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War Economies, Post-conflict Transition and Human trafficking

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List of Acronyms

CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CEH	Comisión para el Escalarecimiento Histórico
CTDC	Counter Trafficking Data Collaborative
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILO	International Labour Organization
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar

Abstract

Liberal peacebuilding interventions often do not translate in deep transformations of societies and in more equal and just relations between groups. Structural violence therefore persists in 'peaceful' societies and results, at the same time, in renewed patterns of direct violence that are unequally distributed around the world. A striking manifestation of these structures is the human trafficking phenomenon. This research is concerned with understanding the role played by war economies in producing patterns of vulnerability to human trafficking during post-war transition. A mixed method approach, combining a regression analysis with a country case study on Guatemala is adopted. This approach allows indeed to investigate both general patterns and specific mechanisms bringing about the emergence of violent manifestations at the local level.

   The study finds that different patterns of exploitation are indeed connected with the dynamics of armed conflicts and post-conflict transition. In the context of Guatemala, in particular, global, regional and local processes combine to create patterns of vulnerability for certain subjects. The criminalization of the economy, socio-political exclusion and a culture of continuing militarization are important factors shaping human trafficking in this scenario. These perspectives highlight the need to overcome fixed categorization of the human trafficking phenomenon toward a deeper consideration of the underlying processes of marginalization that make exploitation possible in the everyday.

Relevance to Development Studies

Understanding the complex dynamics shaping processes of peacebuilding in post-conflict societies is fundamental to elaborate informed interventions and development policies. A failed transition from war can indeed result in the continuation of patterns of violence within society. Unveiling the continuity between conflict and peace through processes of structural violence, as well as their link to the global economy, can thus be helpful to elaborate new peacebuilding approaches in a complex and globalized world, where identities, structures of powers and economic inequalities are related. The study, therefore, wants to contribute to the understanding of global structures of inequality of opportunity that keep shaping people's lives. These structures result indeed in different forms of direct violence around the world. The problem of human trafficking is an increasingly recognized example of the pervasiveness of this violence. The aim of this research is thus to understand the complex processes and relations underlying the origin of this phenomenon in contexts of postwar transition. This can help in the promotion of more comprehensive approaches to peace and development.

Keywords
Structural violence, war economies, post-conflict governance, inequality, human trafficking, transnational networks

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Nature of the problem

"The modern war on human fears, whether directed against natural or artificial disasters, seems to result in the social redistribution of fears rather than their quantitative reduction" - Zygmunt Bauman

As highlighted by the literature on post-conflict transition, in the aftermath of war complex political processes come to shape the relationship between the groups previously involved in the conflict (Väyrynen, 2019). Post-conflict transitions are, indeed, crucial for the (re)definition of who has the right to participate in political and socio-economic decision-making. However, if a comprehensive and deep reconfiguration of the social relationships does not take place, violence is likely to cross the boundaries between war and peace, while often taking on a different and subtler form (Kurtenbach and Rettberg, 2018). The liberal peace approach has proven to be inadequate to tackle structural and persistent forms of violence (Goodhand and Sedra, 2013). Instead, the same inequalities and grievances that led to conflict in the first place are often reproduced, institutionalized and translated in new patterns of violence during post-conflict transitions (ibid). If not always in the form of full-blown civil wars, violence indeed persists across societies all around the world, materializing as crime, gender violence, labour exploitation, but also poverty and high degrees of inequality of opportunities. This 'unequal distribution of vulnerabilities' (Butler, in Väyrynen, 2019, p.26), however, other than being unjust, constitutes an obstacle to the achievement of a 'positive peace' (Galtung, 1969) and it is often the basis for further political instability.

The role of war economies in sustaining the institutionalization of violence has increasingly caught attention in the literature (Berdal and Malone, 2000; Goodhand, 2004). War has indeed profound impacts on the economy of a country, as well as on the connected political and socio-cultural relations. Firstly, war modifies the incentives of **economic actors** often forcing them to choose violence and crime as a livelihood strategy, given the disruption of 'peaceful' production alternatives (Murshed, 2010, p.66). This, in turn, intersects with the efforts of criminal organizations taking advantage of the lack of regulation arising during war to pursue private interests (Wheaton, Schauer, Galli, 2010), and with the activities conducted by conflict parts to finance the armed confrontation in order to win the war (Muraszkiewicz, Iannelli, Wieltschnig, 2020). This complex system of intersecting relations, that reflects Goodhand (2004)'s distinction between coping, shadow and combat economy, sustains and prolongs conflicts and, if not addressed, can become institutionalized in the post-war period. Secondly, war economies have implications for **power structures** in the region. On the one hand, war reproduces power structures at the local, regional and global level, impacting more certain groups and keeping them vulnerable to violence and exploitations (poor, indigenous groups, women, youth; Peterson and Harcourt, 2016). On the other hand, violence also constitutes an opportunity for certain subjects to challenge these power structures and improve their socio-economic condition. This is true in war and in peace times alike. Third, living in times of war shapes the **construction of identities** and consequently the configuration of social relations between individuals and groups. Studies on the link between militarization and masculinity, for example, have highlighted how the construction of gendered relations is instrumental to sustain war (Cockburn, 2010). This last dimension thus highlights the importance that individual and group identities play in the definition of the unequal distribution of opportunities.

The end of a war does not imply the resolution of these three complex dynamics. On the contrary, these processes often continue after the end of the war, producing renewed patterns of violence that are institutionalized and invisibilized (Bojicic-Dzelilovic, 2013). War economies, therefore, together with their social and cultural base, are not exclusively connected to wars, but are sustained in peace by local, regional and global conditions. In fact, political economies based on violence, often precede the war itself and constitute an important component of its root causes. This perspective, thus, highlights the need to nuance the dichotomy between 'peace' and 'war' economies and to investigate the interconnections between the two (Suchland, 2015).

This research is concerned with understanding the continuation and persistence of structural violence[1] within post-war societies. In particular the paper investigates the role played by war economies in producing patterns of vulnerability to the human trafficking phenomenon. Human trafficking is indeed a striking manifestation of these violent structures and its uneven geographical distribution reflects economic, political and cultural relations limiting equal opportunities for all at the global level. Moreover, human trafficking patterns reveal a particular distribution of insecurities among groups in society, highlighting the importance of considering the role of horizontal inequalities in the perpetuation of violence (Murshed, 2010).

The human trafficking phenomenon has increasingly caught attention in academic and political agendas. ILO (2017) estimates that in 2016, trafficking victims were around 40.3 million, of which 24.9 million were subjected to forced labour. Moreover, the annual profits estimated to arise from forced labour amounted at US$ 150 billion (ILO, 2017). However, as highlighted by Suchland (2015), while conveying and idea of the magnitude of the problem, these figures are not able to capture the complexity of the phenomenon. Estimates on human trafficking are by nature uncertain, given the invisibilized and dynamic nature of these patterns. Multiple disciplines, then, have studied the phenomenon of human trafficking, trying to identify those factors producing vulnerability to this type of violence. Poverty, unemployment, lack of education are often identified as root causes of the problem (Russel, 2018). However, traditional explanations have not considered the relational nature of these factors of vulnerability, that arise at the intersection of global power structures (Blazek et al., 2019).

This paper wants to contribute to the literature on the root causes of human trafficking by developing a comprehensive approach, able to consider the phenomenon in relation to other types of violence and to identify the concrete mechanisms leading to its emergence. The analysis of human trafficking in war and post-war scenarios is likely to yield, in this respect, interesting insights. Human trafficking is, in fact, deeply entangled with conflict phenomena and with their cultural, political and economic dimensions (Muraszkiewicz, Iannelli, Wieltschnig, 2020). Indeed, as highlighted above, the impact of war on the economy and socio-cultural relations contributes to create structures that strongly condition people's (physical and socio-economic) mobility. Analyzing the different types of violence characterizing war and post-war situations can, therefore, shed light on deeper dynamics and relations (inequalities, global power structures, exploitative patterns) underlying the two forms of violent manifestation.

The literature on human trafficking in post-conflict transition has mainly focused on sexual exploitation, providing only partial explanations of the social structures and norms underlying everyday violence (Suchland, 2015). The aim of this research is, therefore, to investigate the root causes of the phenomenon of human trafficking in this scenario of complex mechanisms shaping post-conflict transitions to peace and sometimes leading to the

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[1] As defined by Galtung (1969), structural violence is not an act perpetrated directly by certain actors but it is, instead, a type of violence which operates through the structures and unbalanced relations that underlie societies.

institutionalization of structural forms of violence. The moment of post-war transition is crucial to explore the interplay between local dynamics and regional and global factors giving rise to complex patterns of violence in postwar society. At the same time, this paper also wants to question the concept of 'post-war transition' and 'peace' as conceptualized by the (neo)liberal approach to peacebuilding (Goodhand and Sedra, 2013). A political economy of violence and peace perspective will be adopted to understand the continuities and disconti-nuities between violence in war and in peace. The mechanisms connecting war economies to patterns of human trafficking in post-conflict transition will be analyzed with reference to three main dimensions: the economy, the political processes and the socio-cultural world. Moreover, the transnational and internationalized dimension of both conflicts and human trafficking will be considered. In the era of globalization, indeed, high levels of inequality are deeply entangled with economic but also political and cultural factors and these dimensions can rarely be separated (Peterson and Harcourt, 2016). Multiple interactions between global, regional and local processes are therefore likely to shape the dynamics behind the perpetua-tion of violence.

The main research question this paper tries to answer is: *"How is the political economy of violence, arising during wars, connected to/translated into the continuation of exploitative violence, in the form of human trafficking, in post-war societies?"*

This question is declined in three research objectives:
1. Highlighting how the organization of economic activities during war and transition post-war can be linked to violence in post-war societies and to the development of criminal networks;
2. Understanding which forms human trafficking can take and which subjects are more vulnerable to exploitation, according to the configuration of (economic, political, socio-cultural) power relations arising from postwar transition processes;
3. Investigating the deeper global, regional and local dynamics shaping people's mobility and producing an unequal distribution of vulnerability across groups in society.

All this should provide insights on the link between human trafficking and conflict and on the root causes of trafficking patterns. Both the explosion of a war and the emergence of post-war types of violence can indeed be understood as an expression of underlying unbal-anced relations. A mixed method approach, combining a regression analysis with a country case study is adopted. This approach allows indeed to investigate both general patterns and specific mechanisms bringing about the emergence of violent manifestations at the local level.

1.2   Justification of the research

Understanding the complex dynamics shaping processes of peacebuilding in post-conflict societies is fundamental to elaborate informed interventions and development policies. Cur-rent peacebuilding approaches often fail to bring about a deep transformation in society and lead to the replication of patterns of violence similar to those characterizing the war dynamics (Goodhand and Sedra, 2013). What is missing is perhaps a consideration of the deep struc-tures and relationships in which that violence is embedded (Suchland, 2015). Unveiling the continuity between war and peace through processes of structural violence, as well as their link to the global economy, can thus be helpful to elaborate new peacebuilding approaches in a complex and globalized world, where identities, structures of powers and economic in-equalities are related. The study could, therefore, contribute to the literature on post-conflict

transition as well as to the understanding of global structures of inequality of opportunity that keep shaping people's lives.

At the same time, the research also wants to provide insights on the root causes underlying the persistence of exploitative patterns, as represented by the human trafficking phenomenon. Human trafficking is an increasingly researched topic in many different fields of study. However, different authors have highlighted the lack of empirical analysis concerning this phenomenon and the need for further research in this direction (Russel, 2018). Furthermore, there are still relatively few studies investigating causal mechanisms leading to the emergence and development of human trafficking (Russel, 2018). In this work, the use of the regression analysis and the case-study will be helpful in the analysis of the processes behind these causal links. This study therefore contributes to the development of a more comprehensive approach to understand the conditions leading to the emergence of human trafficking. On the one hand, quantitative data and statistical methods allow to test for the relevance of different influencing factors, therefore enhancing clearer understandings of this complex problem. On the other hand, the use of an in-depth case study helps to provide a more grounded explanation of the issue. Human trafficking is indeed a highly diverse phenomenon that takes different forms in different parts of the world (UNODC, 2020). Moreover, as highlighted in section 1.1, the focus on post-conflict societies is ideal for the investigation of emerging structures of violence, contributing to the unveiling of systemic forms of exploitation. Post-war situations are indeed sites for complex power struggles where multiple actors interact (Väyrynen, 2019). While the responsibility for a failed peace processes is often attributed to local actors, this research can provide insights on the transnational responsibilities behind the continuation of violence as well as on the interconnection between global violent structures and localized patterns of exploitation (LeBaron and Gore, 2020).

Last but not least, promoting a context-based understanding the study contributes to an analysis of vulnerabilities as embedded in and arising from a specific historical, socio-political and economic setting. Often 'vulnerable groups' are identified and targeted in the implementation of development programs but not understanding the origin of that vulnerability prevents from elaborating informed solutions to the problem. All this can thus help reframe the concepts of 'peace' and 'transition', narrowly defined as absence of armed confrontations, toward deeper and more inclusive perspectives on the complex processes behind the reconfigurations of social relationships during moments of crisis (Väyrynen, 2019).

1.3 Ethical considerations

The study of conflict and peace, as well as human trafficking, is political in nature (Cooper, 2005). The way the problem is framed has often important implications for the development of the following analysis and intervention (Hintjens and Zarkov, 2015). As a consequence, studying and researching on these topics can become a very delicate issue. With this in mind, the research will adopt a critical perspective trying to unpack the concepts used and the assumptions behind the propositions. Moreover, the use of different sources should provide with a deep, grounded understanding of the phenomenon as embedded in a wider historical, socio-political and economic scenario.

My interest for this topic comes from encounters I have made with people who found themselves at the intersection of complex power structures, forcing them to move and exposing them to patterns of violence and exploitation. Studying this topic has helped me understand how dehumanization can become possible if sustained by longer histories of discrimination and marginalization.

1.4 Chapters outline

The following chapter will present existing literature on war economies, post-war crime and human trafficking, that will be used to identify analytical strategies to understand the topic. Chapter 3 presents in detail the methodology adopted. A first section of the chapter is dedicated to the regression analysis, a second section to the case study design. Chapter 4 illustrates the finding from the regression analysis, both in terms of relevant factors identified and of different patterns of trafficking and exploitation around the world. Chapter 5 presents the background for the case study on Guatemala, and the findings relative to the two units of analyses. These units seem to provide different, but interconnected, insights on the political economy of violence and peace in the country. The case study is thus used to identify specific dynamics leading to particular configurations of violence in post-war society. Chapter 6 concludes and highlights suggestions for policy recommendations.

Chapter 2
Theoretical framework and Literature Review

The theoretical basis for the current research paper is derived from the assessment of different fields of study, concerned with the exploration of patterns of violence within societies. In particular, the research will combine contributions from conflict and peace studies with specific assessments of the human trafficking phenomenon. This approach can indeed be helpful to develop a comprehensive framework to understand the political economy of violence within post-war societies.

Across the multiple disciplines that have tried to investigate the factors enabling human trafficking and the possible ways to address it, conflict and post-conflict scenarios are usually identified as important sources of heightened risk and vulnerability (Russell, 2018). Indeed, these situations set the stage for the interaction between complex processes and relations that will shape the structure of society for a long time afterward (Muraszkiewicz, Iannelli, Wieltschnig, 2020). However, current peacebuilding strategies as well as approaches to human trafficking have largely focused on individual criminal prosecution, often adopting a 'though-hand' approach against crime, and prioritized short-term stability over the identification of the root causes of the phenomenon (Benson, Fischer and Thomas, 2008, p.39). More recent critical approaches are reshaping the debate over complex economies of violence, highlighting the need to consider human trafficking as related to broader factors and imbalances shaping societies (Blazek, Esson and Smith, 2019). These imbalances become particularly visible during armed conflicts but tend to be 'invisibilized' within the 'post-war' discourse.

The objective of this chapter is to critically interrogate existing literature in order to understand: the failure of current peacebuilding approaches in addressing and transforming structural violence (section 2.1); the role of war economies in shaping post-war transition and society (section 2.2); and, finally, the root causes of patterns of exploitation such as human trafficking, that are particularly pervasive in post-war situations (2.3). In this latter section, the literature review is also used to identify and present mechanisms through which all these dimensions can be linked in order to understand complex processes arising in transition (1.3). A final section (1.4) revises the literature specific to human trafficking in Guatemala and ideas on how the mechanisms are mediated by local factors, institutions and relations.

2.1 Contextualising current approaches to violence and exploitation: the Development and Security agenda and the economic study of wars

As highlighted by Peterson (2014), the shifting geopolitical scenario and power balances arising after the end of the Cold War have led to changing perceptions around international security and development. The end of the bipolar confrontation brought indeed renewed attention for the proliferating scenarios of insecurities around the globe, especially in terms of intrastate wars, international terrorism and migration patterns. As a consequence, managing these tensions became a primary concern for the international community, struggling to preserve the newly asserted 'liberal world order' (Peterson, 2014, p.52). Post-conflict scenarios, in particular, became fertile ground for the justification of invasive interventions in those that were categorized as 'failed' or 'weak' states (Howarth, 2014). A single model of transition was imposed to these countries: the one of the liberal peace. The liberal peace is a conception

of peaceful societies based on Kant (1970)'s 'Perpetual peace' proposal. As presented by Doyle (2005) the liberal peace model rests on the contemporary presence of democratic institutions, economic interdependence and respect for human rights. According to the author these three 'pillars' would explain the maintenance of peace between liberal countries and the pursue of war toward 'illiberal' ones, justified by the protection of human rights and liberal values (Doyle, 2005). However, the identification of threats to liberal values has proved to be an arbitrary process that can mask deeper interests of the interveners (Goodhand and Sedra, 2013). At beginning of 21th century, the peacebuilding agenda became part of a 'project of global governance' legitimized in the name of international security and local development (Peterson, 2014, p.2). However, this agenda has not only erased the deep entanglement of Western countries and the global capitalist economy in the proliferation of localized insecurities (creating a false dichotomy between war and peace economies; Suchland, 2015), but has also resulted in failed transformations of post-war societies, and in the continuation of the patterns of violence characterizing the conflict dynamics (Goodhand and Sedra, 2013). The emergence of contemporary approaches to peace and conflict as well as human trafficking, therefore, needs to be understood in the framework of this increasing approximation of the development and security agendas.

At the same time, the recognition of the complexity and prolonged nature of the crises shaping this period called for new conceptualizations of war and security (Kaldor, 2013). In particular, the literature was marked by an increasing concern around the role of rebels' economic agendas in the unfolding of civil wars. The debate on the economic dimension of war was mainly based on the rational choice approach, explaining the onset of civil wars in terms of a cost-benefit analysis made by the individuals (Murshed, 2010). Within this framework, two main positions emerged: the Greed theory and the Grievance theory [2].

Empirical analyses assessing the two competing theories have highlighted methodological problems with the greed approach, emphasizing the relevance of horizontal inequalities (Koubi and Böhmelt, 2014; Murshed, 2010). However, both greed and grievance approaches have been criticized for being ahistorical and for providing only partial explanations of the complex factors shaping civil war dynamics (Cooper, 2005). Ballentine and Nitzschke (2003) have argued for the need to overcome the contraposition between greed and grievances towards a more integrated approach to the political economy of violence. Suchland (2015), on the other hand, has pointed out that the rational choice approach has often promoted policy actions based exclusively on individual incentives. This focus on individual action and the concerns with security and crime have led to approaches insisting on criminal prosecution and border restrictions but leaving underlying violent structures unchanged (Cooper, 2005). Developing a holistic framework to understand the complexities of violence during both war and peace is therefore fundamental.

Nonetheless the debate on economic agendas in civil war has brought attention to important economic dynamics explaining not only war 'feasibility' but also the prolonged nature of conflicts and the institutionalization of violence as method of economic accumulation (Keen 2012; Kalyvas, 2011). More recent studies on war economies have attempted to integrate agency and structure in the assessment of the political economy of violence and peace. The focus has shifted towards a more integrated consideration of war economies as systems

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[2] The Greed theory explains the onset of civil wars in terms of economic incentives to take up arms, motivated by the individual desire to pursue an improvement of socio-economic conditions (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004). The Grievance theory, on the other hand, emphasizes the role of identity and socio-political inequalities, leading to grievances, that push individuals toward fighting. This second paradigm thus explains civil war onset in terms of justice-seeking motivated actions and relative deprivation or horizontal inequality between groups (Murshed, 2010; Berdal and Malone, 2000).

of actors but also economic and power structures that persist and change over time. Peterson (2014) defines war economies as a system of 'economic relationships and transactions which cause, sustain or prolong periods of physical political violence or instances where actors take advantage of political violence for financial gain' (ibid, p.4). Goodhand (2004), distinguishes between three components of war economies: a coping economy, a shadow economy and a combat economy (ibid, p.157). As highlighted by both authors, war economies therefore involve a broad array of actors and structures, ranging from rebels within the war zone to apparently 'peaceful' economies in the global north (Peterson, 2014, p.5). Moreover, different actors participate in these economies for different reasons. Some are motivated by profit accumulation (shadow economy), others by military and political objectives (combat economy). However, a war economy also encompasses the activities undertaken by those households who are trying to survive or sustain their living in a time of war, where other opportunities and activities may be disrupted (coping economy). Complex relationships of power, then, shape this scenario and are likely to give rise to patterns of vulnerability and exploitation.

The concept of war economy is therefore still very useful if embedded in a more integrated approach, especially because of its role in explaining the reproduction of structures of violence within postwar societies. This research paper contributes to this literature analyzing the mechanisms through which war economies can be linked to patterns of violence and exploitation emerging in postwar transition. The following section will present the state of the literature on the link between war economies, postwar transition and the development of postwar crime and violence.

2.2 Post-war transition, liberal peacebuilding and the persistence of economies of violence

Post war transition is a delicate phase in the 'reconfiguration of social relations' following the destruction caused by a war (Väyrynen, 2019). In this phase, complex dynamics interact producing or reproducing structures and relations that will shape societies for a prolonged period of time. However, the way in which this transition is conceptualized also has a bearing on which aspects of social violence will be resolved and which ones will instead persist in the postwar scenario.

As highlighted in the previous section, the liberal peacebuilding approach, focusing more on ensuring immediate stability and pursuing the interests of the West, has often failed to address the structural causes and tensions underneath the emergence of violence within societies. Instead, it has reproduced the discrimination and marginalization that led to the eruption of conflict in the first place (Howarth, 2014). However, in practice, liberal peacebuilding interventions are far from representing a uniform set of practices. Goodhand and Sedra (2013) have highlighted how these peacebuilding efforts have often been ambiguous, allowing for the coexistence of liberal principles with more coercive and violent attitudes (ibid, p.240). Moreover, these interventions are mediated by resistances and localized processes with historical, cultural and social roots. The dynamic intertwining between liberal interventions and localized war economy is therefore likely to give rise to complex patterns of violence and exploitation. Studying this interaction can thus be helpful to understand the phenomena shaping postwar transition. Appendix 1 presents a multiplicity of studies analyzing how the 'variable geography of the liberal peace' (Goodhand and Sedra, 2013, p.251), interacting with local dynamics, plays a role in the emergence of postwar violence and crime. The main findings of these studies are the followings.

First of all, peacebuilding processes can institutionalize and legitimize criminal networks through the incorporation of criminal elements into state institutions (Newman and Keller,

2007). This often happens due to external interventions that make use of local structures and militias to pursue private interests or through the adoption of neoliberal policies that benefit corrupt elites at the expenses of the rest of the population (Goodhand and Sedra, 2013). Secondly, widespread engagement in the informal economy can result from the incapacity of reconstruction efforts to redress inequalities and provide opportunities of employment for all (Kurtenbach and Rettberg, 2018; Jayasundara-Smits, 2018). Criminal and informal networks thus play, in these contexts, an important function for society, filling the void left by formal institutions. At the same time, however, these informal economies produce increasing vulnerability to violence and exploitation (Bojicic-Dzelilovic, 2013). Third, peacebuilding interventions often promote a model of development which is not inclusive and reproduce inequalities fueling grievances and engagement with criminal organizations (Howarth, 2014; Bojicic-Dzelilovic, 2013). Last but not least, these studies highlight the challenges of dismantling shadow economies arising from war due to their embeddedness in transnational and global markets (Kurtenbach and Rettberg, 2018).

Complex factors such as corruption, economic imbalances and global power structures are thus found to be at the basis of the continuation of violence in post-war societies and the liberal peace approach has often proved to be complicit in reproducing these dynamics. Both war and post-war processes therefore contribute to the criminalization of the economy and the state apparatus. Moreover, this literature has highlighted the importance of considering the interplay between formal, and informal institutions in shaping socio-economic processes, together with historical and socio-political factors (Howarth, 2014). These elements indeed intersect in different ways at the local level giving rise to differentiated patterns of vulnerability and exploitation. The theoretical framework arising from this literature is thus fundamental to understand the continuation of violence after the end of conflict and is used as basis for the analysis of patterns of human trafficking in postwar transitions.

2.3 Human trafficking in post-war scenarios and the link to war economies

An internationally agreed upon definition of human trafficking can be found in art. 3 of the *UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons* and it is synthesized on the UNODC website as: "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of people through force, fraud or deception, with the aim of exploiting them for profit"[3].

However, some authors, such as Blazek et al. (2019), are starting to question the net distinction between recruitment, transportation and exploitation as isolated moments in the lives of the trafficked person. Instead, the authors argue that the focus should be around the "wider set of social, economic, institutional and material relations that underpin and facilitate exploitation across different temporalities and spatialities" (ibid, p.64). Similarly, LeBaron and Gore (2020) have emphasized the importance of going beyond binary distinctions between free and forced labour to promote a more nuanced understanding of (exploitative) labour relations within the framework of global supply chains. Investigating the structural conditions and processes giving rise to situations of vulnerabilities seems therefore to be increasingly recognized as important in order to elaborate adequate responses to the human trafficking problem. Moreover, these critical perspectives shed light on the need to unveil the power relations behind the discourses produced around human trafficking and consider the embeddedness of localized violence in the global political economy (LeBaron and Gore, 2020). As highlighted by Suchland (2015), exploring the role of global economic processes

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[3] UNODC website: https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/human-trafficking.html

and their intersection with gender and racial hierarchies in producing vulnerabilities is indeed important.

Nikolić-Ristanović (2011) has emphasized the importance of considering war dynamics to understand the development of human trafficking. According to the author, indeed, the structural victimization caused by the war is strongly linked to the participation in the informal economy and criminal activities during and after wars. In a survey conducted with traffickers, the researcher highlights how these people joined the business as a result of wounds caused by the war, refugee status or postwar 'economic hardship' (Nikolić-Ristanović, 2011, p. 127). Moreover, different subjects are affected in different ways, depending on the socio-economic position and role played in the war and in society (ibid). Wartime dynamics therefore have important implications for the consolidation of particular social structures that persist in postwar scenarios (ibid). This also relates to the different organizational structures that human trafficking can take, with more profitable participants being more difficult to capture while marginalized subjects are used for the recruitment and transportation of victims (ibid). Furthermore, Nikolić-Ristanović argues that, after the end of a war, 'criminals connected to the ruling elite use privatization to legalize their activities' (ibid, p.127). In this scenarios, human trafficking is often seen as profitable business by these elites (ibid). Moreover, postwar transitions imply a blurry distinction between licit and illicit activities. The latter are indeed normalized as a consequence of the criminalization of entire sets of society and accepted as necessary coping strategy (ibid). As highlighted by the author, this is true in particular for the most marginalized groups, often disproportionally impacted by the structural adjustments imposed by postwar neoliberal policies (ibid). This aspect thus also reflects the social function that the informal economy plays for different groups within postwar societies.

Human trafficking can thus be understood as both a criminal activity and an informal economy. Consequently, the previous review of studies on war economies and postwar crime and informality is useful to frame the theoretical framework for the analysis of human trafficking in post war scenarios. Three mechanisms, linking the political economy of wars to the emergence of human trafficking during transition, can be identified:

1. The persistence of economic structures leading to unequal distribution of resources. This mechanism refers to the enduring legacies of a criminalized economy emerged during war due to the disruption of traditional forms of economic production and the 'self-financing' needs of rebel groups (Nitzschke and Studdard, 2005). As highlighted by the previous literature, during transition, the adoption of certain policies can lead to the consolidation of these criminal networks, leaving certain subjects more vulnerable to exploitation.

2. The configuration of state-society relations during and after the war. This mechanism has to do with the ability of formal institutions to provide for different groups within society as well as with the degree of trust and legitimacy that formal institutions have. This channel is related to the role played by state in perpetrating violence during and after the war and the relation between formal and informal institutions in different geographic areas. Moreover, this mechanism also refers to the adoption of post-war policies that can institutionalize elite corruption and incorporate criminal elements into the state. This can lead to unequal distribution of vulnerabilities and increasing participation in illicit economies as well as to a militarization of whole sections of society.

3. The last mechanism relates to the impact of war economies and militarization processes on identity formation and socialization between groups. These dynamics produce indeed vulnerable subjects against which the use of violence is normalized. This channel therefore has to do with the cultural basis of different forms of exploitation arising during

and after the war. Moreover, this mechanism also refers to the social structures of gender, class, age, race and ethnicity that shape a society and interact with historical processes (such as the role played by an individual during war) to give rise to patterns of vulnerability within society.

These mechanisms can be helpful to understand what makes some subjects more likely to be trafficked or participate in the informal economy, which are the structural conditions behind their victimization and which functions these economies of violence have for society. In other words, this means analyzing how the previous war economy shapes the state, the economy and society during transition, and which are the implications of this link for the development of human trafficking.

2.5 Guatemala

Guatemala is one of the three countries (Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador) constituting the so-called Northern triangle of Central America. In this region, high levels of violence are a well-recognized phenomenon and the geographical position of these countries has made them 'an ideal corridor for trafficking of all sorts' (Pearce, 2016, p.452). Even though Guatemala is classified as upper-middle-income country, based on the GDP per capita level, great part of the population lives in a condition of poverty and malnutrition (World Bank website)[4]. Income and wealth are, indeed, highly unequally distributed between groups in society, with the negative outcomes of this inequality affecting disproportionally more Mayan communities (Bogin, 2022, p.12). Moreover, the state limited contribution to the provision of social services results in systemic unbalances in terms of education, employment and health (ibid). Structural violence seems therefore to be endemic in Guatemalan society, and more specifically takes the form of horizontal inequalities based on ethnicity, class and gender (Canelas and Gisselquist, 2018). This has led to high levels of crime and a prominent development of illicit markets (ibid).

Following what multiple authors have suggested, this research aims to analyze these patterns of violence as connected to the legacies of the long civil war that marked Guatemala's history. The previously presented literature on the institutionalization of criminal networks and development of informal economy can be used as a framework to understand the emergence of violence in Guatemala's post-war scenario. However, the study also needs to consider particular features that are specific to the context under analysis. An historical and socio-political perspective is thus helpful in providing a comprehensive picture. As highlighted by Boerman and Golob (2021), the problem of human trafficking in Guatemala is intrinsically connected to youth gangs. Many lenses can be applied to the study of youth participation in post war violence. Kurtenbach (2014) suggests, for example, that to understand this phenomenon we need to consider youth transition into adulthood in a context of violence and the relation between youth and adult society more in general. Benson, Fischer and Thomas (2008) have emphasized instead the role of state-society relations and in particular the impact of prolonged state-based violence. According to the authors this violence is not only physical but also 'symbolic' and operates through power discourses that blame and 'criminalize certain groups', such as youth or indigenous communities (Benson, Fischer and Thomas, 2008, p.46). This often results in the marginalization of these groups and reproduction of socio-economic inequalities.

With this research, I will try to contribute to the literature on human trafficking in Guatemala, by investigating the link between these exploitative patterns and the violence

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[4] https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/guatemala/overview

experienced by society in the past. Violence and crime need, indeed, to be analyzed from a more integrated framework that considers the structural conditions behind these phenomena and the continuities between different types of violence.

Chapter 3
Methodology

Human trafficking has been studied by multiple disciplines in many different ways (Russel, 2018). Given the purpose of this research, which is concerned with unveiling causal mechanisms and processes producing patterns of human trafficking, a mix-method approach is chosen to best suit the complexities of the topic.

3.1 Research methods and sources of evidence

In a first part of the paper, a simple *regression analysis* is used to investigate the general correlation between conflict and human trafficking and the factors having an impact on this relationship. The regression analysis is useful to test the significance of different variables and establish a relationship which is valid among a large-N sample of observations, that consequently allows for some degree of generalization. This method therefore provides insights around general patterns that may shape the relationship between the two phenomena. On the other hand, the complexity of the phenomenon calls for a grounded and context-based investigation of the mechanisms as they unfold in the reality in which human trafficking emerges. In fact, different patterns of trafficking exist across countries (UNODC, 2020). The main part of the analysis, therefore, is centered around a *country case-study* on Guatemala, which allows to tackle the complex dynamics and mechanisms behind this link. In particular, the strategy of *process-tracing* will be adopted[5]. The combination of the two methods can therefore provide with both insights generalizable to different contexts and a deep analysis of the interaction between global and regional patterns and the local reality.

   The study uses secondary data gathered through the access to global datasets on human trafficking as well as to country-specific reports and documents. The availability and reliability of data on human trafficking remains a big challenge for the development of research in this field. Moreover, given the nature of the phenomenon, data on human trafficking are limited in representativeness. An important attempt at harmonizing and systematizing data on human trafficking comes from the Counter Trafficking Data Collaborative (CTDC) dataset. The dataset is the outcome of an effort by different organizations to improve clarity and promote evidence-based research, and contains data deriving from countries around the world. The dataset covers, in particular, 156,330 individual cases of human trafficking, from 187 nationalities, in 189 countries of exploitation. The data are included starting from the year 2000. Observations are defined in terms of identified cases of victims incorporated into the case-management systems of organizations working in the sector. On the platform, extensive information about the region of origin, type of exploitation and characteristics of the victims is collected [6]. Data on armed conflict is retrieved from the 'UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset'. The dataset covers armed conflicts taking place between 1946 and 2021 and contains information about the type and the intensity level of each conflict registered. Other important sources of information come from reports such as the UNODC 'Global Report on trafficking in persons' published every 2 years. Governments' official websites and other country-specific documents are consulted. Moreover, important insights are retrieved from the engagement with previous literature on both war economies and human trafficking.

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[5] Process tracing is a research technique that consists in the analysis of the processes and mechanisms leading to a certain outcome (Beach and Pederson, 2016).

[6] Global Data Hub on Human Trafficking: https://www.ctdatacollaborative.org

The aim is to combine these literatures in order to elaborate a comprehensive framework to understand human trafficking in post-conflict situations. Furthermore, this focus is helpful to understand the dynamics of complex regional systems of violence, which is key to promote the construction of a 'positive peace' and more equal relations between groups.

3.2 Regression Analysis

3.2.1 Data collection and descriptive statistics

The regression analysis is important to empirically establish a relation between the outcome variable, human trafficking, and the explanatory variables that contribute to cause it. This method thus investigates the main factors found to be relevant across different countries. The analysis uses a variety of datasets on wars, human trafficking and socio-political indicators that are merged by country and year.

The independent variable is an indicator of human trafficking based on the data collected from the CTDC dataset. The indicator takes the form of a dummy variable that can take the value of either 0, if there was no incident of trafficking registered, or 1 if trafficking was present in a given country for a given year. Moreover, the sample is organized around the different types of exploitation possibly experienced by the victim. These include: forced labour, sexual exploitation, forced military, forced marriage, organ removal, slavery practices and 'other' exploitation. Finally, the dataset contains information on the gender, age and nationality of the trafficking victims. Table 1 in Appendix 2 summarizes the characteristics of the trafficked victims included in the dataset, in terms of age, gender and type of exploitation.

The main explanatory variable in the analysis is a measure of the incidence of armed conflict, retrieved from the 'UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset'. Based on these data, I create a dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if an armed conflict is ongoing in the country for a given year and 0 if no armed conflict is registered. Secondly, the analysis investigates the variation in the effect caused by three different types of violent conflict, namely civil wars, internationalized internal conflicts and interstate wars. Furthermore, a measure of the conflict intensity, that can assume a value of either 1 or 2, indicates if the phenomenon experienced was a minor conflict (1) or a war (2). An armed conflict is defined as 'minor' by the UCDP/PRIO dataset if it implies a number of battle-related death between 25 and 999 in a given year. The conflict is, instead, defined as 'war', if at least 1000 battle-related death are caused in a year[7].

The control variables in the regression include:

- a measure of the current GDP per capita of each country in Purchasing Power Parity $. This variable controls for different levels of development and economic wellbeing across countries. Moreover, GDP per capita indicators are correlated to human development and institutional quality indicators and thus also provide information on these two socio-political aspects. These indexes have indeed been proven to move in the same direction. GDP per capita data are collected through the World Development Indicators dataset of the World Bank[8];

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[7] Pettersson, T. (2022), 'UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset Codebook' v 22.1 (https://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/).
[8] International Comparison Program, World Bank, World Development Indicators database, World Bank | Eurostat-OECD PPP Programme.

- a measure of the current Gini index for each country, retrieved from the World Bank databases (World Development Indicators). This constitutes a measure of the degree of inequality in each country and thus represents an important indicator to test the hypothesized mechanism on the internal distribution of resources.
- a variable accounting for region-specific characteristics. The regions by which countries are grouped in the sample are six: Europe, Middle East, Asia, Africa, Americas, Oceania. This variable allows to investigate the role of the regional dimension in shaping trafficking patterns.

The final dataset has 27512 observations and includes 19 variables, with data on 23704 trafficked victims and 11,804 armed conflicts across different regions of the world. Table 17 in Appendix 2 provides the descriptive statistics for the types of conflict, GDP per capita levels and Gini index distributions of the observations included in the sample.

3.2.2 Specification of the model

The regression analysis is based on a cross-sectional model which studies the link between armed conflict and human trafficking across countries.

Two different linear models are estimated. The first investigates the relation between the incidence of trafficking by country of origin and the presence of an ongoing war in that country, controlling for different socio-economic variables. The model includes all countries for which data are available. Both countries with ongoing conflict and countries at peace are considered. After controlling for the effect of the incidence of war, also the role played by conflict type and intensity in contributing to the emergence of trafficking is tested. The specification of this first model will be as following:

$$humantrafficking = conflict\ (incidence/type/intensity) + Gini\_index + GDPpercapita + region + e$$

A second empirical investigation analyses how different types of conflict could be related to different patterns of trafficking and exploitation around the world. I run the regression several times for each type of exploitation and for different types of armed conflict. In particular, the main types of exploitation considered are forced labour and sexual exploitation. The other forms of exploitation are not included because of a lack of available data in the final dataset. This second model takes the following form:

$$typeofexploitation = typeofconflict + Gini\_index + GDPpercapita + region + e$$

Both models thus include a dependent variable in the form of a dummy that can take the value of 0 or 1. This variable is either an overall measure of trafficking incidence (in the first model) or a specific form of exploitation (in the second model).

The timeframe considered in the dataset for the regression analysis is the period 2000-2021. The choice is based on the fact that for that period of time both data on conflict and on human trafficking were available. The results of the regression will be analyzed in relation to the theoretical framework elaborated in dialogue with the existing literature, with a specific attention for the regional dimension of trafficking patterns.

3.3 Case study design

3.3.1 Rationale

The interaction between global and regional dynamics with local realities gives rise to multiple and diverse forms of human exploitation across the world. The use of a case study is, in this sense, pivotal to provide a grounded explanation of the complex dynamics behind the emergence of this phenomenon. The trafficking of persons should indeed be understood as connected to other forms of violence and the political, cultural and economic processes behind them (Muraszkiewicz, Iannelli, Wieltschnig, 2020). In line with these principles, my research paper focuses on an in-depth single-country case study on the patterns of trafficking characterizing Guatemala's post-conflict society. This type of design allows indeed to capture the complexities of the case and conduct an in-depth analysis of the specific local and regional conditions shaping the phenomenon of human trafficking.

The logic behind the case study is to unveil the often invisible continuity between war and peace and the hidden consequences of the processes characterizing post-war transitions on marginalized and vulnerable groups. My research thus works around the concepts of structural violence and horizontal inequality, particularly as they arise in post-conflict scenarios, hampering a meaningful and complete transition to peace. This is done through the identification of causal mechanisms explaining the persistence of violence and the development of human trafficking patterns. The study, therefore, aims to be explanatory in nature. The hypothesized mechanisms elaborated in dialogue with the literature will be confronted with the empirical evidence collected for the case study. However, at the same time, the study will highlight the importance of combining the two fields of research. With this paper, I therefore try to contribute to both theory testing and theory development. Given the complex and interacting factors underlying the emergence of exploitative activities, the development of a comprehensive approach to the issue is indeed fundamental. Accordingly, the process tracing technique is adopted to shed light on the mechanisms connecting these factors to the development of human trafficking.

3.3.2 Data collection and analysis

The study combines quantitative data with more qualitative assessments of the issue in the local context, as arising from reports and other country-specific documents. The use of reports and previous research is fundamental to understanding the story behind the numbers. Particularly relevant is the final report of the Guatemalan Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH)[9], that worked to understand the complex processes and factors shaping the eruption and development of the civil war.

The evidence collected is then analyzed with reference to the mechanisms and hypotheses identified through the exploration of previous literature. The combination of approaches and perspectives on post-conflict transitions and human trafficking yields indeed important insights on the way complex mechanisms play a role in shaping human trafficking. This approach will therefore be useful to develop a comprehensive understanding of the problem and a theoretical framework in which the data can be analyzed. Moreover, the previously conducted regression analysis will highlight general patterns and potentially relevant factors that will also be assessed in the local context through the development of the case study. The time frame considered for the analysis is 10 years after the signing of the peace agreements.

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[9] https://hrdag.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/CEHreport-english.pdf

3.3.3 Case selection strategy

The selection of the case of Guatemala is the outcome of a process of investigation based on a set of criteria, that are in line with the main research question and objectives of the study. To be relevant to my research, the case needed indeed to respect certain conditions. First of all, the country had to be an example of a post-conflict society (the war should be formally 'ended'). In particular, I focused mainly on countries marked, in the past, by 'civil wars' or 'internationalized internal conflicts' (Pettersson, 2022). Secondly, the country had to be a country of origin for the trade in persons, as this characteristic allows me to study internal dynamics in the organization of the economy and society shaping human trafficking patterns. Last but not least, the choice is also the outcome of a consideration of the availability of data on human trafficking, which by nature are often quite limited. The process of case selection was therefore characterized by a deductive type of reasoning useful to identify a setting in which testing the hypothesized mechanisms would be possible. At the same time, however, the hypotheses are revised and adjusted to the local context progressively while looking at the empirical evidence collected and the literature on the topic.

In addition to all these criteria, the case of Guatemala seems to be particularly interesting for several reasons. The country has indeed a dramatic history of a 36 years-long civil war, that is likely to have deeply shaped the organization of social and economic structures. Moreover, high levels of crime characterize Guatemala's post-conflict scenario. This makes it a 'typical case' (Gerring, 2007) exemplifying Latin American countries, where violence has a strong economic but also political nature. On the other hand, human trafficking in Guatemala results to be deeply entangled with criminal gangs, thus becoming also a 'crucial case' (Gerring, 2007) to investigate the criminal dimension of trafficking but also the power discourses in which victims of trafficking can be identified as 'criminals' according to the interests of those in power. Last but not least, human trafficking in Guatemala strongly affects young people, who are one of the most 'vulnerable' groups in post-conflict scenarios.

The analysis is based on the assessment of two specific units of analysis: Guatemala-city and the municipality of Ixcán in the department of Quiché. The municipality of Ixcán, situated in the Western highlands of the country at the border with Mexico, was one of the most impacted by military violence during the war, due to the large presence of indigenous populations in the area. Guatemala-city is instead the political and economic centre of the country, and was consequently the site of multiple tensions during the years of the war and post-war transition. These two areas of the country therefore experienced the impact of the Guatemalan civil war in very different ways. Studying the dynamics leading to the development of post-war exploitation and trafficking in those areas is thus likely to provide interesting insights into the complex political economy of violence of post-war Guatemala.

Chapter 4
Regression Analysis Results

The regression analysis is useful to establish some degree of correlation between the two phenomena of human trafficking and armed conflict across countries. This analysis allows indeed to observe general patterns (geographical distribution, types of exploitation, gender, age) of trafficking and the factors having an impact on them (economic development of the country, income distribution, incidence and type of war). Moreover, since this part of the study considers the relation between human trafficking and ongoing armed conflicts, also the correlation which is not found can say something about the development of trafficking patterns. Countries of origin of human trafficking that are not in war can indeed testify the presence of mechanisms underlying the continuation and persistence of violence in times of 'peace'. This chapter presents the main findings of the analysis as well as its limitations.

4.1 Human trafficking and armed conflict across the world: factors of vulnerability

As highlighted in the descriptive statistics section of the methodology (Appendix 2), in the dataset adopted for the regression analysis, 95% of the times an armed conflict was registered, also a human trafficking case was identified. However, the opposite is not true. 53% of the cases of trafficking are registered in countries that are not characterized by ongoing wars according to the definition of conflict adopted in the dataset. These two trends might suggest that very often armed conflict brings about human trafficking, but that trafficking causes cannot be reduced to the presence of armed conflict. This is in accordance with the logic of the research paper that wants to investigate the continuation of trafficking in times of 'peace'. This complex phenomenon is indeed sustained by the interplay between multiple local, regional and global dynamics and by violent structures common to both peaceful and war-torn societies. The results from the regression analysis confirm this hypothesis and highlight the need for a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to the problem. At the same time, the regression results constitute a good basis to identify the main factors creating vulnerability to trafficking.

4.1.1 Incidence of armed conflict

According to the first baseline regression the incidence of armed conflict in a country increases the probability of being exposed to trafficking by 1.7 percentage points. The coefficient is statistically significant at the 1% level, controlling for the level of current PPP GDP per capita of the country, the Gini index and region-specific characteristics. This result is important because it establishes a first correlation between the two phenomena under study. However, arguably, the magnitude of the coefficient is not very big, thus suggesting the need to keep in mind other factors contributing to the emergence of trafficking. The relatively small magnitude of the marginal effects can be explained considering that more than half of trafficking cases were registered in countries where conflict was not present. Analyzing the characteristics of these 'peaceful' countries might thus be interesting to investigate other factors creating vulnerability to trafficking. However, we should also consider that these factors can also be indirectly related to conflict and violence, as this paper is trying to argue. As table 12 in Appendix 2 shows, the countries where trafficking originated in times of peace are characterized by some similarities. These countries are mainly from eastern Europe and Asia

(Table 11, Appendix 2) and are all low- and middle-income countries. Moreover, most of these countries are characterized by a past of violence and structural inequalities, due to colonial history, external incursions or civil wars. Many of these countries were, in fact, shaped by wars before and/or after the year when the human trafficking observation is registered. As a consequence, it is important to keep in mind that even if countries are not formally at war, conflict can be latent and re-emerge in other forms or other periods of time. Human trafficking in these contexts cannot therefore be completely disconnected from violence and from the regional and global imbalanced relations that sustain it. Patterns of trafficking are indeed likely to origin from these countries and move toward 'richer' neighborhoods, providing the 'cheap labour' necessary for the development of other regions of the world (Cockburn, 2013, p.435).

Table 1
Linear regression - conflict incidence

humantrafficking	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
conflictpres	.017	.003	6.31	0	.011	.022	***
GDP	0	0	-98.01	0	0	0	***
Gini	-.005	0	-11.50	0	-.006	-.004	***
Region	-.058	.003	-21.77	0	-.063	-.052	***
Constant	1.415	.01	144.92	0	1.396	1.435	***

Mean dependent var	0.945		SD dependent var	0.227	
R-squared	0.371		Number of obs	20388	
F-test	3009.150		Prob > F	0.000	

*** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

Source: Author's estimation

4.1.2 Type of conflict and conflict intensity

Different types of conflict seem to impact differently the likelihood of falling victim of trafficking. Interstate conflicts, in fact, decrease the likelihood of trafficking by 74 percentage points, as compared to no conflict being present at all. This may be due to the fact that in the time frame considered, interstate conflicts were very few, and are thus not highly correlated with trafficking. However, this may also be due to the fact that war implies disruption of different activities, including data collection activities by the organizations working in the sector of human trafficking. As a consequence, certain patterns going on may not be visible during war. After the end of the conflict, on the other hand, trafficking patterns may become visible again and rise with respect to wartime. On the contrary, civil wars and internationalized internal conflict increase the likelihood of trafficking by 2.2 and 1.3 percentage points respectively. All coefficients are statistically significant at the 1% level (***).

Exploring the role of conflict intensity, on the other hand, provides further insights on the possible factors shaping the link. In the case of human trafficking incidence in general (across types of exploitation), 'minor conflict' (level 1) increases likelihood of trafficking by 2.2 percentage points, but the marginal effect of 'war intensity' (level 2) does not seem to be statistically significant. The baseline for the comparison is 'no conflict'.

Table 2
Linear regression – conflict type

humantrafficking	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
type : base 0	0	.	.	.	.	.	
2	-.744	.068	-10.93	0	-.877	-.61	***
3	.022	.003	6.34	0	.015	.028	***
4	.013	.003	3.82	0	.006	.019	***
GDP	0	0	-96.13	0	0	0	***
Gini	-.005	0	-12.01	0	-.006	-.004	***
Region	-.056	.003	-21.04	0	-.061	-.051	***
Constant	1.425	.01	137.83	0	1.404	1.445	***

Mean dependent var	0.945		SD dependent var		0.227	
R-squared	0.375		Number of obs		20388	
F-test	2040.141		Prob > F		0.000	

*** $p<.01$, ** $p<.05$, * $p<.1$

Source: Author's estimation

Table 3
Linear regression – conflict intensity

humantrafficking	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
intensity: base 0	0	.	.	.	.	.	
1	.021	.003	7.21	0	.015	.026	***
2	.006	.004	1.45	.147	-.002	.014	
GDP	0	0	-97.47	0	0	0	***
Gini	-.005	0	-12.03	0	-.006	-.004	***
Region	-.056	.003	-21.08	0	-.062	-.051	***
Constant	1.424	.01	141.32	0	1.405	1.444	***

Mean dependent var	0.945		SD dependent var		0.227	
R-squared	0.372		Number of obs		20388	
F-test	2411.249		Prob > F		0.000	

*** $p<.01$, ** $p<.05$, * $p<.1$

Source: Author's estimation

4.1.3 Income level and distribution

The signs of the GDP per capita and Gini coefficient are both negative but their magnitude is very small. The negative sign of the GDP coefficient indicates that when a country grows the likelihood of observing trafficking decreases. Moreover, GDP per capita also reflects the level of human development and institutional quality in the country. Similarly, these two factors are likely to be negatively correlated with trafficking. The very small magnitude of the coefficient may be due to the fact that countries in which trafficking is present do not differ much in terms of GDP per capita level between them. Indeed, no country in the dataset with a GDP per capita higher than 21605.84 $ is a country of origin of trafficking victims.

Curiously an increase in the Gini index decreases the probability of trafficking. According to hypothesized mechanisms we would have expected the opposite. However, we need to consider that the Gini index account for vertical inequality between social classes but not for horizontal inequality between ethnic groups. As a consequence, there may be some relation

in that direction. The case study will highlight how horizontal inequality can play a role in the distribution of vulnerabilities to trafficking.

4.1.4 Region of origin

As showed by the regional distribution of the sample (Appendix 2), human trafficking impacts geographical regions of the world differently. To control for these spatial patterns in the current analysis, I take the Americas (region 5) as baseline and compare the marginal effects of the other regions. The regional coefficient is statistically significant and has a large magnitude in all six regions. Living in Europe, for example, increases by 24 percentage points the risk of being trafficked. The Middle East and Oceania are instead negatively correlated with trafficking, reflecting the few cases registered in the dataset. Trafficking in Asia instead is 24 percentage points more likely than in the Americas, while living in Africa increases the likelihood of being trafficked by 10 percentage points with respect to the Americas. However, these results may not reflect the actual magnitude of the phenomenon in certain regions of the world. Data on trafficking are indeed collected more intensively in certain regions and estimates are by nature uncertain. Moreover, these patterns are likely to differ across types of exploitation. The next section will investigate more specifically this relation.

4.2 General patterns and dynamics: different types of conflict and specific forms of exploitation

As highlighted by the descriptive statistics (Appendix 2), different patterns of exploitation seem to be present across regions of the world. According to the current sample, sexual exploitation is more present in Europe (56%); forced labour, on the other hand, seems more concentrated in Asia (65%) (table 6 in Appendix 2). It is therefore interesting to investigate the factors influencing the relation between conflict and each specific type of exploitation. This section analyses in particular forced labour and sexual exploitation as these are the two categories with more observations in the sample. Data on 'forced military', 'slavery practices', 'organ removal', 'other exploitation' and 'forced marriage' in the final dataset, on the other hand, were not enough to identify a significant marginal effect (not many cases were registered). For this reason, they are not considered in the analysis.

4.2.1 Forced labour

Forced labour is positively associated with the incidence of armed conflict. The country being in conflict increases indeed by 2.2 percentage points the likelihood of a person to fall victim of trafficking. More specifically, civil wars increase the likelihood of trafficking being registered by 16.4 percentage points. Curiously, on the other hand, internationalized internal conflict seem to reduce the probability of trafficking by 9.5 percentage points, with respect to a country with no conflict at all. GDP per capita and Gini are both statistically significant but the effect is almost null.

A consideration of the effect of different degrees of conflict intensity highlights, then, other dynamics at play. Curiously, minor conflict increases the likelihood of forced labour by 7.6 percentage points, while if conflict intensity reaches war levels, forced labour decreases by 11 percentage points. This is possibly connected to the fact that war disturbs formal as well as informal economic activities, shifting patterns of forced labour towards other activities such as crime or recruitment in the military. Moreover, forced labour patterns are particularly difficult to distinguish from formal patterns of labour in these settings. However, when the intensity level of the armed conflict is low, human trafficking seems to thrive.

Table 4
Forced labour and conflict type

forcedlabour2	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
: base 0	0	.	.	.	.	.	
3	.164	.008	20.25	0	.148	.18	***
4	-.095	.007	-12.71	0	-.11	-.08	***
GDP	0	0	-13.53	0	0	0	***
Gini	.014	.001	12.00	0	.012	.016	***
Region	.096	.007	13.38	0	.082	.11	***
Constant	-.008	.029	-0.29	.772	-.064	.048	
Mean dependent var		0.476	SD dependent var			0.499	
R-squared		0.381	Number of obs			19274	
F-test		2371.983	Prob > F			0.000	

*** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

Source: Author's estimation

Table 5
Forced labour and conflict intensity

forcedlabour2	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
intensity : base 0	0	.	.	.	.	.	
1	.076	.007	11.67	0	.063	.089	***
2	-.116	.009	-12.94	0	-.134	-.099	***
GDP	0	0	-20.08	0	0	0	***
Gini	.017	.001	14.45	0	.014	.019	***
Region	.095	.007	13.12	0	.081	.109	***
Constant	-.028	.029	-0.96	.335	-.084	.029	
Mean dependent var	0.476		SD dependent var		0.499		
R-squared	0.373		Number of obs		19274		
F-test	2296.798		Prob > F		0.000		

*** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

Source: Author's estimation

4.2.2 Sexual exploitation

Sexual exploitation presents some peculiar results. Contrarily to what expected, the incidence of conflict is negatively correlated with sexual exploitation, decreasing its likelihood by 6 percentage points. The effect is even bigger if we consider different types of armed conflict. Civil war reduces trafficking for sexual exploitation by 15 percentage points, internationalized internal conflict by 5.2. The coefficient for interstate conflict is not statistically significant but it is again negative.

Conflict intensity follows the same pattern. Minor conflict decreases the likelihood of trafficking by 13 percentage points, while war level is not statistically significant. These results reflect the sample, indicating that 56% of sexual exploitation cases were registered in Europe (region 1), and that 87% of sexual exploit cases originated from outside of ongoing conflict areas (table 16 Appendix 2). However, this result should be nuanced considering that most of the country of origin in the sample were countries with a past of war and sometimes with

precarious socio-economic conditions. Moreover, sexual exploitation is intrinsically connected to gender structures that are transversal to war and peace societies and may sustain the continuation of violence against certain subjects. However, as highlighted by multiple studies war and militarization usually worsen the configuration of unbalanced gender structures and the link between these phenomena and sexual harassment has been extensively documented (UN Secretary-General, 2020). As a consequence, we would expect sexual exploitation to be highly correlated to war. The result of the present analysis is thus dubious and possibly related to the availability and distribution of data.

Table 6
Sexual exploitation and conflict type

sexualexploit	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
Type : base 0	0	.	.	.	.	.	
3	-.157	.005	-29.15	0	-.167	-.146	***
4	-.052	.005	-10.58	0	-.062	-.043	***
GDP	0	0	-20.43	0	0	0	***
Gini	.012	.001	15.72	0	.01	.013	***
Region	-.084	.005	-17.75	0	-.094	-.075	***
Constant	.055	.019	2.92	.004	.018	.093	***
Mean dependent var	0.078		SD dependent var		0.269		
R-squared	0.061		Number of obs		19274		
F-test	251.824		Prob > F		0.000		

*** $p<.01$, ** $p<.05$, * $p<.1$

Source: Author's estimation

Table 7
Sexual exploitation and conflict intensity

sexualexploit	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
: base 0	0	.	.	.	.	.	
1	-.138	.004	-32.35	0	-.147	-.13	***
2	0	.006	-0.06	.954	-.012	.011	
GDP	0	0	-18.90	0	0	0	***
Gini	.013	.001	17.24	0	.011	.014	***
Region	-.093	.005	-19.58	0	-.102	-.083	***
Constant	.024	.019	1.27	.203	-.013	.061	
Mean dependent var	0.078		SD dependent var		0.269		
R-squared	0.074		Number of obs		19274		
F-test	307.418		Prob > F		0.000		

*** $p<.01$, ** $p<.05$, * $p<.1$

Source: Author's estimation

4.3 Limitations

The regression analysis presents a series of methodological challenges. First of all, the lack of accurate data on the phenomenon of trafficking influence the reliability of the results. The data used are based on the identified trafficked victims. As a consequence, the analysis

excludes all victims of trafficking not identified, that, given the complexity and invisibility of the phenomenon are likely to be numerous. Moreover, since victims are identified more often in certain contexts due to the presence of organizations working in the sector, data could be biased towards these areas and not account for the real amount of victims in contexts in which cases are more difficultly identified. In contexts of war, for example, data collection may be disrupted and many cases can be overlooked, especially if trafficking happens within the borders of the country/region at war. The results of the previous analysis are thus likely to be underestimated.

Secondly, the regression analysis is useful to verify the existence of a correlation between the two phenomena but does not shed light on the concrete mechanisms leading to the development of trafficking patterns. Given the complexity of the problem, the intersection of a multiplicity of causes is likely to be at the basis of the phenomenon, and not a single factor or a set of factors disconnected from one another. To investigate such mechanisms is thus necessary to have a closer look to the historical and socio-political processes that ground patterns of violence at the local level. For this reason, the country case study can be useful to improve our understanding of how this link materializes in concrete realities.

Third, the conceptualization of conflict and human trafficking needed to conduct a regression analysis may be problematic. As highlighted above, many countries in which trafficking was recorder were not identified as marked by ongoing conflict, but a closer look highlights that they were indeed characterized by multiple types of violence. Indeed, if not in the form of war, violence may be present at the structural level, also through regional and global unbalances. Furthermore, trafficking can indeed arise or thrive at the end of a conflict, as a consequence of the disruption and displacement caused by the war. At the same time, human trafficking is a complex phenomenon that emerges in multiple forms that extend within a continuum of more or less exploitative relations, and sometimes difficult to include into fixed categories (LeBaron and Gore, 2020). Conceptualizing trafficking and conflict is therefore tricky, and representing the nuances existing in real life may not be possible with a regression analysis. The relationship between trafficking and armed conflict is thus likely to be way stronger and operates also through other, indirect channels.

The regression analysis gives an idea of the possible links between armed conflict and human trafficking as well as of the connections that can exist between different types of violence. However, in order to assess the complexities of the phenomenon it is helpful to combine a quantitative approach with qualitative assessments that investigate the mechanisms leading to the emergence of trafficking patterns.

Chapter 5
Case study Findings

5.1 Historical and socio-political background

5.1.1 The Guatemalan civil war and the unevenness of conflict

Guatemala's history has been shaped by a 36 years-long civil war that has strongly impacted the lives of local communities. The beginning of the war has deep-seated motivations. The authoritarian and patrimonial state, emerging from the colonial past of Guatemala, was indeed based on the prioritization of the interests of economic elites and on the racial discrimination and exploitation of the indigenous population (Eckhardt, 2005). The situation in the country escalates in 1954, when the reformist government presided by Jacobo Arbenz is overthrown by a CIA-supported military coup[10] and state terror is consolidated in the country (Girón, 2007; Levenson-Estrada, 2013).

The war was characterized by extreme levels of militarization across all sectors of society and by varying degrees of state violence across municipalities, with indigenous populations impacted disproportionally more (CEH, 2012). Groups of Mayan ethnicity, in particular, were targeted for military action due to their conflation with guerrilla groups and resistance movements (Oglesby and Ross, 2009). The anti-communist discourse of the Cold-war period also played a role in the construction of these communities as 'internal enemy' (ibid, p.28) against which indiscriminate use of violence was legitimized. This violence increased in particular during the 1980s, when military interventions led to the extermination of a large number of indigenous communities and to the displacement of the survivors (Smith, 1990).

The armed conflict started to de-escalate in 1986, when the first elections after the beginning of the war took place. The peace agreement was signed in 1996 and included provisions for the recognition of indigenous identity and rights as well as plans for a more equal distribution of resources (Girón, 2007). A Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH) was instituted, in order to shed light on the root causes of the war and on the atrocities committed during these years. The final report of the Commission, entitled "Guatemala: Memory of Silence" (CEH, 2012), is an important source of information to understand the complex political economy of the conflict. The investigation by the CEH led to the recognition of the genocidal nature of the acts committed by the military in the most violent phase of the war, between 1980 and 1983 (CEH, 2012, p.39). However, ethnic and racial exclusion and discrimination have continued in the postwar context and have been accompanied by new emerging patterns of violence (Girón, 2007).

As highlighted by Kurtenbach (2007), Guatemala has constituted one of the first 'laboratory for liberal peacebuilding' (Kurtenbach, 2007, p. 23). Understanding the re-emergence of violence in the post-war scenario thus requires analyzing complex global and local processes shaping people's mobility and access to opportunities. The next section presents the main forms of crime in post-war Guatemala, while section 5.2 investigates the role of war economies and post-war transition in producing the continuation of this violence.

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[10] The coup was a reaction to the agricultural reforms introduced by the government, that were posing a threat to the interests of wealthy Guatemalans as well as U.S. investors, among which the United Fruit Company (Girón, 2007). The conflict was therefore characterized from the beginning by a large degree of implication of external actors and interests in the local context.

5.1.2 Post-war crime and human trafficking

The post-war scenario of Guatemala is marked by the persistence of deep horizontal inequalities between groups, that are accompanied by increasing levels of crime as well as by the emergence of new patterns of violence [11]. These trends can be seen as indicator of persisting tensions within society that go beyond the armed confrontation. Human trafficking in Guatemala should thus be considered within this framework and as connected to the other types of violence. Indeed, criminal and violent structures at the local, regional and global level have strong implications for people's mobility both in physical and socio-economic terms and thus contribute to the emergence of exploitative patterns (Seelke,2016, p.7).

Figure 1
Homicide rates between 1990-2006 (per 100,00 population)
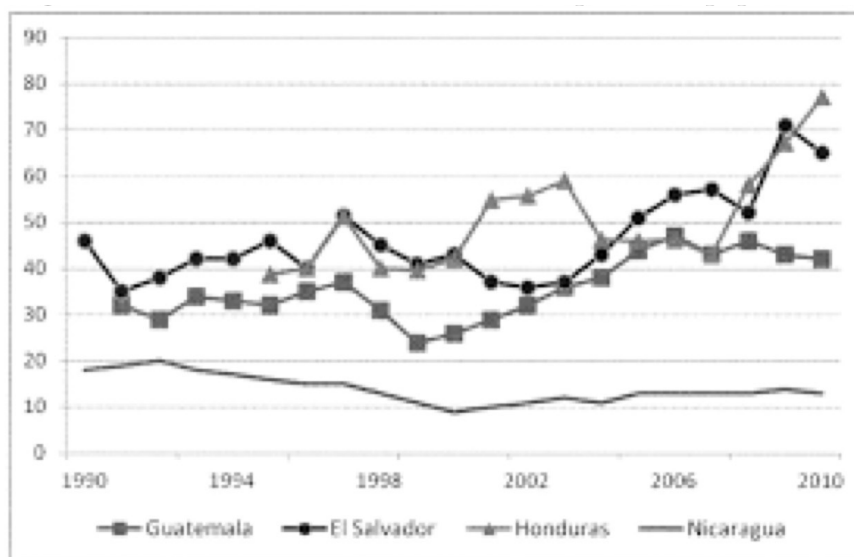
Source: Cruz 2011

Guatemala is a country of origin, transit and destination for the trafficking in persons (Agudelo, 2012, p.44). Given the central and strategic position of the country, trafficking routes go through the territory from South to North, connecting Central American countries to Mexico and the U.S. (ibid). Between 2004 and 2011, Guatemalan Public Ministry has identified a total of 1215 victims of trafficking on the national territory (UNHCR, 2013). However, cases have been registered in a more systematic way only starting from 2008-2009, when the first law especially dedicated to human trafficking was introduced[12]. Moreover, cases of trafficking are rarely denounced in the country, due to lack of trust in public institutions and lack of justice enforcement efforts (UNICEF, 2016). The number of victims in the previous years is thus likely to be substantively higher.

A large part of the victims in the country is constituted by children and adolescents, that are subject to sexual exploitation, sex tourism, child pornography and illegal adoption as well as forced recruitment in criminal gangs, while adults are more likely to be exploited for forced

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[11] Between 2000 and 2010, the homicide rates in Guatemala dramatically rose from 25.5 to 62.0 for 100 million habitants (Agudelo, 2012). In 2006, 432 gangs groups were registered in Guatemala (ibid, 2012, p.44).

[12] *Ley contra la Violencia Sexual, Explotación y Trata de Personas*, Decreto 9-2009 del Congreso de la República.

labour (Agudelo, 2012). However, many variation and nuances exist, and often multiple types of exploitation are experienced within a same period of time. Moreover, exploitative patterns vary across regions, given the specific configuration of socio-economic relations in the local communities. The majority of the cases in Guatemala have been registered at the borders with neighboring countries (especially Mexico) and in the capital city (UNHCR, 2013; Espach et al., 2011).

The observation of the two units of analysis chosen for the case study has highlighted different ways in which trafficking patterns can be linked to the local and regional scenario of violence and crime. In Guatemala-city, human trafficking is connected to the phenomenon of gangs. As highlighted by Boerman and Golob (2021), gangs presence implies a particular type of human trafficking, in which young people are often forced to take part in gangs' agendas and commit criminal activities. This leads, according to the authors, to processes of 'double victimization' of those individuals who not only are forced to participate in crime but are also prosecuted and condemned by state authorities (ibid, p.254). On the other hand, numerous studies have argued that very few members of gangs are coerced, while the majority actively chooses to engage with them (Cruz et al., 2020). Even in these cases, however, the conditions of structural violence in which people live and the lack of other opportunities means that engagement with criminal networks may be the only choice. This debate calls for more nuanced conceptualizations of trafficking that consider the socially constructed and context-specific meanings that 'coercion' can take (Boerman and Golob, 2021, p. 251). Given the vulnerability that structural conditions produce, discerning between 'victims' and 'perpetrators' is indeed difficult in postwar contexts. To understand the role of youth and gangs in the perpetuation of violence is therefore fundamental to consider both war dynamics and post-war processes shaping social relations among different age and gender groups.

In the Ixcán municipality, and more generally in the Western highlands, trafficking is more connected to drug cartels and migrant smuggling networks. The link to organized crime can possibly highlight that the incentives sustaining these violent patterns are more economic in nature, rather than political. Indeed, due to its location, the municipality has historically been a channel for out-migration and trade flows (McAllister and Nelson, 2013). This characteristic however makes it also exposed to human trafficking patterns. Nonetheless, to understand the emergence of trafficking in this context, the historical and sociopolitical background of the country is still very relevant. The area was indeed one of the most impacted by military incursions. Moreover, this case sheds light on the regional dimension of human trafficking in Guatemala, since new actors, such as Mexican drug cartels, have contributed to the proliferation of trafficking activities in the area during post-war transition (Seelke,2016, p.7).

Both local and regional dynamics therefore shape mobility in Guatemala, giving rise to differentiated patterns of crime and violence. However, the complexity and transnational nature of human trafficking also calls for a consideration of the global power structures sustaining these dynamics. Accordingly, the next sections investigate the intersection between local, regional and global processes sustaining the emergence of exploitative patterns within the Guatemalan society.

Map 1

Number of massacres registered per department during the war
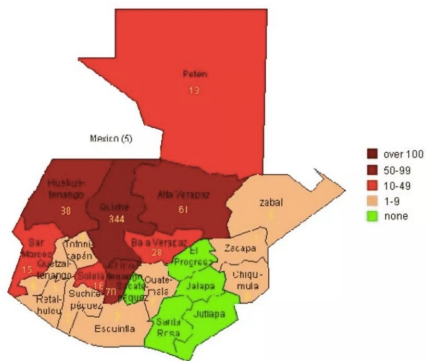
Source: CEH,1999. Retrieved from:
https://www.mcgill.ca/traumaglobalhealth/
countries/guatemala/profile/civilwar

Map 2

Distribution of indigenous groups, 2001
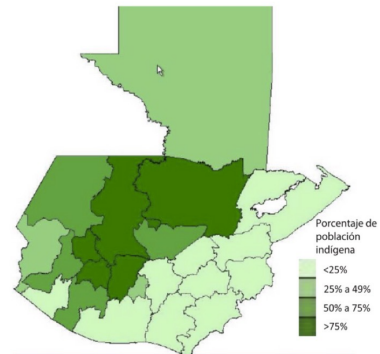
Source: OPS-GUT, 2016. Retrieved from:
https://datapopalliance.org/covid19/c19global
southobservatory/guatemala/

Map 3

Poverty level by department
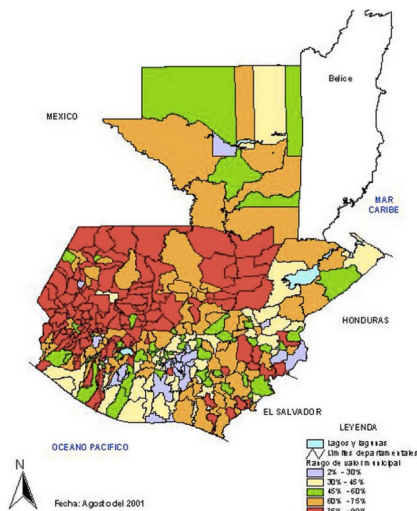
Source: Valladares Cerezo, 2003.
https://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpuprojects/
Global_Report/pdfs/Guatemala.pdf

5.3 Connecting human trafficking and war economies

Human trafficking in Guatemala is favoured by the existence of consolidated transnational criminal networks through which people can or are forced to move. However, mobility has also a social dimension which is related, not to physical movement, but to the ability of people to ameliorate their socio-economic position. This perspective is in line with Blazek et al. (2019) idea that human trafficking arises from longer histories of social '(im)mobilization' (p.73) and that to understand this phenomenon is necessary to look at the deeper dynamics making it possible. Both physical and socio-economic structures thus contribute to the emergence of exploitative relations. This section investigates what happens during transition that leads to the reproduction of violence and the emergence of trafficking patterns.

2.1 Economic disruption, horizontal inequality and the criminalization of the economy

Guatemala's colonial history has institutionalized a way of governance based on the discrimination and exploitation of the indigenous majority by 'ladino' elites. High degrees of horizontal inequality, therefore, cut across all sectors of society both before and after the civil war (Canelas and Gisselquist, 2018). At the same time, the uneven distribution of direct violence during the war plays an important role in the consolidation of these unequal socio-economic arrangements shaping people's mobility and vulnerability to exploitation (Girón, 2007). Analyzing these processes is thus fundamental to understand the link between trafficking and the previous war economies.

The impact of the war on the Guatemalan economy has indeed been devastating, with long-lasting implications for the criminalization of the economy and the distribution of vulnerabilities in the country. In the Ixcán municipality, in particular, the devastating effects of military interventions led to the destruction of traditional forms of economic production, based on agriculture and trade (Smith, 1990). Indigenous communities, were often destroyed or displaced and concentrated in more 'controllable' areas called 'agrarian development zones' (Solano, 2013, p.124), where economic and land restructuring was implemented. These plans in practice dispossessed local populations allowing for the intromission of external economic actors in the area (Smith, 1990). The violent operations of the army therefore came together with a specific model of development that worsened already unbalanced economic relations, concentrating even more resources in the hands of a few powerful actors. Moreover, the loss of land forced indigenous groups to work in other, often informal, sectors or to find 'wage labour' solutions, becoming more and more dependent by private actors (Smith, 1990). These dynamics thus resulted in heightened vulnerability to exploitation and risk of engagement with criminal networks.

At the same time, the displacement caused by mass atrocities pushed a lot of people to migrate. This often resulted in their incorporation, both during and after the war, into smuggling networks that connect Guatemala's borders to Mexico and the U.S., heightening their vulnerability to trafficking (Seelke, 2016). In this scenario, an important role is played by drug cartels and other criminal organizations strongly present in border areas. While these networks have ancient roots in the country, and in Central America more in general, war dynamics played an important role in their consolidation and institutionalization (Kurtenbach, 2007). The conditions of deregulation created by the war, allowed indeed different actors to pursue private interests, thus fueling the expansion of a shadow economy (ibid). Moreover, the same military members were often involved in criminal activities, contributing to the consolidation of important trafficking routes in the area, that constitute the basis for the postwar proliferation of crime and human trafficking (Espach et al.,2011). These networks

have been de facto legitimized in the postwar period through privatization policies, implemented under pressure of Western countries (Kurtenbach, 2007, p.21). Moreover, the demobilization of militants was not followed by effective reintegration, since employment opportunities were scarce in the formal sector (ibid). This pushed many ex-combatants and military commanders to engage with criminal groups even after the end of the war, while maintaining strong connections with political elites. The combination of these processes therefore led to increasing corruption and criminalization of both the state apparatus and the civil society (Smith, 1990). As a consequence, violence and human trafficking have proliferated in the context of Guatemala.

At the same time, new dynamics have emerged in the postwar context, such as a progressive shift of violent patterns from the border areas towards the urban centres of the country (Rodgers, 2009). The displacement of the war, indeed, also resulted in internal migration toward the cities. In Guatemala-city subsequent migratory waves led to the progressive building and expansion of 'precarious settlements' around the urban centre (Benson, Fischer, and Thomas, 2008). The movement of people caused by the war thus reshaped the urban scenario leading to the creation of a 'borderland' in the capital itself. This is a space of tension, neglect and conflict, where the same inequalities and violent economic structures of the highlands are reproduced (Rodgers, 2009). Consequently, violence has re-emerged in new forms in this area. Street gangs, in particular, started emerging in the capital around the '80s, as a consequence of the repatriation policies adopted by the U.S., that resulted in the importation of gang structures from South California (Cruz et al., 2020). The war and post-war context of Guatemala favoured the proliferation of these gangs. Post-war reconstruction efforts indeed did not result in the creation of formal employment opportunities, leading to widespread engagement in criminal activities, that especially involved youth marginalized in the periphery (Benson, Fischer and Thomas, 2008).

However, the shift of violent patterns from rural to urban areas also reveals global and regional dynamics that highly impact socio-economic structures and mobility in the country. The explosion of tensions in the city expresses indeed a gap existing between the expectations created by modernization processes and their ability to include and benefit everyone (Rodgers, 2009, p.960). The post-war period saw indeed the intervention of multiple international actors that shaped reconstruction efforts, providing aid and imposing conditions. Peacebuilding efforts were again unevenly distributed with financial flows accruing more to the cities than in rural areas (Pearce, 2016, p.457). At the same time, in a period of increasing globalization, post-war aid came together with the promotion of a model of economic development based on privatization and trade liberalization that resulted in a reduced role for the state in providing social services and employment opportunities (Benson, Fischer and Thomas, 2008). Moreover, due to a lack of competitive advantage on international markets, these dynamics brought to the disruption of traditional forms of economic production and export (Kurtenbach, Pearce, 2016) and a shift in the economy toward services. Sex tourism and forced labour proliferated in this context, revealing a global economic system based on violence, exclusion and exploitation (Seelke, 2016).

Both crime in the capital and in border areas seems therefore to arise from particularly unbalanced economic relations and processes of systemic exclusion from formal means of economic production. War and post-war dynamics strongly impacted the distribution of opportunities within society and institutionalized structural forms of violence towards certain groups. Human trafficking is thus sustained by these relations between formal and informal economic arrangements and from the tensions arising between a rich minority and a marginalized majority.

5.3.2 Political narratives, militarization and mobility

Human trafficking patterns arise at the intersection of complex power structures and relations. The analysis of political processes during the war and post-war transition is thus important to identify which subjects become more vulnerable to trafficking and which actors impact the distribution of vulnerabilities across groups in society. This section investigates the role of the state and other actors in shaping mobility and violence in the context of Guatemala.

As already highlighted, the impact of state violence during the war has been enormous and unevenly distributed. The aim of this violence was that of disrupting the social base of rebel movements and proceed to the securitization of marginal areas (CEH, 2012, p, 23). The war thus involved practices explicitly directed at the control of mobility for those defined as dangerous groups. These dynamics were sustained by complex regional and global processes. The insertion of the Guatemalan civil war in the Cold-war bipolarized discourse has resulted in important flows of resources provided by external actors, such as the U.S., in support of the formal government (Girón, 2007). As suggested by Eckhardt (2005) this has promoted a war economy logic, according to which the military and business side did not want the war to end. The end of the war meant indeed the interruption of important sources of finance from external actors, as well as the consequent loss of control and power over the territory (Eckhardt, 2005). Moreover, the construction of an 'internal enemy' during the war has justified extreme levels of violence against indigenous communities, that allowed state elites to promote militarization and maintain control in these areas (ibid). The impact of war on power structures is thus important since it concentrates even more power in the hands of a few actors, while dehumanizing certain subjects and creating patterns of vulnerability to violence.

After the end of the war, the government and the military never accepted to be held accountable for the acts of genocide identified by the sentence of the CEH (Oglesby and Ross, 2009). As a consequence, most actors involved in the past atrocities have not been punished. This has led to an increasing lack of trust in institutions and in the rule of law, accompanied by the persistence of corrupt actors in the political system (Kurtenbahc, 2007). Postwar transition has therefore in a way legitimized existing relations of violence and created disillusionment, while failing to provide civil mechanisms for conflict resolution (ibid). Moreover, the postwar phase coincides with renewed neglect for indigenous groups in border areas and a failure to include indigenous identity in political processes[13] (Pearce, 2016, p.459). This has led to the proliferation of criminal organizations, connected with the complex regional system of violence of Central America. Both regional dynamics and long histories of neglect and marginalization against indigenous people therefore produce trafficking patterns in the area.

Furthermore, the postwar scenario is shaped by a renewed quest for power and authority that unfolds not anymore through direct violence but through more subtle political strategies. State and global authorities promote indeed criminalizing discourses against youth gangs in the cities, identifying them as the only responsible actors for the continuation of political and social violence in the country (Benson, Fischer, and Thomas, 2008). The construction of gangs as 'scapegoats' reproduces the war economy logic, recreating an 'internal enemy', that allows for the justification of continued militarization and renewed patterns of violence against youth (ibid, p.43). However, youth participation in violence needs to be understood as connected to a longer history of exclusion and marginalization. Indeed, any form of dissent

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[13] The diversified experiences of the war, together with its destructive impact on social structures, prevent in the post-war scenario from the creation of a strong indigenous identity able to translate in a political force (Pearce, 2016,p.459).

was repressed during the civil war, and young people from the marginal neighborhood of the city were often forcibly recruited by state's armed forces to combat in other areas of the country (Levenson-Estrada, 2013). In parallel, the formation of civilian death squads by loyal youth was incentivized in the city to exert control on the population (ibid).

While youth violence was actively encouraged during the war, post-war discourses change the perception around the legitimacy of youth participation in violence, reframing it as an act of deviance (Kurtenbach, 2014). Government's narratives are thus part of a quest for power and legitimacy that use the climate of insecurity experienced by the population to gain consensus and justify 'iron-fist' approaches against crime (McAllister and Nelson, 2013). However, these approaches do not tackle the deeper structures and relations that bring about gangs' violence. On the contrary, they further marginalize youth increasing their vulnerability and exposition to gang action and human trafficking patterns (Cruz et al, 2020). Moreover, these approaches conceal the central role of other actors such as state and security authorities themselves in the continuation of violence within society (Kurtenbach, 2007). Indeed, the degree of criminal penetration in state institutions and corruption among state officials, together with a culture of impunity play a big part in this scenario of insecurity (ibid). Processes of mobilization, de-mobilization and immobilization thus strongly impact young peoples' experiences both during and after the war, creating the conditions for their future exploitation within trafficking networks.

The approach of the Guatemalan government however, also reflects broader narratives taking hold at the global level at that time. Post 9/11 security discourses marked indeed the beginning of a 'war on crime' that incentivized the adoption of hard-hand approaches[14]. The security concerns of international donors are visible also in the distribution of post-war financial flows that prioritized security sector reforms neglecting other dimensions of transitional justice (figures 2 and 3; Samset, Petersen, Wang, 2007, p.15). In particular, the influence of the U.S. in Guatemala is likely to have been important in the definition of prosecution priorities at the local level. However, hard hand approaches have often worsened the situation of violence in the region. The promotion of militarization indeed prevents from the investment in other social services and reproduce structures of violence further pushing youth to participate in criminal activities or fall victims of gangs recruitment (Boerman and Golob, 2021).

Processes of democratization in post-war Guatemala, therefore, did not result in more inclusive political arrangements and, in fact, did not question the position of authoritarian leaders (Kurtenbach, 2007). This in turn led to the creation of vulnerable subjects in the peripheries of the country (both in cities and rural areas) where the impact of political exclusion often translates in patterns of forced mobility.

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[14] Security discourses often came together with racialized ideas and stereotypes and promoted the construction of strong militarized identities (Peterson and Harcourt, 2016).

Figure 2
Distribution of financial flows per sector (1995-2005)
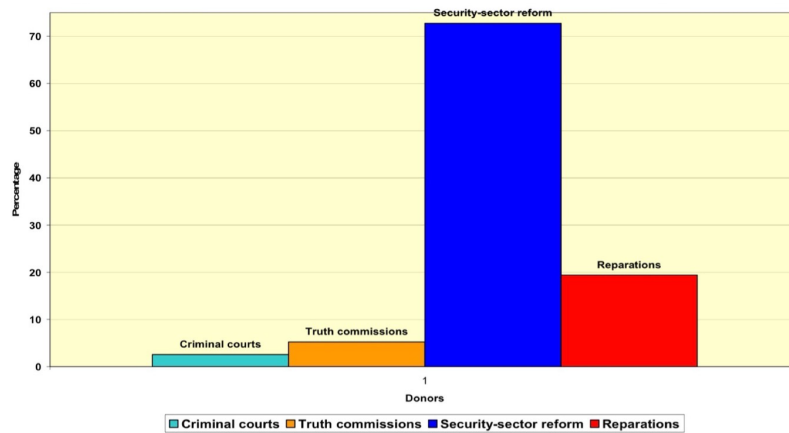
Source: Samset, Petersen and Wang, 2007

Figure 3
Distribution of air per sector in USD (1995-2005)
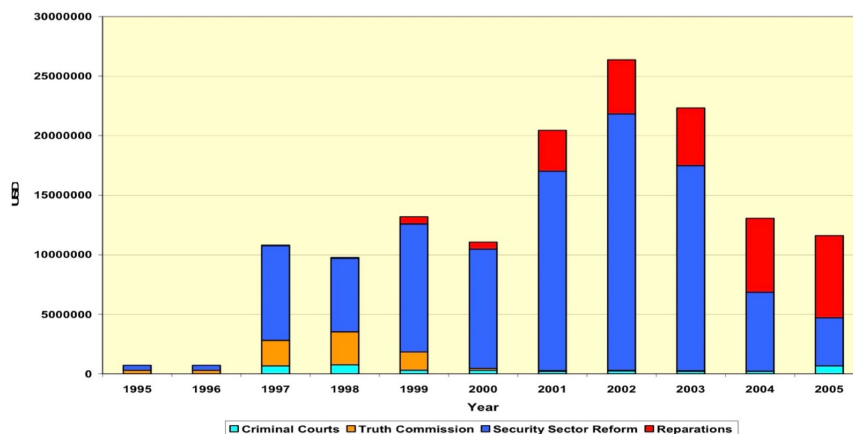
Source: Samset, Petersen and Wang, 2007

5.3.3 Post-war identities, socialization processes and the normalization of violence

Dehumanizing patterns of trafficking can happen only if violence is somehow accepted and normalized against certain subjects. As highlighted above, economic and political processes importantly shape the distribution of vulnerabilities within society. However, violence also has a cultural dimension which is pivotal for the perception individuals and groups have of themselves and the others. This section investigates the socio-cultural base of violence and the processes leading to the acceptance and normalization of exploitation in the everyday.

In post-war Guatemala, certain subjects seem to be disproportionally impacted by violence and human trafficking. Together with class and ethnicity, age and gender are central categories to explain this unequal distribution of vulnerabilities. All these dimensions are in

fact deeply entangled with one another. As explained by Kurtenbach (2014), socialization in contexts of violence has important implications for youth identity creation and for their recruitment in criminal gangs. According to the author, in particular, the process of transition towards adulthood is 'blocked' in the context of Guatemala as young people are unable to find formal employment opportunities and freely participate in the political life of the country (p.124). However, the failure to fulfill social expectations about these 'status passages' results, in frustration and engagement in violent or criminal acts (ibid). At the same time, war leads to family disaggregation, destroying crucial support structures for youth (Cruz et al, 2020). This translates in heightened vulnerability to manipulation and forced recruitment in gangs or trafficking networks (ibid). In a context of economic, political and social insecurity youth are thus often forced to engage with gangs as a means to obtain protection, power and recognition[15]. In this scenario, however, violence becomes a central component of youth identity, and more specifically of the masculine identity.

Masculinity is a socially constructed and time specific concept that refers to the (changing) set of qualities that a man has to have to be recognized as a such in a particular society (Baird 2012). An increasing number of studies has investigated the link between masculinity and militarization. Cockburn (2010) argues for example that in patriarchal systems masculinity is instrumentalized to construct unbalanced gender relations based on violence, that eventually result in processes of increasing militarization and war. These latter phenomena represent indeed the maximum expression of strong and violent masculinities. In turn, strong masculinities are fueled in situations of insecurity and war (Cockburn, 2010). Indeed, in these contexts, national narratives frame young men as 'protectors' and women as 'protected' or 'victims', while increasingly associating with the male identity military values of force, discipline, competitiveness (Cockburn 2013, p.438-439). Militarism and war are thus highly 'gendered institutions' (ibid, p. 434) that results in different types of victimization for men and women as well as for all those subjects not conforming with the (violent) ideal of the 'strong man' (Cockburn, 2013). Moreover, violence assumes different symbolic meanings according to the targeted subject. Instances of gender-based violence and mass rape as a 'tactic of war', for example, have been extensively documented in the literature (UN Secretary-General,2020; Korac, 2006). Nonetheless, the gendered dimension of war is often overlooked in peace-building efforts (Korac, 2006). Post-war nationalist discourses often reproduce dichotomic definitions of male and female identities, laying the ground for continuing violence against certain subjects. This dynamic is crucial for the development of post-war patterns of trafficking and exploitation.

In Guatemala post-war transition, the criminalizing discourses against youth, sustained by global narratives around security, create a climate of insecurity that foster renewed militarization and the construction of identities based on exclusion and violence (Korac, 2006). As a consequence, high levels of violence against women and other types of oppression re-emerge during peace time (Figure 4).

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[15] These dynamics are reflected in the motivations young people provide for their engagement with criminal organization. A Study by Cruz et al. (2020) highlights among the root causes of recruitment: family disruption, domestic/interfamilial violence, the need for a sense of belonging to a group and the need for power and security. Analyzing war and postwar dynamics is thus fundamental to understand these motivations, but also pre-war discriminative patterns rooted in the colonial past of the country.

Figure 4
Feminicides trends in Central America (2002-2011)
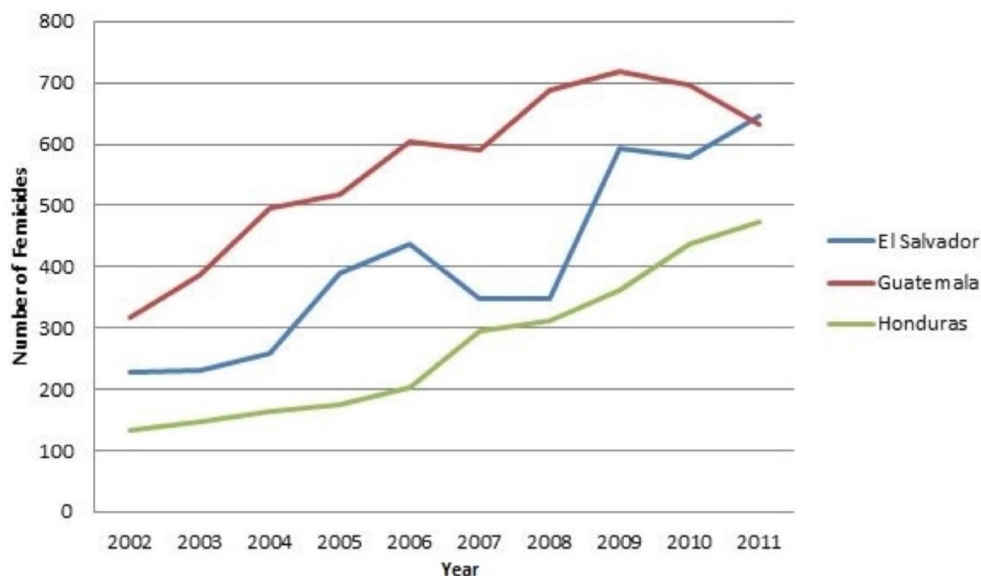
Source: Menjívar and Walsh, 2016

These broader gendered structures characterizing society are reproduced (and exacerbated) within gangs structures (Baird, 2012). For Marginalized youth in urban peripheries, indeed, engaging with gangs becomes a way of pursuing 'manhood' [16] (ibid, p.180). Gang members as 'hyper-masculinized' subjects (Boerman and Golob, 2021, p.249) are responsible for high levels of violence against women in urban areas. The abduction of women and girls is indeed very common in gangs, that forced them to provide sexual services to members in prison or to act as 'wives' and perform 'gender-specific labour' such as cleaning, cooking etc. (Jefferson, 2004, p.5) As the nature of these practices suggest, women are conceived as 'property' within gangs structures. However, pervasive violence against women also has a symbolic meaning for the gangs. First of all, targeting women allows members of the gang to consolidate their masculine identity. Secondly, violence against women is a demonstrative act of brutality, that allows to instill fear among local populations and assert power and control over communities and territories (Boerman and Golob, 2021). Women victimization in context of gangs is thus part of a strategy of social control and quest for power that reflects broader war and post-war dynamics. Man and women's mobility is highly conditioned from these patterns.

Similarly, gendered patterns of exploitation also emerge in the context of more 'traditional' forms of human trafficking such as transnational trafficking for sexual exploitation or sex tourism. Again, the observation of these dynamics shows how women's victimization in trafficking routes is the outcome of longer histories of exploitation, that is normalized in the everyday even in peaceful time (Jefferson, 2004). Especially important in these contexts are patriarchal relations and violence within the household. The normalization of the exploitation of women bodies in this sphere (through marital violence or unpaid work for example) often constitute the basis for future experiences of women's victimization and trafficking

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[16] This happens in a context in which economic means of social advancement are not available and violence remains the only channel through which a young male can gain respect, protection and power (Baird, 2012, p.181).

(Korac, 2006). Processes of human trafficking recruitment indeed are based on the manipulation of the vulnerabilities of subjects that are left with no choice other than engaging with the criminal organization. This also highlights the need to contextualize victims' choices and to understand the multiple forms coercion can take (Boerman and Golob, 2021).

Ultimately, specific forms of trafficking are normalized in the context of post-war Guatemala because of the missed reconfiguration of power relations that has led to the reconstruction of exclusionary and violent identities. These processes have led to the dehumanization of certain subjects (both victims and perpetrators of violence). Class, gender, ethnicity, age therefore remain intersecting structures of power that are highly relevant to explain patterns of forced mobility in post-war Guatemala.

Chapter 6
Conclusions

This paper has investigated the root causes of human trafficking in post-war societies. Human trafficking arises indeed from deeper and violent structures that unequally distribute vulnerability across groups. The study of war economies has been insightful in this sense. These systems are indeed often responsible not only for the prolonged nature of contemporary wars, but also for the continuation of violence in post-war scenarios (Goodhand, 2004).

The results from the regression analysis confirm the existence of a link between armed conflict and trafficking and at the same time highlight the emergence of different patterns of exploitation across regions of the world. In particular, the analysis suggests that the development of different forms of exploitation is shaped by the type and intensity level of the conflict experienced by the country. Moreover, the regression analysis shows that source countries of human trafficking have specific characteristics, that are produced in connection to richer countries. This section of the research therefore illustrate that this phenomenon arises from the tensions that extreme structures of inequality bring about.

The regression analysis has been useful to identify general patterns and factors that are relevant across countries. However, the limitations arising from the uncertain nature of human trafficking data and from the quantitative design highlight the need to integrate the analysis with a deeper and grounded assessment of the phenomenon. Multiple and inextricable processes indeed contribute to the persistence of structural violence in societies. Accordingly, the country case study is developed to investigate the connections between different types of violence and understand the political economy of violence in war and in peace.

In the complex scenario of post-war Guatemala, human trafficking emerges as the outcome of intersecting processes and relations that unequally shape people's mobility and opportunities. First, economic inequality is fueled by postwar liberalization and privatization processes that reduce an already weak social provision activity by the state. Formal employment opportunities decrease and criminal networks expand. At the same time, global power relations are consolidated at local level, with a particular influence of US policies on internal mobility. These processes thus institutionalize the material and social structures that make trafficking and exploitation possible. Secondly, postwar political discourses contribute to the continuation of authoritarian models of governance. These narratives, reproducing the broader framework of global security discourses, result in the exclusion and marginalization of certain subjects. The criminalization of these subjects is used to foster a culture of militarism and a climate of insecurity that favours the consolidation of power of corrupt politicians. The structural conditions causing the emergence of crime, however, persist in postwar society, making marginalized groups more vulnerable to exploitation, displacement and trafficking (Boerman and Golob, 2021). Thirdly, processes of identity construction and socialization with others are highly impacted by the direct violence of the war and by postwar narratives. The continued climate of insecurity fosters indeed violent masculinities and a culture of militarism that institutionalize violence in the everyday (Korac, 2006). As a consequence, people in post-war Guatemala are impacted differently by violence and human trafficking according to their identity. Intersecting structures of horizontal inequality based on gender, ethnicity and class therefore continue to produce systemic patterns of victimization during peace (Cockburn, 2013).

The different types of trafficking emerging in rural and urban areas, during transition, reflect the interaction between local war economies and broader regional and global processes, such as modernization, post-Cold war security developments and complex regional conflict systems. The violence and forced mobility characterizing post-war Guatemala

therefore represent, on the one hand, a strategy of control over bodies and local populations seen as economic resources but also political channels to consolidate power over territory. On the other hand, these patterns are the expression of deep-rooted social tensions and needs.

This research has highlighted how global and local quests for economic profit, political power and cultural supremacy produce a range of excluded and vulnerable subjects that become victims and perpetrators of violence (Boerman and Golob, 2021). The exploitation and dehumanization of these subjects is instrumental for consolidation of power and wealth of the rich and is embedded in the unbalanced power structures arising from neoliberal economic arrangements in a globalized world. The persistence of these multiple and connected forms of violence thus calls for new and more comprehensive conceptualizations of 'peace', as well as more effective approaches to transform violent relations into peaceful ones. As highlighted by Cockburn (2010), indeed, peace cannot happen without more equal economic arrangements, more inclusive political systems and more just gender, age, racial and ethnic relations.

To purse such a transformation no single model of transition can be imposed. More inclusive peace projects need to be promoted, considering the complexities unfolding at the local level and how different groups are impacted by transition. In particular, paying attention to reproduction of violent structures that lead to exploitation is fundamental to prevent the emergence of trafficking patterns. Accordingly, policies addressing the human trafficking phenomenon should shift from hard-hand approaches toward more comprehensive actions redressing the structural conditions making it possible (Suchland, 2015). Indeed, as this research has highlighted, very often, trafficking victims are not even recognized as such, given the adoption of narrow definitions of the processes of recruitment, transportation and exploitation. Following Blazek et al. (2019), this paper therefore proposes to consider the longer histories of violence and exploitation shaping people's mobility and access to opportunities.

Last but not least, the research underlines the importance of promoting regional approaches to peace. The construction of peace should indeed start exactly from those margins where tensions are made visible. These 'borderlands' are not only physical geographies but also social configurations including marginalized populations in the cities (Benson, Fischer and Thomas, 2008). Further research is thus needed to understand the role these 'social spaces' (ibid, p.49) can play in the promotion of processes of change.

Appendix 1

Theories on peacebuilding and post-war crime

Increasing interests in the literature has focused around the role of war economies and peacebuilding intervention in fueling the re-emergence of violence and crime within the post-war scenario. This section presents more in details the channels identified by peace/different scholars to help explain the conditions favouring the proliferation of post-war patterns of violence.

Studying the case of Afghanistan, Goodhand and Sedra (2013), have illustrated the role of external actors in reinforcing criminal structures at the local level. In this context, indeed, the peacebuilding agenda has mainly coincided with interventions aimed at pursuing state-building, presented as a 'technical, depoliticized process' (ibid, p.242). At the same time, according to the authors, the approach has seen the participation of multiple actors with heterogeneous interests and perspectives. The more powerful of these actors were often able to prioritize security and counter terrorism concerns of the U.S. over the needs and interests of the local communities (ibid). Moreover, in pursuing these goals external actors have made use of local structures of power and authority, such as militias, contributing to the 'reproduction of wartime dynamics and structures' (ibid, p.245). As a result, the authors emphasize how this approach has translated in the reversed outcomes of state delegitimization, aid dependency, high corruption and diffusion of informal militias. This study therefore highlights how the encounters between liberal peace interventions and local war economies can result in complex systems that reproduce violence and criminal arrangements.

Other authors, such as Kurtenbach and Rettberg (2018), have highlighted the need to investigate the connections between war economies and postwar criminal phenomena. The authors emphasize in particular three fundamental aspects to consider when analyzing the continuities between war economies and postwar crime. These are: state capacity, resource control by 'non-state armed actors' and changing patterns of violence (Kurtenbach and Rettberg, 2018). First of all, as illustrated by the authors, the incapacity of the institutional setting to address structural socio-economic inequalities can lead to the eruption of grievances in society, while high military budgets drive money away from investments in health, education social expenditure. This pushes people toward the participation in illicit/informal markets (ibid). Secondly, the authors explain the role played by economic resources in fueling conflict and favoring the persistence of violence in the post-war context. Illicit markets are indeed 'difficult to dismantle' because embedded in international and global networks and favored by the corruption of local elites (ibid, p.3). Third, according to the researchers, the analysis of changing patterns of violence within postwar societies can yield interesting insights. Indeed, emerging actors and criminal organizations, such as gangs, often fill the void left by institutional setting and replace state institutions in the provision of social services.

Similar mechanisms have been emphasized by other authors. Howarth (2014), for example, underlines how the practices associated with the liberal peacebuilding model have come together with the imposition of a development model, the one of modernization and neoliberalism. These practices include policies of liberalization, privatization and reduction of the role of the state, that have often led to the intensification of socio-economic inequalities fueling perceptions of relative deprivation. Moreover, these practices ignore and disrupt 'traditional structures of distribution and power' (Howarth, 2014, p. 266). These two elements together result, according to the author, in transformed but continued patterns of violence within the postwar context, taking the form of increasing levels of crime and participation in shadow economies. According to Bojicic-Dzelilovic (2013), the criminalization of the economy and state apparatus during the armed conflict leads to increasing levels of informality in postwar transition. The author understands, indeed, informal socio-economic arrangements

as 'social mechanisms of informal redistribution' arising in contexts where state-society relations are compromised and the state is uncapable or unwilling to provide adequate social services to the population (Bojicic-Dzelilovic, 2013, p.211). In similar situations, informal economies therefore underpin a fundamental socio-economic function but at the same time, the lack of formal protection characterizing these contexts, constitute a threat to the wellbeing of individuals. Indeed, these informal networks often rest on 'exclusionary institutions' (ibid) and can result in the discrimination and victimization of large sets of the population. Through these arrangements discrimination and violence is therefore 'institutionalized' (ibid).

Newman and Keller (2007) reflect on the persistence of the criminal element of war economies in the post-war period due to the consolidation of social and power positions held by criminal actors within state-building processes. According to the authors, post conflict arrangements often 'legitimize and recognize war time predatory practices' (ibid, p.9). The implementation of neoliberal policies in these contexts, indeed, can reinforce existing elites and deepen social inequalities, leading to an institutionalization of illegal markets (ibid). This process is of course favored by the lack of alternative legal opportunities of employment for great part of the population.

Jayasundara-Smits (2018) analyses the context of postwar Sri Lanka, finding high levels of material and bodily crimes in the previous war zones. To explain the continuing patterns of violence, the author identifies the following mechanisms: militarization, corruption, culture of impunity, youth unemployment, institutional weakness and circulation of small arms. In particular, according to the author, the existence of a well-developed shadow economy emerging from wartime rebel structures and the corruption of elites facilitate the continuation of patterns of violence in post-war society (Jayasundara-Smits, 2018). Moreover, the author emphasizes the impact of rapid socio-economic 'restructuring' brought about by developmental interventions and often leading to the disruption of coping economies for large sets of the population (ibid, p.71). The interconnection of these dynamics results, in the context of Sri Lanka, in increasing levels of participation in informal economies. As a consequence, the author understands criminality as a 'manifestation of the combined effects of inequality, mistrust and corruption' (ibid, p.72).

Appendix 2

Descriptive statistics

General characteristics of human trafficking victims

Tab. 1 Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Gender	27512	1.747	.683	1	3
agebroadr	27512	6.988	2.62	1	11
forcedlabour2	23704	.446	.497	0	1
sexualexploit	23704	.125	.33	0	1
otherexploit	23704	.002	.047	0	1
sexandlabour	23704	.001	.037	0	1
forcedmarriage	23704	.007	.084	0	1
forcedmilitary	23704	0	0	0	0
organremoval	23704	0	0	0	0
slaverypractices	23704	0	0	0	0

The number of total cases of trafficked victims in the final dataset is 23,704.
Trafficked victims in the sample are quite evenly distributed across gender, with a majority of victims being men (54%), and 45% being women. Women, on the other hand, are represented with more frequency than men in the categories of age under 30, and thus tend to be younger at the moment of the exploitation. On the contrary, men are 67% of the victims with more than 30 years.

Tab. 2 Gender of trafficked victims

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Female	10772	45.44	45.44
Male	12932	54.56	100.00
Total	23704	100.00	

Tab. 3 Gender if age under 30

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Female	6388	56.53	56.53
Male	4913	43.47	100.00
Total	11301	100.00	

Tab. 4 Age of trafficked victims

age	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
-99	866	3.15	3.15
0--8	319	1.16	4.31
9--17	2054	7.47	86.16
18--20	1604	5.83	10.14
21--23	2506	9.11	19.25
24--26	2515	9.14	28.39
27--29	2303	8.37	36.76
30--38	6871	24.97	61.73
39--47	2985	10.85	72.58
48+	1681	6.11	78.69
NA	3808	13.84	100.00
Total	27512	100.00	

Tab. 5 Gender and age

Gender	-99	0--8	9-17	18-20	21-23	24-26	27-29	30-38	39-47	48+	Total
Female	585	148	1013	1267	1651	1378	931	2266	822	711	10772
Male	281	171	1041	337	855	1137	1372	4605	2163	970	12932
Total	866	319	2054	1604	2506	2515	2303	6871	2985	1681	23704

Geographical distribution

If we observe the geographical distribution of the trafficking phenomenon, we see that human trafficking cases in the sample are more highly concentrated in Europe (52%, region 1) and Asia (40%, region 3), followed by Africa (region 4) and the Americas (region 5). No cases are registered for the regions of the Middle East and Oceania.

Tab. 6 Region if human trafficking = 1

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	12448	52.51	52.51
3	9388	39.61	92.12
4	1386	5.85	97.97
5	482	2.03	100.00
Total	23704	100.00	

Tab. 7 Human trafficking by region

humantrafficking	Region						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
0	477	105	1009	1513	788	357	4249
1	12448	0	9388	1386	482	0	23704
Total	12925	105	10397	2899	1270	357	27953

GDP per capita

No trafficked victim was coming from a country with a GDP per capita higher than 21605.84$.

Conflict and trafficking

43% of observations in the sample include a form of armed conflict. 48% of these conflicts took place in Europe, while 44% in Asia. 52% of the conflict registered were civil wars and 47% were instead internationalized internal conflicts. Interstate war are very few in the sample (0,36%) and no trafficking case is associated with this type of armed conflict.
In countries where conflict is not present (and thus countries formally 'at peace') human trafficking is registered 80% of the times. Analysing the difference between the 20% of countries that are not origin of trafficked victims and the 80% which register victims could thus be interesting. From the sample we can observe that, those 80% are countries with GDP lower than or equal to 21605.84.
While more than half of trafficking cases (53%) arise in context of 'peace', 47% of trafficking origin from countries with ongoing armed conflicts. More specifically, 24% of the total cases of trafficking arises in context of civil war, 23% in context of internationalized internal conflict. On the other hand, 94 % of the times a civil war is registered, trafficking patterns are identified too.

Tab. 8 Types of conflict

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	15708	57.10	57.10
2	42	0.15	57.25
3	6181	22.47	79.71
4	5581	20.29	100.00
Total	27512	100.00	

Tab. 9 Conflict type if trafficking = 1

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	12541	52.91	52.91
3	5750	24.26	77.16
4	5413	22.84	100.00
Total	23704	100.00	

Tab.10   Humantrafficking if conflict = 1

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	641	5.43	5.43
1	11163	94.57	100.00
Total	11804	100.00	

Tab. 11 Region if trafficking 1 & conflict 0

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	6725	53.62	53.62
3	4437	35.38	89.00
4	1021	8.14	97.15
5	358	2.85	100.00
Total	12541	100.00	

Tab. 12 Country of origin of victims where conflict = 0

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Albania	22	0.18	0.18
Bangladesh	11	0.09	0.26
Belarus	1463	11.67	11.93
Bulgaria	342	2.73	14.66
Burkina Faso	33	0.26	14.92
Cambodia	1979	15.78	30.70
China	23	0.18	30.88
Eritrea	13	0.10	30.99
Ghana	544	4.34	35.32
Guinea	15	0.12	35.44
Guinea-Bissau	145	1.16	36.60
Haiti	339	2.70	39.30
Indonesia	1960	15.63	54.93
Kazakhstan	54	0.43	55.36
Madagascar	94	0.75	56.11
Mali	26	0.21	56.32
Mexico	19	0.15	56.47
Nepal	27	0.22	56.69
Romania	655	5.22	61.91
Senegal	70	0.56	62.47
Sierra Leone	81	0.65	63.11
Sri Lanka	85	0.68	63.79
Tajikistan	11	0.09	63.88
Turkmenistan	26	0.21	64.09
Ukraine	4243	33.83	97.92
Uzbekistan	261	2.08	100.00
Total	12541	100.00	

Type of exploitation

Of the 23704 victims in the sample, 44.5% were exploited for forced labour, 12.4% for sexual exploitation. The other types of exploitation ('sex and labour', 'other exploitation', 'forced military' and 'forced marriage') constitute a residual part of the sample and are thus not considered in the analysis (too few observations).

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In 46% percent of the cases, forced labour arises in civil war contexts. At the same time, 42% of forced labour victims were registered in countries with no conflict, 11% in countries with internationalized internal conflict. In total, 57% of cases of forced labour arise from countries with ongoing armed conflict.

Tab.13 Forced labour

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	13134	55.41	55.41
1	10570	44.59	100.00
Total	23704	100.00	

Tab. 14 Sexual exploitation

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	20750	87.54	87.54
1	2954	12.46	100.00
Total	23704	100.00	

Tab. 15 Conflict type if forced labour

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	4476	42.35	42.35
3	4909	46.44	88.79
4	1185	11.21	100.00
Total	10570	100.00	

Tab. 16 Conflict type if sexual exploit

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	2567	86.90	86.90
3	143	4.84	91.74
4	244	8.26	100.00
Total	2954	100.00	

The trends for sexual exploitation are different than those concerning forced labour. 86% of the times sexual exploitation arises in countries with no conflict ongoing. Of these cases arising in 'peace', 1,665 come from Europe and 902 from Asia.
If we consider instead the sexual exploitation cases arising in conflict, 71% come from Africa and 29 % from the Americas. However, these latter represent very few cases in the dataset.

Tab. 17 Region if forcedlabour 1 & conflict 0

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	1629	36.39	36.39
3	1977	44.17	80.56
4	577	12.89	93.45
5	293	6.55	100.00
Total	4476	100.00	

Tab. 18 Region if sexual expl. 1 & conflict 0

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
4	276	71.32	71.32
5	111	28.68	100.00
Total	387	100.00	

Tab. 19 Descriptive Statistics - variables

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
GDP	27131	9285.347	8625.999	477.767	141634.7
Gini	20393	31.233	7.147	23.7	64.8
Region	27512	2.242	1.319	1	6
conflictpres	27512	.429	.495	0	1
conflict type	27512	1.488	1.749	0	4
conflict intensity	27512	.543	.69	0	2
humantrafficking	27512	.862	.345	0	1
forcedlabour2	23704	.446	.497	0	1
sexualexploit	23704	.125	.33	0	1

Appendix 3

Results tables

Tab 20 Linear regression - Region

humantrafficking	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
GDP	0	0	-92.42	0	0	0	***
Gini	-.009	0	-21.79	0	-.01	-.008	***
1	.24	.011	21.24	0	.218	.262	***
2	-.327	.035	-9.44	0	-.395	-.259	***
3	.241	.008	30.24	0	.226	.257	***
4	.104	.009	11.55	0	.087	.122	***
: base 5	0	.	.	.	.	.	
6	-.561	.034	-16.27	0	-.629	-.493	***
Constant	1.21	.021	58.49	0	1.17	1.251	***

Mean dependent var	0.945	SD dependent var	0.227	
R-squared	0.415	Number of obs	20388	
F-test	2062.181	Prob > F	0.000	
Akaike crit. (AIC)	-13456.468	Bayesian crit. (BIC)	-13393.086	

*** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1*

Tab 21 Linear regression – conflict incidence and forced labour

forcedlabour2	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
conflictpres	.022	.006	3.66	0	.01	.034	***
GDP	0	0	-22.25	0	0	0	***
Gini	.023	.001	20.62	0	.021	.025	***
Region	.067	.007	9.31	0	.053	.081	***
Constant	-.152	.029	-5.34	0	-.208	-.096	***

Mean dependent var	0.476	SD dependent var	0.499	
R-squared	0.360	Number of obs	19274	
F-test	2705.407	Prob > F	0.000	
Akaike crit. (AIC)	19352.531	Bayesian crit. (BIC)	19391.864	

*** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1*

Tab 22 Linear regression – conflict incidence and sexual exploitation

sexualexploit	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
conflictpres	-.061	.004	-15.55	0	-.069	-.054	***
GDP	0	0	-16.61	0	0	0	***
Gini	.017	.001	22.98	0	.016	.018	***
Region : base 1	0	.	.	.	.	.	
3	-.34	.01	-32.44	0	-.361	-.32	***
4	-.171	.016	-10.95	0	-.201	-.14	***
5	-.244	.02	-12.38	0	-.282	-.205	***
Constant	-.19	.021	-8.83	0	-.232	-.147	***

Mean dependent var	0.078	SD dependent var	0.269	
R-squared	0.117	Number of obs	19274	
F-test	423.973	Prob > F	0.000	
Akaike crit. (AIC)	1687.839	Bayesian crit. (BIC)	1742.904	

*** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1*

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