial Crisis which did negatively impact countries in East Asia so some of this effect on the labor force participation rate could be related to that secondary financial disruption. Overall, however, it is hard to deny looking at this figure, that women's participation in the labor force in Indonesia was significantly and negatively impacted by the presence of both sanctions and conflict.

Government Spending in Indonesia

Public spending in underdeveloped nations such as Indonesia is often impacted by several complicated issues. One particular issue true about public spending in Indonesia, is that it is heavily influenced by ethnicity. Indonesia has one of the largest populations in the world and is home to more than 700 indigenous ethnolinguistic groups. In the years following the end of Suharto's authoritarian rule, public goods were provisioned along ethnically segregated lines, so that more homogenous communities received larger shares of public goods (Tajima et al. 2018). During Suharto's New Order rule, "local leaders had formal and informal incentives to be responsive to local demands. Moreover, Suharto's Golkar party sought support from a broad spectrum of ethnic groups rather than exclusively from one particular group" (Tajima et al. 2018:638). This practice of attempting to cater to multiple groups set the stage for later policies that followed suit.

The Suharto regime was certainly authoritarian, but it was also highly centralized and deeply hierarchical. While Suharto sat atop the pyramid of power, governors were appointed to the next level of political authority at the provincial level, and then heads and mayors at the district level. While elections were held for provincial and district leadership positions, they were set up to support Suharto's Golkar party (Tajima et al 2018). The provision of public goods was decided most often by the leaders at the district level. Eventually, this process would become known as the Indonesian Kecamatan Development Program (KDP) which would be used to create infrastructure programs (Olken 2010). For general public goods provisions prior to that, however, village leaders made requests for goods and often lobbied district leaders for more goods as needed. This enterprise was entirely political in nature, such that "the de facto codependent nature of their relationship gave village officials leverage in lobbying for public goods...professional advancement of district heads was tied to their ability to secure support for the ruling Golkar party...village officials needed the support of the local population, which could be fostered by delivering them benefits" (Tajima et al 2018:645). Like most other corrupt political systems, a quid pro quo relationship ensured that the Golkar party remained in power, the village leadership maintained preferential status, and the villagers eventually received public goods.

Within this system of corruption existed the many ethnic groups within the 6,000 inhabited islands of Indonesia. The country is populated by over 220 million people, many concentrated on the island of Java. None of the hundreds of different ethnic groups claim a solid majority and few are segregated from one another (Blackburn 2004). Often, the heterogeneity of the groups led to conflict over finite resources, especially when one group observed another gaining economic or social status. To prevent ethnic conflict from boiling

over, “the governor of Riau increased the proportion of local participants who could access the transmigration program and associated state resources from 20% to 50% in 1994, essentially equalizing access” (Tajima et al 2018:646). This is important because this indicates that local and national politicians were susceptible to an increase in public goods provision if it meant avoiding conflict. However, Indonesian officials also planned to avoid conflict by segregating the provision of public goods. This allowed the state to absolve itself of the “diversity penalty” often associated with resource allocation among heterogeneous populations. Essentially, if politicians segregated the groups and maintained a relative status quo, public goods could be shared more evenly within each group. Yet Tajima et al (2018:652) warn that:

Residents of ethnic enclaves are deprived of the contact with noncoethnics that can otherwise reduce prejudice and the general salience of ethnic identity. This may reinforce ethnic cleavages and inhibit the formation of unifying national identities that can facilitate the interethnic cooperation that is particularly important in contexts with a history of ethnic conflict.

Therefore, separating ethnic groups and allocating resources along those lines of separation to avoid ethnic conflict may in fact have the adverse effect as groups become more suspicious of one another instead of learning to adapt to one another. The long-standing conflict between the ethnically homogeneous Aceh people and the Indonesian government is an example of how segregating communities in this way can create significant unrest. While Suharto gained the nickname “Father of Development” in the 1980s for his increase in education funding, by the mid-1990s, Suharto’s support for public spending dropped significantly and his loving nickname was dropped as well (Bell 2001).

The devastating tsunami of December 26, 2004 killed at least 164,000 people just in the province of Aceh. While some have argued that the tsunami played a beneficial role

in finally ending the hostilities between the GAM and the Indonesian government, others have noted that the cessation of conflict is more related to acquisition and maintenance of resources (Beardsley and McQuinn 2009). This is certainly important for understanding how resources are allocated in the aftermath of conflict, given that rebel groups are most often predatory in behavior as they fight for limited access to financial and logistical support. Furthermore, the allocation of government spending toward the military and away from social programs is directly influenced by the level of resources captured by rebel groups during a civil conflict. The 2004 tsunami provided the GAM with strong incentives to come to peaceful terms with the Indonesian government because the GAM relied heavily on taxation of people in the Aceh region for support. When the tsunami created economic devastation for Aceh, the GAM lost its powerful revenue stream while the government of Indonesia benefitted from the influx of international aid following the disaster (Beardsley and McQuinn 2009). This shift in economic power between the GAM and the government allowed the government to reduce spending on the military in the immediate aftermath of the tsunami as the conflict finally ended.

As a rebel group, the GAM relied heavily on the support of the local Aceh people, using public goods and rhetoric of home-grown independence as tools to maintain resources needed to continue fighting the government. However, in the aftermath of one of the worst natural disasters in human history, the GAM were forced to find common ground with the Indonesian government as the population was no longer able to provide the nearly \$130,000 per month in tax revenue to support GAM (Beardsley and McQuinn 2009). When such a group is successful at gaining this type of local revenue, it forces the government to “choose between repairing roads and continuing to fight...Given that maintaining working

roads is essential both for sustaining the target's economic, and for maintaining political support, the target may devote less effort [to conflict] in response to sanctions" (McLean et al 2018:381). This would suggest that the presence of an antagonistic rebel group at the same time that sanctions are implemented could actually push the government to invest *more* in public goods, a result we see supported by the findings on comprehensive sanctions in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

Human Trafficking – Indonesia and the East Asian and Pacific Region

As in many other parts of the world, human trafficking in Indonesia is deeply embedded in labor, economics, and migration. Indonesia is defined as a 'source' country by the US Department of Justice, in that its economic status and lack of worker's rights make its dense population vulnerable to forced migration including smuggling and trafficking as well as voluntary migration that then shifts into exploitation (USTIP2017). The low wages available to most of the work force feed into the 'push' factors associated with human trafficking and illegal smuggling (Sulaksono 2018). All 34 provinces of Indonesia act as both source and destination locations for trafficking and of the 4.5 million Indonesians working outside the country, approximately 1.9 million of them are undocumented and highly vulnerable to trafficking. While smuggling and trafficking are similar, as noted earlier in the project, there are specific differences as well. Both smuggling and trafficking feed off the economic insecurities of the population, promising vulnerable people a better life in a far-off destination country. Even geographically close locations such as Malaysia act as 'pull factors' for Indonesian migrants when such countries are experiencing strong economic growth (Elias 2013). Both practices also rely heavily on transportation through and around borders which means that both must involve

significant levels of corruption within law enforcement, security forces, and local and national governments. However, “the fundamental difference between human trafficking and people smuggling is that human trafficking does not necessarily require illegal border crossings because it can take place within a country whereas people smuggling always occurs in interstate crossings” (Sulaksono 2018:171). Therefore, we have to keep in mind when thinking about Indonesia, that people may be trafficked between the islands or provinces of the state of Indonesia as well as into other sovereign territories.

While many migrant workers enter other nations legally using valid documentation, once they arrive in the destination country, the purpose of their visit is usually altered significantly. For example, workers may obtain a tourist visa meant for a short stay and then remain in the destination country illegally beyond the permitted time period. Alternatively, a migrant worker may enter illegally by crossing borders without documentation and without being inspected by border security agents (Sulaksono 2018). Each of these options is dangerous and risky, yet millions of people around the world undertake these migrations because of their lack of economic opportunity at home. Migrant workers are promised high-paying jobs and security in destination countries, only to arrive to find that the jobs are low-paying, housed in terrible conditions, and highly exploitative. Indonesia creates ‘push’ factors for an increase in cross-border migration as economic conditions deteriorate, while destination countries such as Saudi Arabia or Great Britain create ‘pull’ factors for illegal migration via increased employment option (Sulaksono 2018).

Because illegal migration is already an illicit enterprise, and migration routes are already established by underground networks of criminals, human trafficking inevitably

follows. In Indonesia, those who have survived trafficking indicate that work in their origin country rarely provided enough money to meet basic needs. Many unmarried victims indicated that pressure from parents or other family members drove them to work abroad even when circumstances were clearly dangerous and likely illegal (Sulaksono 2018). Trafficking syndicates readily pay poor families to agree to send their children to work abroad. For many impoverished families, money from the syndicate is enough to support them for nearly a year while “Indonesia is yet to provide employment that provides a decent income for its citizens” (Sulaksono 2018:175).

The pattern of migration and smuggling that feeds into human trafficking in Indonesia is most often practiced across waterways. The most prolific route is between the Riau Islands and Johor via ferry transportation. These ferries are piled high with people, as many as 65, despite the max capacity of 25 for each boat. Such conditions are ripe for disaster and many people have died as boats have capsized and workers have drowned. Trafficking syndicates pay the ferry rate for workers and add such fees onto the massive debt used to control workers for years to come. This “debt bondage” is a common tool of control used by traffickers and is especially prevalent in sex trafficking (USTIP 2017). Syndicates also build networks with one another and with border security officials to maintain a constant flow of human bodies between locations (Sulaksono 2018). Most migration from Indonesia flows into Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Saudi Arabia (USTIP 2017). These destination countries are well-known for their massive and exploited workforce, providing cheap goods and oil to the rest of the neoliberal economy.

Women are particularly at risk for such trafficking given the uneven distribution of resources, the expectations for women to support children and elders, the lack of

employment for women when male employment is prioritized in the home country, and the unrelenting demand for female bodies to produce light industry goods in Southeast Asia. Female domestic workers have been internationally recognized as high risk for exploitation and trafficking as well as forced labor and are particularly susceptible to violence, sexual harassment, rape, and abuse (Sulaksono 2018). The similarities in language and culture, as well as geographical proximity between the two nations, makes Malaysia a primary destination for Indonesian trafficking victims. Sulaksono (2018:178) explains this connection:

The Peninsula region, which is the center of the Malaysian government, is Indonesian migrant worker's primary preference. In comparison to Sabah and Sarawak, it has more employment opportunities; this is a significant pull factor for Indonesian migrant workers. Supported by air and sea modes of transportation with direct connection to some of Indonesia's main cities such as Jakarta, Medan, and Surabaya, the Malaysian Peninsula is more connected to Indonesia than its region in Borneo Island. The Riau Islands are the main transit point for prospective Indonesian migrant workers that are susceptible to become victims of human trafficking in Johor, Malaysia. There are more than ten affordable ferry return trips in a day. Thus, it is not surprising that the cross-border between the Riau Islands and Johor has become criminal syndicates' primary choice to conduct human trafficking and people smuggling activities.

Economically, such a connection is a proverbial gold mine for the regional and global marketplace. Following the end of the Suharto regime, and the opening of trade between Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, the push for increased free trade in and among the islands led to further recruitment of low-skilled workers from Indonesia to take low-wage, short-term employment in Malaysia. This pattern of labor exploitation allows offenders to avoid taxes and make enormous profits. Sulaksono (2018) conducted interviews with dozens of exploited workers and found that the majority of them arrived in Malaysia by ferry, had all identification and passports taken by employers, and worked as domestic workers in an environment of torture, slavery, forced labor, and uncompensated work

(Elias 2013). Those who are able to escape exploitation may be able to convey a sense of freedom and resistance critical to the autonomy of migrant workers.

While many workers may enter into these precarious situations willfully, the seizure of legal documents prevents them from escaping once circumstances become abusive. Traffickers move people away from the country and connections they know and take them to a strange place where they are under control of a strange employer. Recruited from villages with the help of community leaders who verify the legitimacy of the traffickers, workers are given necessary documentation and then held in an immigration facility to await transportation. These facilities are unclean, dangerous, and isolated (Naibaho 2011). If these workers attempt to fight back against abuse and rape, attempt to flee, attempt to go to authorities, or do anything else to disrupt the economic benefits their employer receives from their labor, the employers often threaten the safety of workers' family members, threaten to turn workers over to immigration authorities to face jail and deportation, and use various other means of control to prevent workers from leaving (Sulaksono 2018).

The workers are then packed onto trucks or busses, taken to the shore, and then loaded onto ferries or airplanes beyond maximum capacity. Those that survive the trip are then moved on foot, sometimes for miles, to meet with a broker in Malaysia (or other destination country). Agreements between workers and employers are only known to the employers, workers are forced to sign blank sheets of paper agreeing to a contract they will never read (Naibaho 2011). Most workers do not receive salary for at least the first three to six months if they are ever paid at all, and if local authorities learn of their presence in the country, they are ill-equipped to defend themselves in immigration courts. Even

workers that maintain a legal employment contract are often exploited as the employer refuses to extend the contract while keeping the worker there beyond its expiration or trades the worker to another employer for a cash payment (Sulaksono 2018). This lack of support for workers, open trade policies and smuggling routes, corruption of local and national officials, and punishment of victims via the immigration system, makes human trafficking a major criminal enterprise in Indonesia.

The precarious relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia regarding labor and trafficking reached a boiling point in 2009, when Indonesia enforced an embargo on its citizens' employment as domestic workers in Malaysia. The rampant human rights abuses of Indonesian workers and the resistance of Malaysian authorities to protect foreign workers compelled the Indonesian government to attempt to protect their overseas workers, *Tenga Kerja Indonesia* (Elias 2013). The two states were already clashing over territorial issues related to maritime borders and cultural disputes related to heritage when the moratorium was enacted. The post-authoritarian government of Indonesia sought to embrace more democratic and liberal principles and reflected this in their joining the G20 and chairing the regional organization ASEAN, which they helped to found in 1967 (Haftel 2010). The promotion of human rights has been a condition of membership in the liberal world order since the end of World War II, and Indonesia could no longer risk ignoring the human rights violations of workers (Elias 2013). While the initial moratorium was intended to be signed in 2009, long-lasting negotiations, including several iterations of the emerging memorandum of understandings (MOU) finally ended with a signed agreement in 2011 (Elias 2013). The agreement was constructed to increase the rate of pay of Indonesian domestic workers in Malaysia but even after the implementation of the MOU, Indonesia

was not satisfied with the small economic gains and has virtually abandoned return migration routes that would have supported workers leaving employment in Malaysia when the MOU was not followed. Citizens were not merely sitting idly by and ignoring the abuse piled upon them by these two states during this time. Many were protesting daily over their treatment at home and abroad, and a group of domestic workers from Indonesia joined a “Consulate Hopping Protest” that publicly berated the Indonesian and Malaysian consulates in Hong Kong during the massive anti-World Trade Organization protests in 2005 (Enloe 2014).

While the MOU was certainly an attempt by the Indonesian government to legally and forcefully protect Indonesian domestic workers from exploitation in Malaysia, as Elias (2013:395-396) argues, the three-year negotiations and eventual tacit agreement did little to alter the fundamental characteristics of the gendered, global economic system that puts (especially female) Indonesian workers at risk. He elaborates:

...a capitalist economic system conceptualized here as a set of gendered, spatial, structural and historical relations that act to reproduce poverty and inequality...the emergence of domestic workers as one of the largest and most feminized migratory flows in the Southeast Asia region reflects: (a) spatially organized patterns of poverty and inequality across the region (not just across states but also within states); (b) the ongoing incorporation of the region into a globalizing market economy as states increasingly embrace forms of neoliberal developmentalism/competitiveness that significantly expand the scope and reach of the market into all spheres of social life; and (c) the increased marketization and transnationalization of established patterns of social reproductive relations, as the household is increasingly viewed as a site for capital accumulation and households themselves seek to deal with the impacts of this process in terms of a depletion of social resources...

This argument is at the heart of the theory of this project. The global embrace of capitalism, cheap labor/cheap goods, exploitation of human bodies as commodities, and the gendered expectations constructed for men and women provide the catalyst for human trafficking in

all forms. The gendered aspect of this system is specifically problematic for women, who not only must consistently push to be visible to society at large but must also compete for low-wage jobs that are rarely considered valuable by the global economy or their own domestic leadership. Furthermore, the realm of domestic work is assumed to be a “natural” condition of employment for women, directly tied to their own household responsibilities such that higher pay is considered unnecessary and unearned (Enloe 2014). The exploitation of women is so normalized in the region, in fact, that the initial response of the Malaysian government to the moratorium and subsequent worker shortage, was to bring in women from Cambodia to replace Indonesian women. But after a short period of time, the Cambodian government identified the same abuses of their own workers as experienced by Indonesian women and eventually put forward their own moratorium on workers taking employment in Malaysia (Elias 2013). The assumption that female bodies can be traded out for one another in the same ways that commodities are traded is deeply embedded in the global economy.

On the demand side, in this case, Malaysia, women are the vast majority of domestic workers and do such work at high rates given the lack of available childcare and elder care services in the country. In order for Malaysian women to work outside the home, Indonesian women must fill their roles inside the home. Ultimately, this arrangement sets women up on both sides of the supply and demand relationship for inequality and poverty that is perpetually recycled. Elias (2013:396) expands upon this:

...gendered patterns of poverty and inequality are reproduced within an economic system in which socially reproductive work (even when it is paid for) is made ‘invisible’ and not recognized as central to the functioning of the productive economy...the lack of value (both financially and culturally) accorded to socially reproductive work, thus, ensures the processes of global economic restructuring serve to reproduce further and exacerbate gendered inequalities and forms of

poverty; inequalities that invariably intersect with other axes of inequality such as race, class and geography.

Another common iteration of this ‘invisible’ work, is that of sex work, which is absolutely a form of labor and yet is very rarely acknowledged as such by governments, institutions, or people. The risks for women undertaking sex work are incredibly high, and Indonesia experiences some of the highest rates of sex trafficking in the world as this work becomes intertwined with smuggling, poverty, and gender roles assigned by powerful governments.

Sex work is a prolific illicit enterprise across the world, with profit estimates as high as \$290 just in eight major cities of the US in 2007 (Sohn 2019). In Indonesia, sex work is somewhat unique, in that the government tacitly accepts the industry and allows sex workers more choice and competition. While local governments once operated their own clusters of brothels known as *lokalisasi*, such enterprises were generally outlawed in 2000. Yet, the long-time practice of such operations created a foundation for a localization of sex work meant to increase worker’s rights and access to health and safety. However, a plethora of other types of sex work still flourished beyond the *lokalisasi*, and the AIDS epidemic in Indonesia reveals the failure of the local organizations to control the negative impacts surrounding such work (Sohn 2019). Much of the government’s attitude toward sex work stems from the role of sex work in the colonial rubber, tea, sisal, and palm-oil plantations in Indonesia in the early 1900s. Male workers were recruited to work in dangerous and difficult conditions within the plantations, and when they could not be forced to work, they were tempted into such work with prostitutes.¹⁰ Women were recruited by plantation owners to work as standard plantation employees but at half the rate of pay

¹⁰ The term ‘prostitute’ is no longer considered appropriate for the description of sex workers for a number of reasons. I will briefly use the term in this section because it refers to an early colonial period in which the term was common but will refrain from using the term for the remainder of the chapter.

the men received. Women who were unable to meet basic needs for survival began to provide sexual services to supplement their income and the plantation owners found a lucrative opportunity to exploit. Enloe (2014:236) explains:

Prostitution became the norm on many plantations by design, not simply by chance. Company records reveal that male managers debated the advantages and disadvantages of prostitution for their company...the prevailing management view was that it would be too difficult to recruit male workers for plantation work if they were not provided female sexual services. Furthermore, in the eyes of many plantation managers, prostitution was a lesser evil than homosexual relations between male workers deprived of female companionship. Finally, devoting a sizeable portion of their wages to prostitution left many male workers further in debt, making it harder for them to abandon estate work when their contracts expired.

Despite the government's seemingly blasé attitude toward sex work, the wider public still maintains conservative ideas about what a sex worker is, namely, a "woman lacking in morals" (Sohn 2019). However, violence in sex work in Indonesia is not as prolific as in other parts of the world and the ease of entry into such work increases competition in the region. This competition does allow women some autonomy in financial decision making surrounding this work. Furthermore, in most areas of Indonesia, sex workers do receive free living arrangements, meals, medical access, and bank loans via their position within a brothel or other sex work organization (Sohn 2019). Yet even these somewhat preferable circumstances do not alleviate the difficult realities of sex work in Indonesia – realities that exacerbate the likelihood of women facing exploitation, abuse, and human trafficking.

In Indonesia specifically, the average sex worker begins sex labor at the age of 17. In a fascinating and rigorous study on Indonesian sex workers and education, Sohn (2019:11) finds that "the mean length of time selling sex was 2.8 years; the median was 2 years, and the 90th percentile is 6.3 years." Therefore, if a young woman begins sex work

at the age of 17, she is 90% likely to be out of a job by the age of 23. This reality puts her at a significant disadvantage when she attempts to find other work but is in competition with women who have avoided the social stigma of being a sex worker and who have spent their last 5-6 years either attaining higher education or gaining experience in a more stable sector of employment. Importantly, Sohn (2019) finds that education can in fact mitigate some of this undesirable position by helping women in sex work to earn more money in a shorter period of time.

The longer a woman is in sex labor, the less money she makes per client. Sohn (2019) found that the desire of men to possess a woman of youth coupled with their fear of contracting sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS and HIV, leads them to choose younger and younger women for sex work. This finding is of course supported by the human trafficking literature that highlights the dangers for very young girls in the sex trade (Shelley 2010). A woman selling sex for a longer period of time is considered less valuable and is unable to make the same wage for the same work. It is important to interject here that sex workers can in fact operate under very different employment conditions. Some sex workers, known as direct sex workers, “operate openly as commercial SWs, such as those working in brothels and on the streets, while indirect SWs operate clandestinely as SWs, for example working in hotels, massage parlors, and bars” (Sohn 2019:11). Given this variation, sex workers are certainly more in demand if they can provide clients with something beyond physical sexual stimulation, such as companionship. Sohn (2019) finds that education helps to make these women more marketable for longer periods of time.

Once controlling for other mitigating factors, Sohn (2019) shows that an increase in education by one extra year leads to a 10% increase in earnings per transaction for each

sex worker. Sohn (2019:19) does not encourage women to be or not be involved in sex work, but she does note that, “rehabilitation programs run to help prostitutes acquire ‘legitimate’ jobs constantly fail...the main reason for failure is due to the extraordinary difference in earning between sex work and ‘legitimate’ jobs. SWs want to stay in sex work despite the effort to discourage it.” If sex work is considered another kind of service job, women should be able to set the conditions and rights under which they work, and perhaps education will also provide them with skills to move beyond sex work if they choose to transition into another type of employment. This interesting connection between education and sex work directly supports the findings of Chapter 2, in which the government funding of public education has strongly significant and positive impacts on women’s access to better rights including lower fertility rates and higher levels of participation in the labor force.

Government Response to Human Trafficking in Indonesia

Human trafficking in Indonesia is not only prolific, it is incredibly difficult to stop. Like other places in the world, the Indonesian government is not equipped to handle the massive flows of people moving between borders, the displaced victims that need intense medical, psychological, and economic support, or the deep-seeded corruption within their own security forces that facilitates this crime (Naibaho 2011). The data on trafficking in Indonesia comes largely from the Indonesian National Police. Like most trafficking data, this is based entirely on the cases that have been reported and processed before a court. The numbers of victims are far, far higher than this data can reveal which must be kept in mind when thinking about the scope of this crime.

For global data on trafficking in Indonesia, the most prolific resources are from the United Nations Office on Crime, Drugs Global Report on Trafficking in Persons (UNODC), and the United States Department of State Annual Trafficking in Persons Report (USTIP). Chapter 1 included a more thorough discussion of these major data sources, but it is important to note that much of the data is regional in scope, which means that country-level information is sometimes missing. Country-level data may also be inaccurate, as many governments do not report trafficking crimes, some countries lack even a formal definition of the crime, and less democratic/open regimes are less likely to have reliable information.

For the East Asia and the Pacific region, which UNODC defines as including Australia, Cambodia, China including Taiwan, Province of China, Fiji, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Marshall Islands, Mongolia, Myanmar, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Solomon Islands, Thailand and Vietnam, the majority of trafficking is in sexual exploitation (61%), followed by forced labor (32%) and other purposes (7%). ‘Other purposes’ include forced marriage, forced childcare, begging, illegal adoption and baby selling, and combinations of labor and sex trafficking. (UNODC 2016). The region has the third largest proportion of sex trafficking victims in the world, exceeded only by Western/Southern Europe and Central/South-Eastern Europe. Victims in this region are women (51%), men (17%), girls (26%) and boys (6%) and most offenders are men (60%). In 2014, the victims in Indonesia were distributed as follows: Women (55%), girls (30%), men (14%), boys (1%). While the number of males trafficked in this region is in line with the global average, the number of girls trafficked is quite high, as much as one-third of these victims. The dominance of sex trafficking coupled with the fear of AIDS/HIV in the

area means that traffickers continue to look for young, virginal girls to move between brothel locations. The region is a destination area as well as an origin area and contains many of the socio-economic factors that are found alongside high levels of human trafficking including poverty, political instability, and densely populated nations that are close in proximity (UNODC 2016).

Forced labor trafficking occurs heavily in the fishing industry, particularly in Cambodia, Indonesia, and Thailand (USTIP 2017). I have covered above the issues connected to forced labor of domestic workers, and while many similar ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors exist between these enterprises, the fishing industry has some unique elements. Because fishing takes place on open waters, hiding the identities and legal status of workers is relatively easy. Unlike domestic work in which migrants are only mobile between employment periods and remain static the rest of the time, fishing workers are constantly moving through international waters, into and out of various territories, and by nature of the work are rarely questioned about this movement. When fishery trafficking is uncovered, much of the incidents are found in East Asia and the Pacific. UNODC (2016:104) describes an Indonesian case: “...one case involv[ed] about 200 Indonesia shop crew. These workers were sent by two Indonesian companies to work for a Taiwan Province of China-based company that owned ships operating in waters off West Africa and the Caribbean. The crew members were asked to work 20 hours per day with no salary for almost two years.” According to the report, the traffickers involved in this particular case were tried and convicted and received “prison sentences and fines” though the report does not reveal the severity of either form of punishment.

Most offenders in this region are citizens of the state in which they are prosecuted. Furthermore, the majority of trafficking in this area is inter-regional, meaning that most victims are trafficked between their home country and one close by (USTIP 2017). As discussed previously, for Indonesian victims this generally means they will be trafficked to Malaysia. Even victims trafficked into wealthy countries in the region such as Australia and Japan are by and large trafficked from nearby countries. While most Indonesian victims do end up in Malaysia, many others have been repatriated from China and Taiwan Province of China (UNODC 2016). However, this data describes where trafficking victims from Indonesia end up, but Indonesia (and other nations in this region) are also destination countries for victims trafficked from elsewhere. Most in the sample provided by UNODC have been trafficked into East Asia and the Pacific from Central Asia, but many have their origins in Eastern Europe, South America, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Figure 3 below illustrates these primary inflows of trafficking victims from UNODC (2016).

[See Figure 3 – Appendix C]

As shown on the map, about 91% of victims detected in their destination countries are domestic or sub-region victims, but the three major patterns of trafficking described above are from victims that originated in the region and have been repatriated from Eastern Europe/Central Asia, South America, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Of victims that are trafficked out of East Asia and the Pacific, detection has occurred in more than 60 countries around the world. In fact, there is no specific destination country that monopolizes trafficking outflows from this region. Figure 4 below illustrates the flow of victims from the East Asia and the Pacific region.

[See Figure 4 – Appendix C]

This clear diffusion of trafficking victims from East Asia and the Pacific to virtually every region in the world makes locating and assisting victims even more difficult for the government of Indonesia.

The two UNODC Protocols most directly related to trafficking in Indonesia (described in Chapter 1), are the protocol against trafficking in persons and the protocol against smuggling. The protocol against trafficking in persons contains language defining trafficking in persons and describing the various methods by which this crime occurs. It also demands that states create legal and punitive measures for combatting trafficking. The government of Indonesia signed onto the trafficking protocol on 12 December 2000 but did not ratify the instrument until 28 September 2009. Upon ratification, the Indonesian government included one declaration and one reservation of the protocol. The declaration states (UNTC):

...the Government of the Republic of Indonesia declares that the provisions of Article 5 paragraph (2) Sub-paragraph c of the Protocol will have to be implemented in strict compliance with the principle of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state

This specific part of the Protocol refers to the “organizing or directing other persons to commit an offence established in accordance with paragraph 1 of this article” related to the criminalization of trafficking in persons. The government of Indonesia clearly felt concern about the possibility of losing sovereign power if any of its people were suspected of participating in trafficking in such a way. The government also included one reservation, which states:

...the Government of the Republic of Indonesia conveys her reservation not to be bound by the provision of Article 15 (2) and takes the position that dispute[s] relating to the interpretation and application on the Protocol which have not been settled through the channel provided for in Paragraph (1) of the said Article, may

be referred to the International Court of Justice only with the concern of all Parties to the dispute.

This portion of Article 15 requires parties to enter a mediation if two states cannot agree on the interpretation or application of the Protocol and then move on to the International Court of Justice within six months should mediation fail. The government of Indonesia is again concerned with protecting its sovereignty as is clear from its declaration as well, however, given the precarious relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia regarding trafficking and labor, it certainly appears as if the leadership of Indonesia is uninterested in outside control over its dispute resolution on this issue.

As for the second Protocol directly related to trafficking in Indonesia, the government also signed the smuggling protocol on 12 December 2000 and ratified it on 28 September 2009. For this protocol, the government also included one declaration and one reservation, each one related to the issue of sovereignty. The declaration reads (UNTC):

..., the Government of the Republic of Indonesia conveys her declaration on the provision of Article 6 paragraph (2) subparagraph c, Article 9 paragraph (1) subparagraph a, and Article 9 paragraph (2) of the Protocol [which] will have to be implemented in strict compliance with the principles of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a state

Article 6 referred to above is same and similar to Article 5 in the trafficking protocol which takes issue with organization and direction of such crimes. Article 9 above, however, is specifically related to the treatment of water vessels and the crew aboard such vessels. Paragraph 1, subparagraph (a) states, “Where a State Party takes measures against a vessel in accordance with article 8 of this Protocol, it shall: (a) Ensure the safety and humane treatment of the persons on board...” while Article 9, paragraph 2 states, “Where the grounds for measures taken pursuant to article 8 of this Protocol prove to be unfounded, the vessel shall be compensated for any loss or damage that may have been sustained.

provided that the vessel has not committed any act justifying the measures taken.” Again, it appears as if the Indonesian government is protecting itself against the possible requirement of turning over power to another state that may find it is not in compliance with the treatment of its vessel crews or with the restrictions of Article 8 that outlaw smuggling at sea. This is directly in line with the heavy reliance of Indonesia on the fishing industry and the mounting evidence that trafficking at sea is a major issue for this industry in Indonesia.

The reservation stated by Indonesia in its ratification of the smuggling protocol is the same as the reservation to Article 15 in the trafficking protocol, namely, that the government does not wish to be bound by the requirement to enter mediation and then the International Court of Justice should mediation fail. While it is a positive sign that Indonesia has signed and ratified these protocols, it may be that the government is simply paying lip service to the expectations of Western states. Indonesia has become more and more liberalized since the end of Suharto’s reign, and this has included bolstering its reputation with neoliberal, Western-led institutions such as the UN. The ratification of these Protocols may be a reaction to increased criticism from the West regarding the issue of labor and sex trafficking coming out of Indonesia and not a genuine attempt to address this crime. The concern with the macropolitical structure of sovereignty that appears in the ratification documents from Indonesia for both protocols suggests that national autonomy still takes precedence over international cooperation to address this international problem.

Indonesia is ranked as a Tier 2 country in the USTIP 2017 report, meaning that while it is not meeting the TVPA standards, it is “making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards. Figure 2 below provides a line graph of

the 3P Index by Cho (2014) and the scores for the overall total, prosecution, protection, and prevention of human trafficking in Indonesia from 2000-2015.

[See Figure 2 – Appendix C]

Refer to the bottom panel in Figure 2, focusing only on the lines to begin. The overall 3P Index score has a range from 3-15, with 3 indicating that the state is making the least possible effort to address each one of the “three P’s”, namely, prosecution, protection, and prevention of human trafficking. In the year 2000, the graph shows that Indonesia was at a score of 6 for its total efforts to address human trafficking. This number climbed steadily over fifteen years, and by the time of the USTIP (2017) report was at a 9. However, as the graph shows, Indonesia managed a score of 12 in 2007 and again in both 2011 and 2012. This picture does reflect efforts over time changing positively, but the recent drop in scores in the last few years suggests that either those efforts are unsuccessful, or the government has become less interested in applying them.

As for the individual scores, in 2000, Indonesia had a score of only 2 for each of the three elements of anti-trafficking (on a scale from 1-5). These numbers fluctuated over the fifteen-year period and by 2015, Indonesia scored a 4 in Prosecution, a 2 in Protection, and a 3 in Prevention. Therefore, while prosecution ramped up over that fifteen years, protection made no real gain, and prevention barely improved. This disparity is common among other states in this dataset, as most states pour their strongest anti-trafficking resources into prosecution, but even in that area Indonesia has not reached the maximum effort to eradicate trafficking.

The 2017 United States Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report provides a detailed summary of the efforts of the Indonesian government to address human

trafficking. Following the 3P approach, the report outlines how the government has made gains in prosecution, protection, and prevention, and where it has been unsuccessful. In terms of prosecution, the Indonesian government banned all forms of human trafficking in 2007. Criminal penalties range from fines to up to 15 years in prison. The US State Department argues these punishments are “sufficiently stringent and commensurate with those prescribed for other serious crimes, such as rape” (USTIP 2017:209). The Supreme Court of Indonesia has made an effort over the last few years to further define and expand the laws around human trafficking, including allowing the courts to prosecute corporations suspected of aiding traffickers. One of the most difficult problems the government must overcome, however, is corruption among public officials, security forces, and others entrusted with addressing human trafficking on the ground. NGOs inside Indonesia have reported that corrupt officials have taken bribes, protected illegal brothels, ignored violations by recruitment agencies, created and disseminated illegal travel documents, and allowed brokers to travel freely across borders. According to USTIP (2017:209), “despite these trends, the government-initiated prosecutions against only two low-level officials for complicity in trafficking offenses.” While it seems the government is able to find such corruption among its officials, there is clearly a total lack of enforcement of punishment for such corruption, a reality that likely does not go unnoticed by those making money from hindering the efforts to stop trafficking.

The Indonesian government did increase its focus on developing more cooperation between ministries and agencies in finding and prosecuting offenders. The lack of coordination between police, the court system, victims, witnesses, and the government is only exacerbated by the wide-ranging ethnic and linguistic differences in and among the

thousands of islands that define Indonesia (USTIP 2017). A new regulation set to address these discrepancies was implemented by the government in the summer of 2016, but it was largely ineffective. Recordkeeping among agencies was virtually nonexistent and even as the Supreme Court tried to rectify this by creating a comprehensive recordkeeping program, the decentralized nature of the Indonesian court system and the lack of experience with statistical rigor within the police departments stunted the success of the program.

New trafficking investigations in 2016 dropped from 221 the previous year to 110, the Supreme Court convicted more traffickers at 256 compared to 119 in 2015. The police sent only 46 trafficking cases to prosecution, 20 less than the year before, and perpetrators were convicted in 30 of those 46 cases. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) increased training of police officers in anti-trafficking laws in three major provinces, but prosecutors and judges often still lag behind in their knowledge of the relatively new laws and many trafficking cases never reach the courts. After a particularly heinous trafficking case in which an Indonesian man committed suicide in Kuala Lumpur after enduring labor trafficking, President Joko Widodo ordered an investigation into trafficking in the man's home province. The subsequent joint investigation resulted in the arrest of 16 trafficking criminals. Investigations into only sex trafficking, forced labor in fishing, and child sex tourism continued throughout 2016 (USTIP 2017).

Though consistently the element of trafficking response that is the least supported by government, protection efforts in Indonesia remained at 2015 levels throughout 2016. Not an improvement, but not a loss in this important area either. The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (MoWECP) has been instrumental in supporting trafficking victims. They have regularly partnered with local NGOs, the government,

police, and crisis centers to expand access to resources for victims. The government maintained a crisis center complaint system that fielded 4,761 complaints from overseas workers that resulted in 56 confirmed trafficking cases (USTIP 2017). The government also created five crisis centers to inform Indonesians who travel abroad for work about the dangers of human trafficking. The centers assisted with passport verification, visas, and services to reintegrate workers once they return home. MFA assisted victims through its consulates and embassies overseas and repatriated 13,714 Indonesian nationals and identified 602 trafficking victims, securing a sum of \$240,398 in restitution for the victims. However, much of this effort is shadowed by the lack of positive identification of many victims. Most governmental agencies and police officers “rely on international organizations and NGOs to identify victims, especially foreign victims in Indonesia, and to supplement the protective services it funded” (USTIP 2017:210). This problem of victim identification is serious because if victims are not identified properly, obtaining justice, services, and a new life for them is impossible.

The MFA continued to explore new avenues to address trafficking in 2016, including creating a mobile application that educated Indonesians on trafficking signs and provided them with travel advice. This application was extended to include a new social media site and a “panic button” that citizens could access if travelling abroad. This alert system connects citizens to the nearest embassy and consulate. Further, the MFA created a taskforce that located migrant workers who had overstayed visas and offered them help with repatriation (USTIP 2017). However, the Indonesian legislature failed to pass a law to protect domestic workers in Indonesia for the fourth year in a row. This stalemate illustrates the gendered construction of political power and labor in Indonesia. Most

fisherman trafficked for labor are men and the Indonesian government has managed to support stricter laws protecting those men. Most domestic workers trafficked for labor are women, and the Indonesian government (which is overwhelmingly male) fails to pass legislation to protect those women.

In the area of prevention, the Indonesian government improved its overall score in 2016. The district and provincial areas were the most dedicated to prevention tactics and the National Anti-trafficking Taskforce (a subgroup of MoWECP), created and disseminated new information and instructions for seven provinces at serious risk for trafficking. The taskforce also assisted in creating three more provincial-level taskforces to add to the 2015 total of 31. District-level taskforces increased from 191 to 196 in 2016, but similar to the coordination problems found with police agencies, the taskforces do not work well together across locations (USTIP 2017). Misinformation and lack of cooperation make forming wide-ranging plans very difficult. The government instituted new regulations to aid in local anti-trafficking, including a seven-ministry MOU on overseas trafficking of Indonesians, new policies to restrict and prevent trafficking in the fishing industry, and new regulations on fishing companies that engage in trafficking behavior. At the individual level, the government “engaged in income-generating, awareness-raising, and capacity building activities targeted to communities at higher risk of trafficking, including the economically challenged rural and border regions” (USTIP 2017:210). The government also engaged in training of labor recruitment agencies to prevent trafficking and created new training for military forces scheduled to deploy abroad for peacekeeping missions, including “training on trafficking victim identification and domestic migrant worker protections for diplomatic personnel” (USTIP 2017:210).

Other than the last two governmental actions mentioned above, the state has done nothing to address the threat to victims under economically or physically insecure environments found around foreign policy action. There are no measures to directly address the lack of a livable wage for millions of Indonesians, the restriction of access to education for girls and women in Indonesia, or the heightened risk of trafficking in and around conflict zones such as in Aceh. So, what impact does foreign policy action and government spending have on the efforts that do exist?

[See Figure 2 – Appendix C]

Turning again to Figure 2, we can walk through the causal mechanism using each panel. In the first panel, the line graph represents government military spending in Indonesia as a percentage of GDP. The blue stars represent the start and end of human rights sanctions implemented from 2000-2005, while the red stars represent the Aceh conflict from 2003-2005 and again in 2008. At the start of human rights sanctions, military spending was very low, dipping to just .5% of GDP. Within a year of sanctions, however, military spending increased, culminating in its highest levels in 2003 and 2004. The strongest period of conflict with the Aceh region began in 2003, so the rapid increase in spending leading up and to across the time of this conflict is exactly what we would expect. Because these events overlap to some degree, it is difficult to determine which had more of an impact on military spending, though quantitative results for the cross-national testing in Chapter 3 revealed that conflict generally had a positive impact on military spending while human rights sanctions generally had a negative impact on military spending. Applied to Indonesia, that suggests that even though the human rights sanctions should have depressed military spending, the rapid increase in such spending while conflict and

sanctions happened simultaneously had to be strong enough to overshadow any reduction effect of sanctions.

Panel 2 in Figure 2 reveals the impact of these events on government social spending. It is worth noting that the two spending graphs are nearly mirror images of one another as we would expect given the theoretical and statistical evidence presented thus far. At the start of human rights sanctions, government social spending was fairly low, at about 5% of GDP. Within one year, however, spending rocketed upward to nearly 25% of GDP. The statistical results in Chapter 3 suggested that human rights sanctions may have a positive impact on government spending overall, but the result was not statistically significant. For Indonesia, that seems to be the case, at least for the first four years of sanctions. One year prior to the sanctions lifting, however, the government backed off social spending considerably, eventually dropping back to 5% of GDP by 2006. The conflict timeline did not seem to have much of an impact on government social spending until just before the termination of the conflict when spending dropped as noted. Beyond the 2008 resurgence of conflict, military spending dropped to just above .6% of GDP while social spending rose again reaching a full 25% of GDP by 2012. Yet social spending dropped again in 2012 while military spending spiked again in the same year, adding to the antagonistic relationship between these two types of government spending.

Returning to panel 3 in Figure 2, we now examine the 3P Index scores in relationship to those exogenous variables of conflict and sanctions. For the duration of the human rights sanctions we see the overall scores dipping significantly from the year 2000 to 2001, however, all scores other than prosecution begin to rise in 2001 and climb more or less until about 2007. The total 3PI and the scores for prosecution and protection reach

their highest levels in 2007, and prevention reaches its highest score in 2012. It appears from the graph that the overall impact of human rights sanctions on Indonesian responses to trafficking is generally positive, at least until 2004. One year into the conflict period, all scores except protection drop and remain low until 2007. This indicates a shift away from a focus on anti-trafficking and towards a focus on security issues. It also indicates that there is at least a two-year period after conflict in which the focus on trafficking must be rebuilt. This pattern is repeated after the resurgence of conflict in 2008. The scores drop in 2008 as the conflict is ongoing, but after it ends in 2009, the scores rise again (except for protection). This overall cycle is similar to the wider patterns of trafficking policy observed in the literature. States continuously focus heavily on prosecution, followed by prevention, and then at last, protection (Cho 2014). Yet, protection is vital to both prosecution and prevention, as protection offers victims a chance to build a new life post-trafficking.

Though the scales are too different between graphs to overlay results, we can also look at how the spending may influence the trafficking response as well. The spike in government social spending is correlated with a spike in efforts to combat human trafficking in Indonesia on both ends of the graphs. From 2000-2005 and then again from 2008-2012, both government spending and response to human trafficking were at high levels. Military spending is interesting here, because the first spike correlates with increased attention to trafficking, but the highest overall scores for anti-trafficking responses occur during the period in which military spending is at its lowest between 2008 and 2012. The overall statistical results from Chapter 3 indicated that conflict had a negative and statistically significant effect only on prevention, while human rights sanctions had a negative and statistically significant effect on both prevention and

protection. Prosecution, in line with the results in Figure 2, is firmly supported by the state even during times of conflict and sanctions. As for spending, the statistical results of Chapter 3 indicate that as the government spends more on the military, there is a negative and statistically significant impact on all three elements of the index. Conversely, as the government spends more on social programs, there is a positive and statistically significant effect on all three elements of the index. This result suggests that while the presence of conflict and sanctions may have mixed effects on response to trafficking, spending has a powerful impact on such response. Importantly, given the repeated results throughout this project, when the government spends more on the military, it spends less on social programs but this competitive relationship for government spending results in a reduced response to human trafficking, at the precise time when an *increase* in response is desperately needed.

Moving Forward

It matters a great deal that the Indonesian government is making attempts to gradually improve its anti-trafficking response. The USTIP reports maintain the ranking of Indonesia at Tier 2, because the state has not made enough improvements to its efforts to combat trafficking in the last few years. According to the US State Department, the following changes to Indonesia's trafficking response are needed (USTIP 2017:209):

Increase efforts to investigate, prosecute, and convict labor recruitment agencies, brokers, and corrupt public officials involved in trafficking; develop and implement procedures to identify potential victims among vulnerable groups, including returning migrant workers, persons in prostitution, and fishing vessel crew members; train marine ministry staff and labor inspectors on victim identification and referral procedures; provide anti-trafficking training for judges, prosecutors, police, and social workers; take steps to eliminate recruitment fees charged to workers by labor recruiters; proactively offer identified victims reintegration services; promote safe and legal migration with trafficking prevention measures; increase resources for the anti-trafficking taskforce and improve its coordination

across ministries; establish a data collection system to track anti-trafficking efforts at all levels of law enforcement; train hospital staff and other health care providers about provisions guaranteeing government-funded care for trafficking victims; and create a national protocol that clarifies roles for prosecuting trafficking cases outside victims' home provinces.

As this lengthy list of recommendations illustrates, most of the US State Department's focus on human trafficking is prosecutorial, legal, and punitive. Many of these recommendations would certainly be helpful in Indonesia and elsewhere, but none of these directly address the macroeconomic or macropolitical drivers of human trafficking. As demonstrated throughout this project, the states of the international system have the primary agency in shaping the economic and political outcomes of all citizens in the world. The preference for neoliberal economics propelled by globalization and capitalism has increased the wealth disparity between the rich and the poor throughout the world. Even when the poor make some gains in income or reduced prices of goods, the rich make even larger gains, further widening this resource gap. To address human trafficking, the Indonesian government must collaborate with other states in developing a wide-ranging, global response to human trafficking.

Some possible recommendations in line with this top-down, state-led approach for Indonesia might include:

- Establishment of a single, national organization on anti-trafficking
- Funding of said organization that is prioritized as a major national security investment
- Recruitment and training of highly educated, experienced, dedicated employees to serve in said organization
- Full coordination and cooperation with all district-level, provincial-level, and national police and security forces to address trafficking
- Stricter punishments and full enforcement of the law against corrupt officials that support trafficking
- Creation of an international organization devoted entirely to ending trafficking in human beings in any form; full participation in said

organization and support for any measures instituted by said organization including in-state intervention as needed

- Government funding for primary and secondary education that is on par with developed nations and that specifically addresses the needs of girls and women
- Support for social programs that provide citizens with job opportunities in-state that pay a livable wage and adhere to strict guidelines on human rights and labor rights
- Legal and political acknowledgement of domestic work and sex work as legitimate labor and protection for all workers in such employment on par with protections for workers in all other forms of employment
- Increased resources and support for victims of trafficking including the option to remain anonymous and/or refuse to prosecute abusers, repatriation to safe and secure housing and employment, physical and mental health services, education and/or training opportunities, childcare access, legal support, and resources to remain in the country of destination if preferred
- Protection for civilians in conflict zones including government removal of civilians from unstable areas, return to homes upon cessation of hostilities when possible, access to rebuilding resources as needed, safe and secure housing locations for temporary removal, strict guidelines for behavior of all military personnel, strict enforcement of harsh penalties for any military or government personnel found to be abusive of civilians during or after conflict

The above recommendations are merely the beginning of addressing such an enormous global problem. And importantly, few of these will work if all other states in the international system do not participate in similar changes.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This dissertation project ties together political science and international relations literature on foreign policy to feminist literature on economics and security (Sarkar 2016). While feminist, sociological, medical, and legal literature have worked to critically investigate and develop theory in human trafficking, political science as a discipline is far behind in its acknowledgement and prioritization of research in this area, despite the already clear implications trafficking has on global economics and security (Goodey 2003; Shelley 2010; Meshkovska et al 2015; Suchland 2015). I address this weakness in the political science literature and work to bring together these bodies of work to increase understanding of the complex ways in which global politics has a significant impact on the lives and security of women in the world. I argue that economic sanctions and military force create economic instability in the target state that leads to leadership hoarding of resources and a reduced effort to combat human trafficking. Understanding the critical importance of gender in foreign policy and global economic security makes it possible to create policy that supports lasting and positive changes in the lives of women and men through a macroeconomic approach that addresses the macropolitical problems of state policy and human trafficking.

In this final chapter, I give a brief overview of the findings and main arguments from each of the previous core chapters. I then discuss the major theory of the project and the contributions made to the literature. I follow with an overview of the current approaches to combatting human trafficking and the limitations of those approaches. Finally, I end with a set of suggested changes to these approaches and a brief discussion of the next steps to be taken in this literature.

Chapter 2 – Sanctions, Government Spending, Women’s Rights

I argue in Chapter 2, that human rights sanctions and targeted sanctions negatively impact women in the target state via significant loss of government spending on education. This loss of investment in education results in an increase in fertility rates and a decrease in women’s participation in the labor force in the target state, two counterproductive outcomes for women’s rights and success. However, I find that if governments *increase* spending on education during the sanctions period, the negative impact of sanctions on women will be significantly mitigated. This first core chapter illustrates the importance of government social spending for women in the target state more generally and highlights the dangers of sanctions, even sanctions designed to improve human rights and protect civilians.

Chapter 3 – Sanctions, Military Force, Human Trafficking

In Chapter 3, I continue to examine sanctions, but I also include military force as my second relevant foreign policy action in the causal story. Here, I broaden the scope of the government spending as well, by combining data on government spending on primary education with data on government spending on public healthcare and social programs such as unemployment and retirement. This allows me to apply the shock of the exogenous foreign policy actions against government social spending overall to determine if the effects found in Chapter 2 can be applied more widely. I also expand the dependent variable to human trafficking responses by the state. While Chapter 2 illustrates the general negative impact of foreign policy action on women in the target state, Chapter 3 examines how this impact can lead to increased risk for women in human trafficking. I argue that the economic strain and physical insecurity created by sanctions and conflict from the international

system forces domestic leaders to hoard resources away from public spending and toward elite protection and military expenditures. This pulls attention away from government anti-trafficking programs resulting in reduced response to human trafficking. Given the already established impacts of poverty and insecurity in and around the use of sanctions and conflict, I argue this lack of response to human trafficking places women in the most exploitative and insecure situation in the target state, opening up direct avenues to increases in human trafficking.

Chapter 4 – Indonesia: A Vignette

In Chapter 4, I trace the causal effects through the case study of Indonesia to determine if the effects support the causal mechanism suggested in the statistical analyses of Chapter 2 and 3. I find that in Indonesia, the impact of human rights sanctions and the Aceh regional conflict on the government of Indonesia did in fact result in a government reduction in social spending, particularly in spending on education. This reduction in spending did in fact place women at higher risk for trafficking and occurred simultaneously with a reduced state response to human trafficking in the aftermath of sanctions and conflict. Indonesia presents a case in which some of the most prolific instances of human trafficking occur and yet where the state still prioritizes its own economic growth and physical security over the human rights of its people, and especially of its women.

Current Attempts to Address Trafficking

The UNODC began officially working to address human trafficking via the Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTC), brought about during the fifty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly on the 15th of November 2000. The Convention also adopted three related protocols intended to provide a legal framework

for prosecution of crimes related to transnational organized crime, including human trafficking. The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, and the Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air were both adopted at the same General Assembly meeting on 15th November 2000. The final Protocol under the Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, the Protocol Against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition, was adopted during the same session but at a different date, 31 May 2001. As with any and all Protocols, Resolutions, Conventions, of the UN, member states can choose to sign on to the agreement without ratification. They may never ratify the document or may choose to do so at a later date. When they do choose to ratify, states can provide “declarations” and/or “reservations” regarding specific sections or articles of the agreement they wish to amend in some way (UNODC).

Current approaches to human trafficking follow the UNODC and US State Department recommendations for a prosecution focused, victim centered set of policies. Increased pressure is placed upon law enforcement to identify victims, locate perpetrators, and maintain crime data on this complex problem. Local prosecutors and courts must use the information provided by law enforcement to determine charges and enforce the law. Few countries possess the resources or knowledge needed to achieve these lofty goals. Victims are rarely supported by the governments in which they are found and most face forced deportation upon cooperation with law enforcement officials. These approaches are important, but they are not enough.

Applying a Macro Approach to a Global Problem

This global problem of human trafficking demands a global solution. States must begin to recognize their role in this criminal enterprise and take strong measures to eradicate it from the top down. Countries that impose sanctions must demand a restoration of social program funding as a condition of sanctions relief, though the international community has not yet attempted such a specific focus on civilian protections, even within targeted sanctions. Countries that launch military offensives must monitor the safety of civilians and demand funding of social programs as a condition of peace. While not a perfect solution, such demands may encourage target states to work to help civilians recover the ground they lost during the sanctions or conflict, and illustrate to the world that sender states have more than their own interests in mind when implementing foreign policy action.

Future Directions for Research

One of the most important contributions of this project, is the finding that targeted sanctions do not reduce civilian pain to the extent argued by other scholars. I find that civilians still feel immense economic and physical instability in the wake of targeted sanctions, because they feel this instability indirectly as leader hoard resources away from much-needed social programs. Leaders are certainly impacted more significantly by targeted sanctions than comprehensive sanctions, but instead of this impact pushing leaders to alter behavior, the result is more likely to be leaders punishing civilians by robbing the public of resources. This finding is crucial to moving forward in sanctions research, because it suggests that if targeted sanctions are to really be effective, specific measures must be put into place to protect civilian access to government economic support. Targeted sanctions have become popular enough, that they were the “lynchpin of the 2015 US National Security Strategy”

(Drezner 2015). Given that the US employs sanctions far more than any other state in the international system, this new prioritization of targeted sanctions means that more civilians will feel these negative impacts if they are not supported by sender states.

Yet, this finding is preliminary and just the beginning of research into this connection. I find that targeted sanctions result in less government spending on education but do not find a statistically significant impact on overall social spending. Education is fundamentally important, especially for women in the target state, but it may be that there is a unique element to this spending type that results in this relationship that is not true about other spending types. More research into this correlation is very important if scholars and policy makers are to see big picture of these effects.

This project has the potential to speak to several areas of literature in the IR world. For foreign policy scholars, this project can illustrate the continued negative outcomes of sanctions as a foreign policy choice and also tie that choice to the transnational issue of black-market economics. For IPE scholars, this project can help to illuminate some of the mechanisms within illicit economies and explore how the impact of capitalism and globalization on the global community has consistently given rise to more and more opportunities for such economies to grow. For security scholars, this project can provide an example of the deeply unstable results of the powerful transnational reach of human trafficking and how such a heinous practice can destabilize not only individual states, but entire regions of the world. And for feminist scholars, this project can potentially thread together the common ground beneath feminist political economy and feminist security studies and hopefully, provide a foundation for similar work into the future.

Economic sanctions and conflict are only two of the many ways that states can attempt to alter the behavior of other states and thus, other avenues of foreign policy actions should be examined via their impact on human trafficking. Ultimately, it is important to remember that there is much room within political science literature to research and understand the ways that the structural power of states impacts individuals at the local, national, and international level. A structural solution that considers how states behave and that pushes states to respond to crises with policies that highlight the importance of human life over interests of power and wealth is crucial to ending the transnational structural violence of human trafficking.

APPENDIX A: CHAPTER 2 FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1: Impact of Human Rights Sanctions on Government Spending on Education



Table 1: Impact of Human Rights Sanctions on Government Spending on Education

<i>Variables</i>	Government Education Spending (%GDP)
Human Rights Sanctions (t-1)	-0.719** (0.207)
Targeted Sanctions (t-1)	-0.715** (0.146)
Comprehensive Sanctions (t-1)	0.395 (0.222)
Democracy	0.016** (0.004)
GDP (log)	0.317** (0.014)
Population (log)	-0.228** (0.014)
Wars (t-1)	-0.158** (0.042)
Constant	5.521** (0.264)
Observations	1,955
Number of ccode	152

Note: Standard errors in parentheses; **p<0.01, *p<0.05

Table 2: Variable Types and Sources

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Type and Range</i>	<i>Source</i>
<i>Human Rights Sanctions</i>	Dichotomous 0 (no sanction) 1 (sanction)	TIES v.4 dataset (Hufbauer et al. 2007)
<i>Targeted Sanctions</i>	Dichotomous 0 (no sanction) 1 (sanction)	Targeted Sanctions Consortium Qualitative Database (Biersteker, Eckert, Tourinho 2016)
<i>Comprehensive Sanctions</i>	Dichotomous 0 (no sanction) 1 (sanction)	TIES v.4 dataset (Hufbauer et al. 2007)
<i>Government Education Spending</i>	Nominal 0 (min) 4.35 (mean) 44.33 (max)	World Bank – UNESCO Institute for Statistics; percentage of government expenditures on primary education as a percentage of GDP in a given year (www.data.worldbank.org)
<i>Fertility Rate</i>	Nominal 1.07 (min) 3.37 (mean) 8.60 (max)	World Bank Number of live births expected over a woman’s lifetime (www.data.worldbank.org)
<i>Female Percentage of Labor Force</i>	Nominal 9.54 (min) 39.79 (mean) 55.86 (max)	World Bank Percentage of women active in the overall labor force (www.data.worldbank.org)
<i>Democracy</i>	Ordinal -10 (least democratic) +10 (most democratic)	<i>Polity2</i> indicator of the Polity IV dataset (Marshall and Jaggers 2002)
<i>GDP (log)</i>	Nominal 4.13 (min) 7.39 (mean) 10.76 (max)	World Bank dataset (www.worldbank.org)
<i>Population (log)</i>	Nominal 11.9 (min) 15.9 (mean) 20.98 (max)	World Bank dataset (www.worldbank.org)
<i>Wars</i>	Dichotomous 0 (no war) 1 (war)	Correlates of War Militarized Interstate Disputes v.4.2 dataset (www.correlatesofwar.org)

Figure 2: Marginal Effects of Human Rights Sanctions on Government Spending in Education

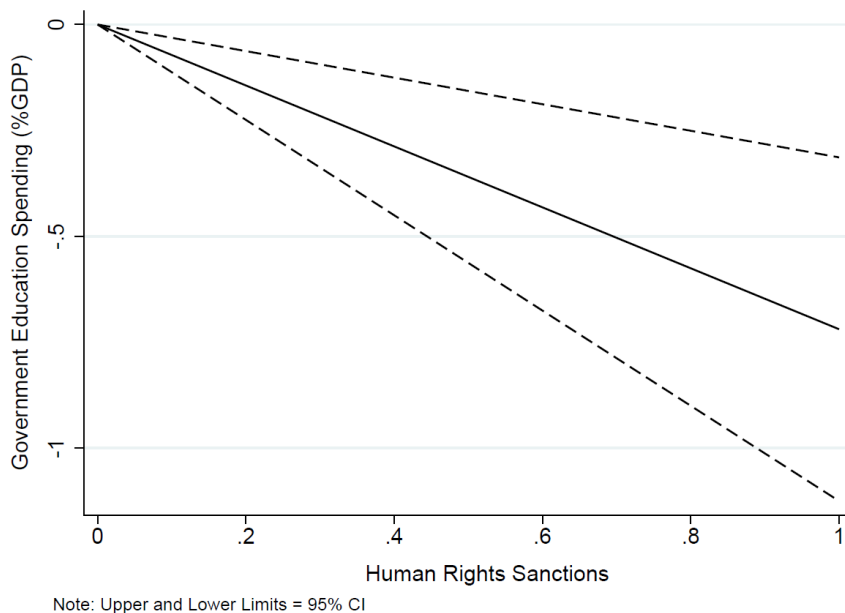


Table 3: Impact of Human Rights Sanctions x Government Education Spending on Fertility Rate and Female Percentage of the Labor Force

	Model 1	Model 2
<i>Variables</i>	Fertility Rate	Female % Labor
Human Rights Sanctions (t-1)	2.029** (0.379)	-8.891** (2.588)
Government Education Spending (t-1)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.354** (0.038)
Human Rights Sanctions X GES	-0.622** (0.106)	2.295** (0.799)
Targeted Sanctions	0.532** (0.057)	-2.882** (0.989)
Comprehensive Sanctions (t-1)	-0.469* (0.214)	2.465 (2.030)
Democracy	-0.062** (0.002)	0.505** (0.018)
GDP (log)	-0.580** (0.008)	-0.807** (0.063)
Population (log)	-0.022** (0.006)	-0.336** (0.061)
Wars (t-1)	-0.259** (0.023)	-1.084** (0.196)
Constant	8.452** (0.124)	50.249** (0.999)
Observations	1,980	1,980
Number of ccode	152	152

Note: Standard errors in parentheses; **p<0.01, *p<0.05

Figure 3: Marginal Effects of Education Spending X Human Rights Sanctions on Fertility Rate

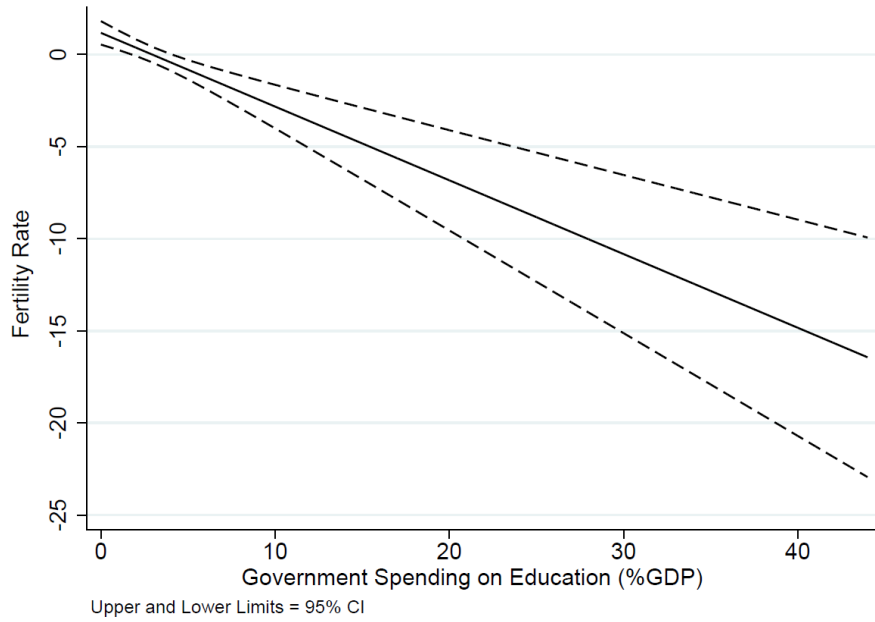
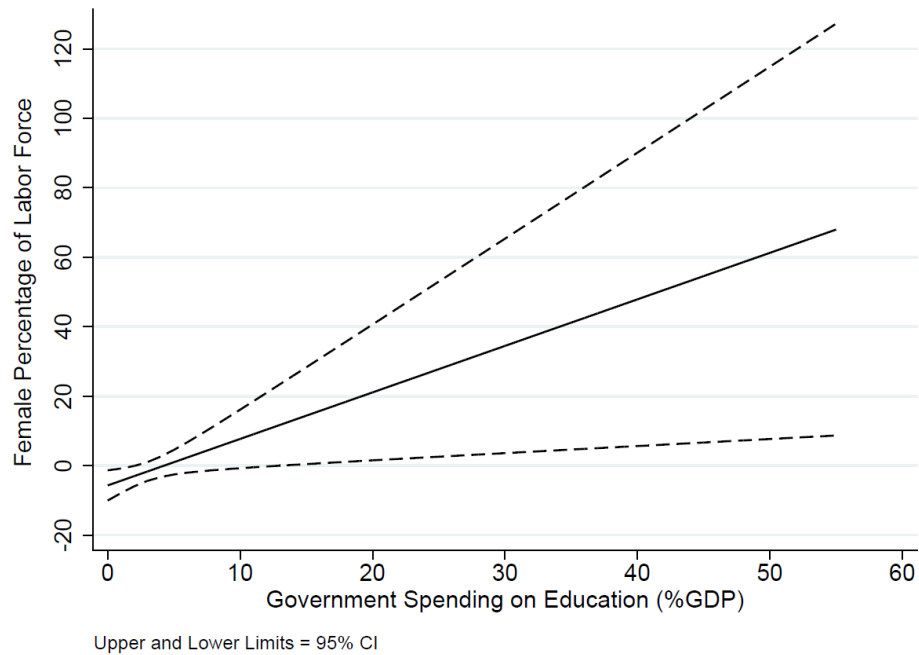


Figure 4: Marginal Effects of Education Spending X Human Rights Sanctions on Female Participation in Labor



APPENDIX B: CHAPTER 3 FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1: Foreign Policy Action and State Response to Human Trafficking – A Theory

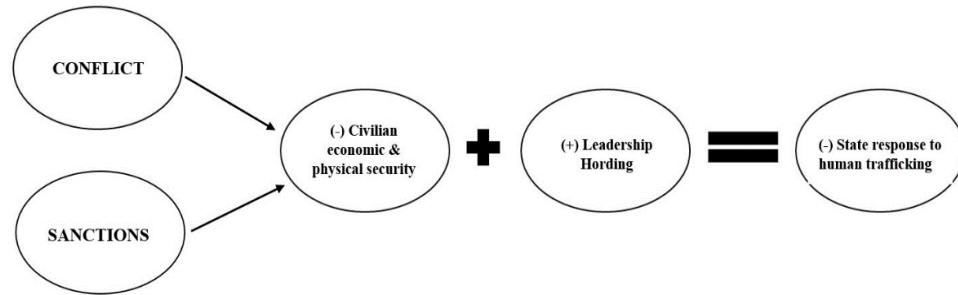


Table 1: Variable Types and Sources

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Type and Range</i>	<i>Source</i>
<i>3P Anti-Trafficking Policy Index</i>	Ordinal 3-15 (Total) 1-5 (Each) 9.49 (mean)	Government performance toward anti-trafficking in three policy areas – prosecution of perpetrators, protection of victims, and prevention of human trafficking; “Total” is the summative index, “Each” is each individual element of the index; The scale is from 1 (no efforts) to 5 (full commitment) for each element and from 3-15 for the summative index (Cho 2015)
<i>Comprehensive Sanctions</i>	Dichotomous 0 (no sanction) 1 (sanction)	TIES v.4 dataset (Hufbauer et al. 2007)
<i>Human Rights Sanctions</i>	Dichotomous 0 (no sanction) 1 (sanction)	TIES v.4 dataset (Hufbauer et al. 2007)
<i>Targeted Sanctions</i>	Dichotomous 0 (no sanction) 1 (sanction)	Targeted Sanctions Consortium Qualitative Database (Biersteker, Eckert, Tourinho 2016)
<i>Wars</i>	Dichotomous 0 (no war) 1 (war)	Correlates of War Militarized Interstate Disputes v.4.2 dataset (Palmer et al. 2015) (www.correlatesofwar.org)
<i>Government Military Spending</i>	Nominal 0 (min) 2.44 (mean) 48.5 (max)	World Bank – SIPRI percentage of a country’s GDP spent on military expenditures in a given year, includes armed forces, peacekeeping forces, defense ministries, etc. (data.worldbank.org)
<i>Government Social Spending</i>	Nominal 0 (min) 21.9 (mean) 66.4 (max)	World Bank – additive variable created from three different World Bank indicators: Government Expenditures on Education (UNESCO government spending on primary education as a % of GDP), Government Expenditures on Health (WHO government spending on public health as a % of GDP), and Government Social Expense (IMF government spending on unemployment, social benefits, subsidies, etc.) Indicators are summed to create the Social Spending variable for an overall assessment of government spending on social programs in education, health, and employment (data.worldbank.org)
<i>Democracy</i>	Ordinal -10 (least democratic) +10 (most democratic)	<i>Polity2</i> indicator of the Polity IV dataset (Marshall and Jagers 2002)
<i>GDP (log)</i>	Nominal 4.17 (min) 7.88 (mean) 11.68 (max)	World Bank – per capita gross domestic product divided by midyear population (data.worldbank.org)
<i>Population (log)</i>	Nominal 11.15 (min) 16.01 (mean) 21.03 (max)	World Bank – UN Population Division; count of all residents regardless of legal or citizenship status (data.worldbank.org)

Table 2: Impact of Force and Sanctions on Government Military and Social Spending (%GDP)

Variables	Military Spending (t-1)	Social Spending (t-1)
Wars (t-1)	0.503** (0.040)	2.021** (0.434)
Comprehensive Sanctions (t-1)	0.601** (0.205)	6.293** (1.608)
Human Rights Sanctions (t-1)	-0.781** (0.105)	-2.042 (1.136)
Targeted Sanctions (t-1)	0.269 (0.148)	0.861 (0.701)
Government Social Spending (t-1)	-0.003** (0.001)	
Government Military Spending (t-1)		-0.122** (0.062)
Democracy	-0.112** (0.003)	0.710** (0.030)
GDP (log)	0.194** (0.012)	4.812** (0.128)
Population (log)	0.001 (0.012)	-0.437** (0.124)
Constant	0.923** (0.213)	-9.602** (2.284)
Observations	3,472	3,472
Number of ccode	155	155

Note: **p<0.01, *p<0.05; St. errors in parentheses

Figure 2: Marginal Effects of Foreign Policy Actions on Government Spending

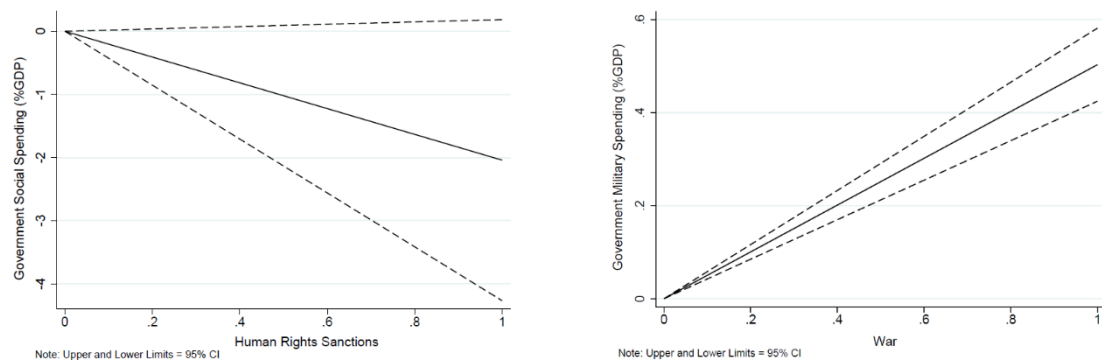


Table 3: Impact of Force and Sanctions on Total Government Response to Human Trafficking

Variables	3P Index Total (t-1)
Wars (t-1)	-0.234* (0.105)
Comprehensive Sanctions (t-1)	1.713** (0.484)
Human Rights Sanctions (t-1)	-0.745* (0.334)
Targeted Sanctions (t-1)	-1.342** (0.176)
Government Military Spending (t-1)	-0.232** (0.028)
Government Social Spending (t-1)	0.0236** (0.002)
Democracy	0.124** (0.008)
GDP (log)	0.618** (0.028)
Population (log)	0.401** (0.028)
Constant	-2.476** (0.518)
Observations	1,854
Number of ccode	151

Note: **p<0.01, *p<0.05; Standard errors in parentheses

Figure 3: Marginal Effects of Domestic Military and Social Spending on Total Government Response to Human Trafficking

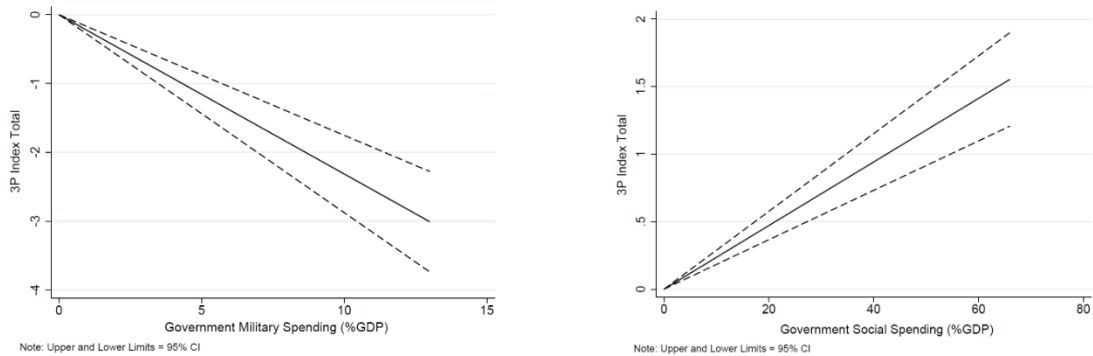


Table 4: Impact of Force and Sanctions on Government Prosecution, Protection, and Prevention of Human Trafficking

<i>Variables</i>	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	3PI Prevention (t-1)	3PI Protection (t-1)	3PI Prosecution (t-1)
Wars (t-1)	-0.248** (0.042)	0.051 (0.046)	-0.060 (0.043)
Comprehensive Sanctions (t-1)	0.150 (0.229)	0.353 (0.189)	0.997** (0.253)
Human Rights Sanctions (t-1)	-0.365* (0.165)	-0.263** (0.099)	0.075 (0.158)
Targeted Sanctions (t-1)	-0.482** (0.076)	-0.323** (0.062)	-0.659** (0.096)
Government Military Spending (t-1)	-0.086** (0.011)	-0.074** (0.012)	-0.076** (0.013)
Government Social Spending (t-1)	0.005** (0.001)	0.005** (0.001)	0.013** (0.001)
Democracy	0.033** (0.003)	0.050** (0.003)	0.043** (0.004)
GDP (log)	0.216** (0.012)	0.172** (0.013)	0.205** (0.013)
Population (log)	0.159** (0.012)	0.036** (0.009)	0.180** (0.011)
Constant	-1.092** (0.220)	0.578** (0.187)	-1.358** (0.196)
Observations	1,861	1,860	1,864
Number of ccode	151	151	151

Note: ***p<0.01, **p<0.05

Figure 4: Marginal Effects of Domestic Military and Social Spending on Government Prosecution of Human Trafficking

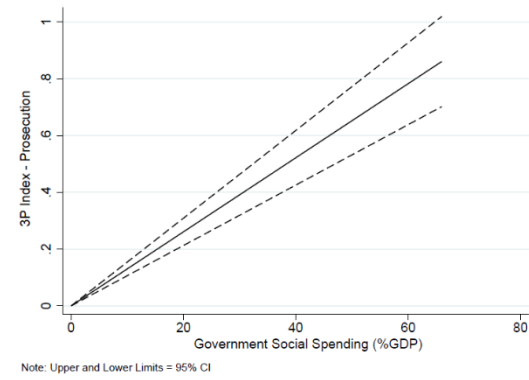
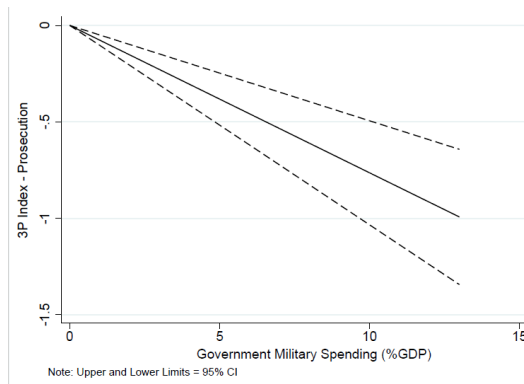


Figure 5: Marginal Effects of Domestic Military and Social Spending on Government Protection of Human Trafficking Victims

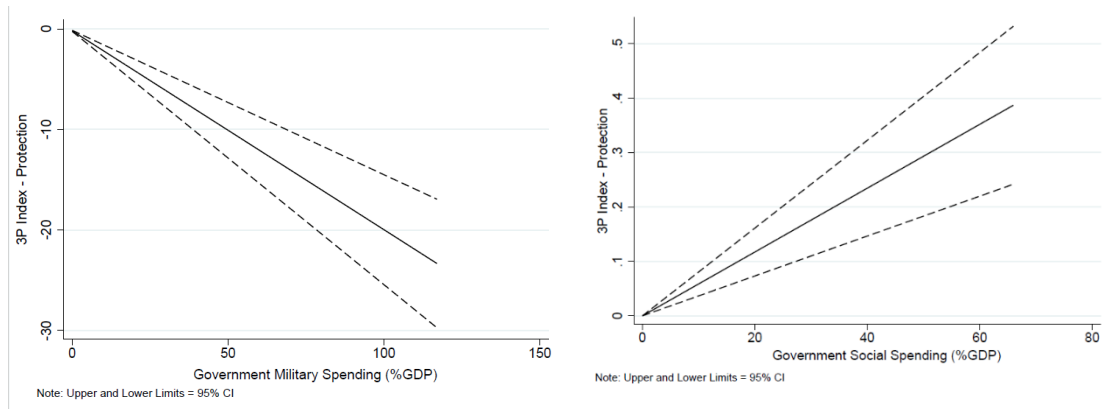
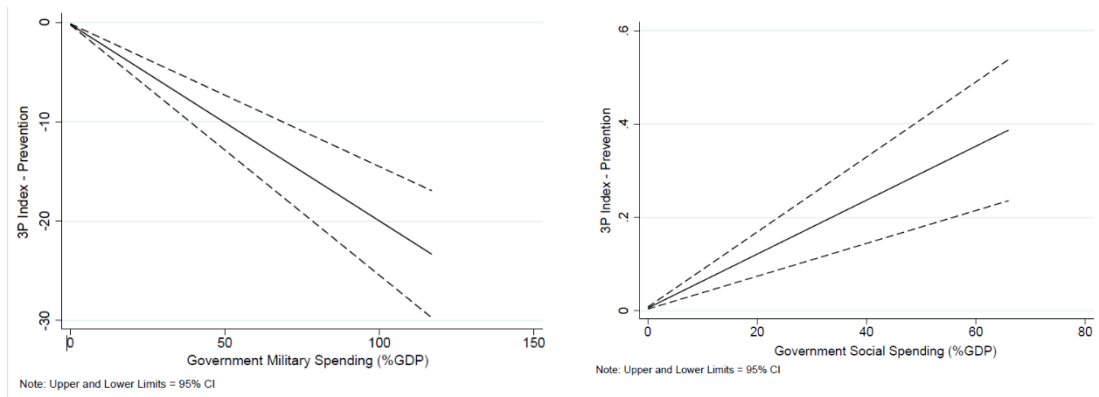


Figure 6: Marginal Effects of Domestic Military and Social Spending on Government Prevention of Human Trafficking



APPENDIX C – CHAPTER 4 FIGURES AND TABLES

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Variables of Interest in Indonesia, 2000-2015

<i>Continuous Variables</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Max</i>
Government Education Spending (% GDP)	2.46	3.01	3.52
Government Social Spending (% GDP)	0	12.98	25.11
Government Military Spending (% GDP)	.57	.74	.94
Fertility Rate	2.46	2.48	2.51
Female % of Labor Force Participation	37.04	37.52	37.97
Labor Exploitation (excluding Sex Work)	0	251.4	1146
GDP (log)	6.61	7.52	8.21
Population (log)	19.16	19.27	19.36

<i>Discrete Variables</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Max</i>
3P Index Total (3-15)	5	9.43	12
3P Index – Prosecution (1-5)	2	3.75	5
3P Index – Protection (1-5)	1	2.31	4
3P Index – Prevention (1-5)	2	3.37	5

<i>Dichotomous Variables</i>	<i>Observations</i>
Comprehensive Sanctions	No observations
Human Rights Sanctions	Five Years (2000-2006)
Targeted Sanctions	No observations
War	(2003-2005) (2008)

Figure 1: Impact of HR Sanctions and Conflict on Education Spending and Gender Variables in Indonesia, 2000-2015

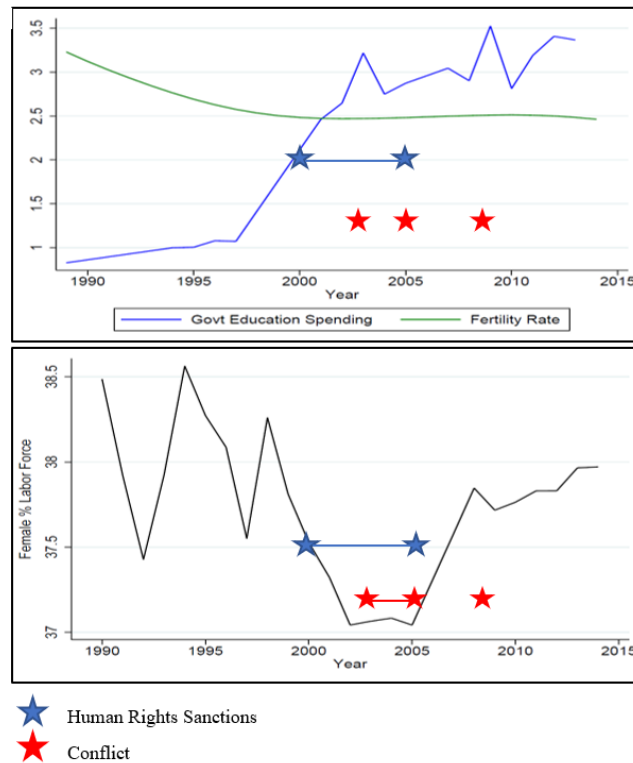
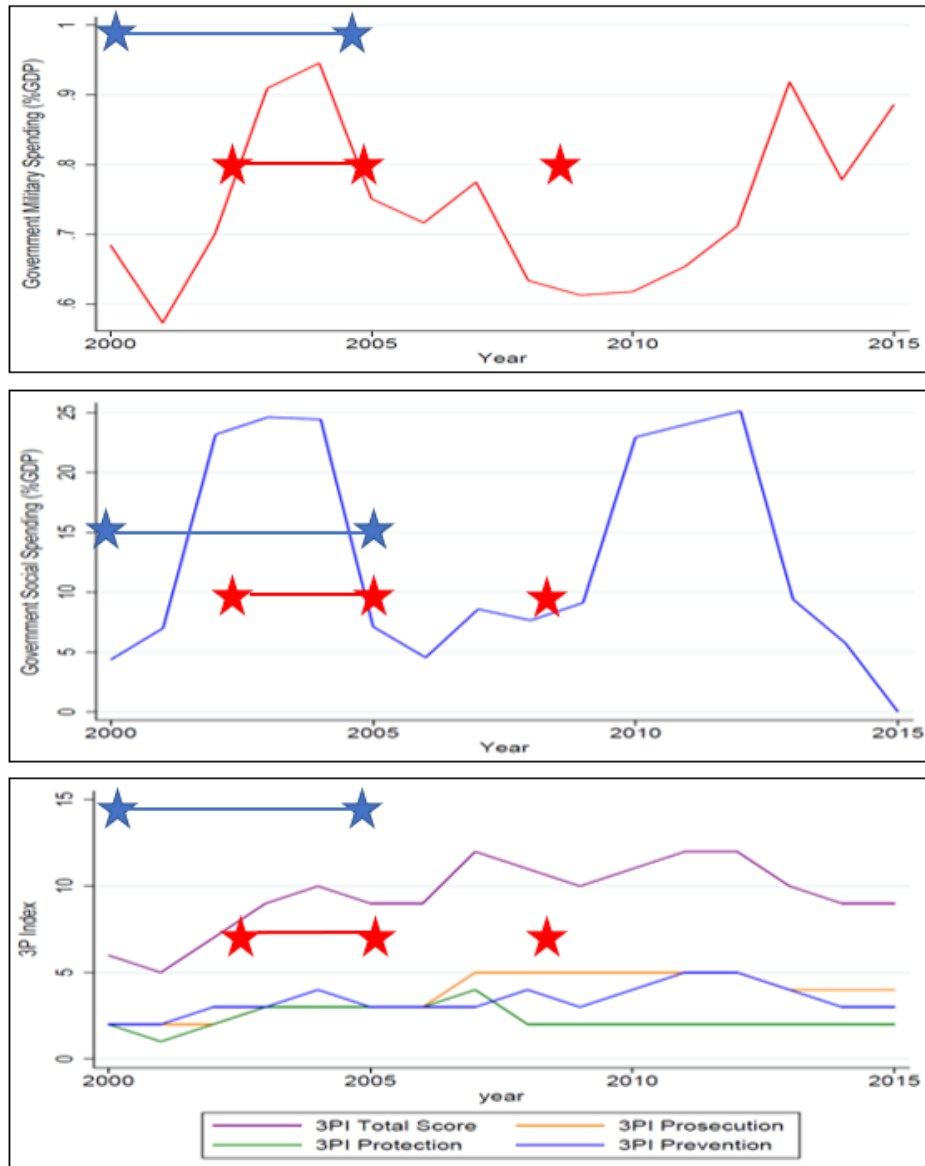


Figure 2: Impact of HR Sanctions and Conflict on Government Spending and Anti-Trafficking Policy in Indonesia, 2000-2015



- ★ Human Rights Sanctions
- ★ Conflict

Figure 3: Origin of Trafficking Victims Detected in East Asia and the Pacific, by region, 2014 (or most recent)

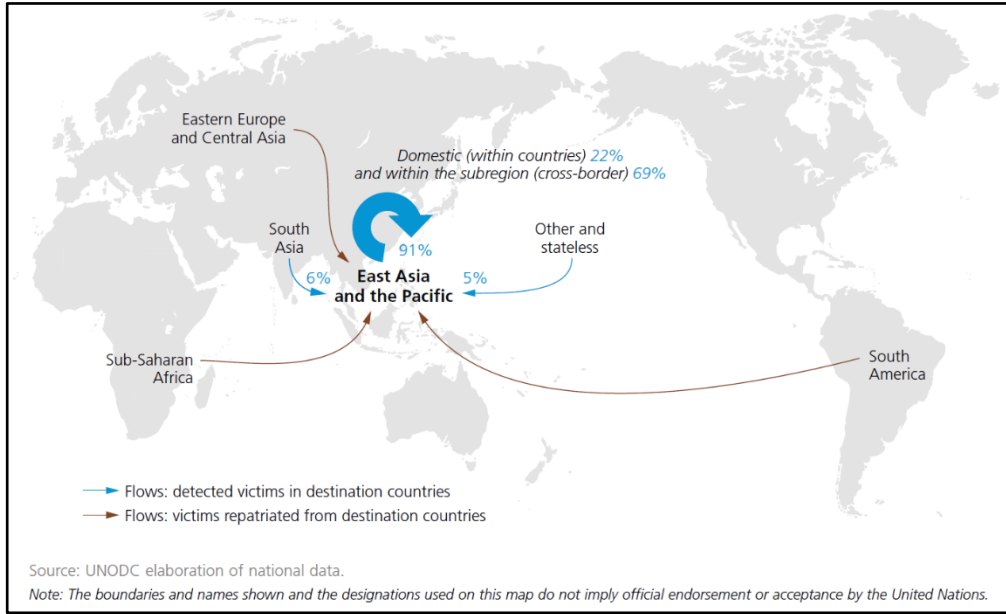
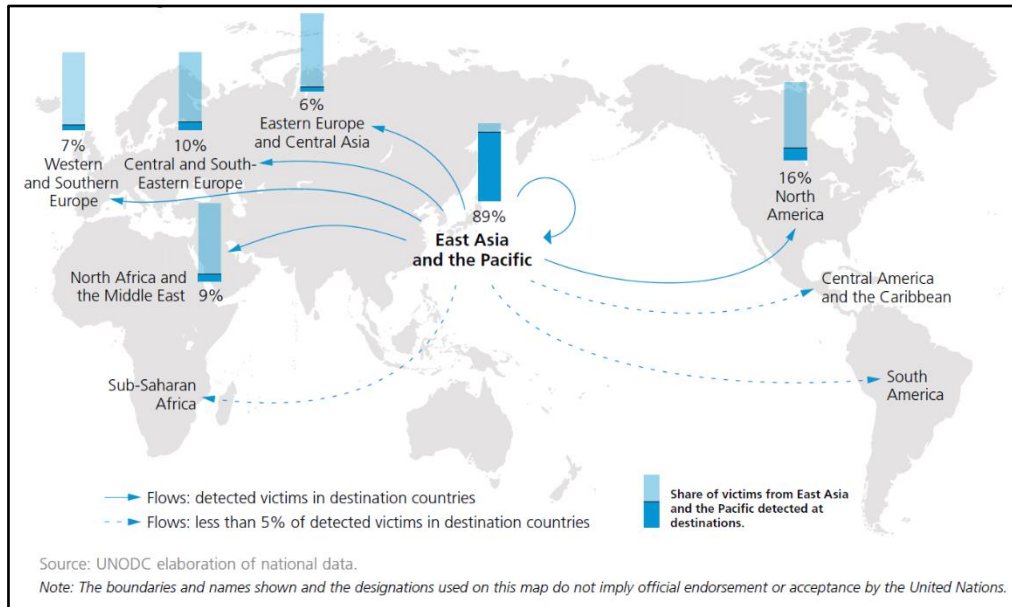


Figure 4: Destination of Detected Trafficking Victims from East Asia and the Pacific, by subregion, 2012-2014



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VITA

Katherine “Kate” Perry was born in northeast Ohio and raised a proud Buckeye. She moved around the US as a child and spent her formative years in central Illinois, in a small town of 900 people, known as Avon. She graduated from Avon High School and attended The Ohio State University as a freshman theatre major. After two years off and several life changes, she returned to her undergraduate work at Monmouth College in Monmouth, Illinois where she completed her B.A. in Political Science and graduated as Senior Woman of the Year in 2008. She continued her education at Western Illinois University, receiving her M.A. in International Relations and graduating Magna Cum Laude in 2013.

Kate had the honor of teaching at her beloved alma mater, Monmouth College, as an adjunct professor during the 2013-2014 academic year, and with her M.A. in hand and a firm love of teaching and mentoring students, began her PhD at the University of Missouri in 2014. She has spent her academic career devoted to human rights issues and particularly to the rights and achievements of women throughout the world. She is currently pursuing a tenure-track teaching position with the hope of continuing her passion for teaching, mentorship, and research throughout her career.

Kate resides with her three children, River, Willow, and Briar, her two dogs, Charlie and Teddy, and her cat, Zachary. She is dedicated to her love of nature, animals, books, and the Chicago Cubs.