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THE SECURITIZATION OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper looks at the problem of human trafficking in Indonesia and the response by state and non-state actors to the problem. It specifically analyses the nature of securitizing the problem in Indonesia by looking at the extent to which the problem has or has not been securitized by international, regional and national actors. The discussion is divided into four sections. The first section looks at the situation of human trafficking in Indonesia. The second section seeks to delineate specific strategies—either through speech acts or any other strategies—employed by international and national actors. The third section examines the Indonesian government's response to the process of securitization by both international and national actors and assesses the adequacy of policy outcomes in Indonesia by looking at measures that have been carried out by the government in combating the problem of human trafficking. This section also looks at the domestic political context within which the securitization process has taken place, and explains the "securitization gap", namely the disparity between the process of international and domestic securitization on the one hand and the gap between rhetoric and action on the other. In doing so, the paper seeks to explain why policy outcomes in Indonesia have not been adequate in combating the problem. The fourth section proceeds to provide an alternative path to securitization that can be taken up by securitizing actors in Indonesia in order to move the issue of combating human trafficking "beyond normal politics".

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THE SECURITIZATION OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN INDONESIA

Introduction

Unlike other non-traditional security (NTS) issues, human trafficking has been the least securitized within both the regional and national discourse on the problem in Southeast Asia. Most literature and research on securitization in and on the region, which have also mushroomed since the end of the Cold War, tend to focus on the "traditional" issues of non-traditional security (NTS) problems. Issues such as trans-national crimes (TNCs), infectious diseases, natural disasters, migration and piracy are all favourite themes for securitization studies. A similar trend is also evident in the policy area. Regional efforts to address the problem of human trafficking, especially those undertaken by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), were subsumed within the framework of combating trans-national crimes (TNCs). Indeed, specific attention to the problem of trafficking in persons (TIP) was conspicuously absent in many declarations and political statements issued by ASEAN on the subject of TNCs.

When ASEAN countries saw the need to intensify their cooperation to combat TNCs by early 2000, attention and a sense of urgency were given to the specific need to combat drug-trafficking and, since September 11, terrorism. Only in November 2004 did ASEAN specifically expressed "the urgent need for a comprehensive regional approach to prevent and to combat trafficking in persons, particularly women and children" and "to undertake coercive actions/measures against individual and/or syndicate engaged in trafficking in persons and shall offer one another the widest possible assistance to punish such activities".[1] ASEAN leaders then declared its commitment "to undertake concerted efforts to effectively address an emerging regional problem, namely the trafficking in persons, particularly women and children".[2] The issuance of such a specific declaration on human trafficking by ASEAN could be seen as an elevation of the status of the human-trafficking problem from only as a TNC problems, which was then overshadowed by the greater attention to the need to combat the problems of drug trafficking and terrorism, to become a specific problem that requires a specific mechanism and extraordinary policy measures to address it.

[1] "ASEAN Declaration Against Trafficking in Persons Particularly Women and Children", Vientiane, 29 November 2004.
[2] Ibid.

Framed within this context, the declaration also reflects ASEAN's growing recognition of the urgency of the problem. ASEAN member states appeared to have been convinced that the problem of human trafficking constitutes a threat that cannot be addressed unilaterally by any individual member state. It declares that there is "the urgent need for a comprehensive regional approach to prevent and to combat trafficking in persons, particularly women and children".[3] By framing the problem of human trafficking as a regional problem, as opposed to a national problem, ASEAN appears to have recognized the growing magnitude of the threat. However, one could argue that the growing recognition of TIP as a security problem within ASEAN is also a response to the process of securitization on the issue at the global level.

Indeed, since the early 1990s, the international community has increasingly securitized the problem of human trafficking. For example, the securitization of the problem of human trafficking at the global level has been carried out among others by the International Organisation of Migration (IOM), the United Nations, the European Union (EU) and the United States. The language of security has also been employed by these "securitizing actors".[4] In this process, one can argue that ASEAN is not a securitizing actor itself but more as a relevant audience that has become a target of securitization by international securitizing actors. In other words, the ASEAN Declaration Against Trafficking in Persons Particularly Women and Children constitutes a response to the process of securitization at the global level.

In terms of actual policy response, however, there has been very little progress made by ASEAN member states in addressing the problem. ASEAN's efforts in combating human trafficking have not really moved beyond the declaration of good intention and limited cooperation among its members. Today, regional efforts by ASEAN to combat human trafficking are still limited to the area of information exchange, training among responsible officials and law enforcement agencies, and workshops. ASEAN states, however, continue to treat the problem of human trafficking as an ordinary crime and not as a security problem that poses existential threat that requires extraordinary measures. Within the ASEAN context, such a problem is not unique. For example, Ralf Emmers has demonstrated that despite the securitization over the problem of TNCs by ASEAN, significant policy measures have been

[3] Ibid.
[4] See, Nicole Jackson, "International Organizations, Security Dichotomies and the Trafficking of Persons and Narcotics in Post-Soviet Central Asia: A Critique of the Securitization Framework", *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 37 No. 3 (September 2006).

carried out by ASEAN to combat the problem.[5] The process of securitization only produced a rhetorical pronouncement of intention. In other words, securitization only ends at the recognition of the urgency of the problem but falls short of implementing the necessary extraordinary measures to address it.

Efforts to force the state to undertake extraordinary measures to combat the problem of human trafficking have also been taking place within the domestic domain of some ASEAN member states. In Indonesia, for example, various non-governmental organizations (NGOs), women activists and members of the parliament serve as securitizing actors, trying to convince the state of the threat posed by the problem of human trafficking. Again, there has been limited response to such efforts from the state. The state appears to have been convinced about the threat posed by the problem but such conviction has not been adequate to push it to impose extraordinary measures that go beyond standard political procedures. Within this domestic context, the state becomes a relevant audience for the securitization process. ASEAN's increasing attention to the problem of human trafficking—reflected in its own process of securitization—can also be understood as the Association's response to the domestic securitization process by non-state actors.

Indonesia's efforts to combat human trafficking provide an interesting case study. Since the early 1990s, it has become a targeted audience for the securitization efforts carried out by both international and domestic securitizing actors. In fact, the Indonesian government itself, as a member of ASEAN, has also securitized the problem within the framework of ASEAN. However, human trafficking remains a serious problem. Even though Indonesia has been known as a sending and transit country, it has also become a destination for human-trafficking activities at the same time. It is estimated that more than 100,000 people, especially women and children, become victims of trafficking in Indonesia every year.[6] Despite the securitization by ASEAN, and the increasing use of the language of security among state officials at the regional level, the challenge in addressing this problem in the domestic domain remains enormous. Indeed, while there have been some improvements, the commitment of the Indonesian government to handling the problem of human trafficking is still considered low, and the policy response to the problem is criticized as being slow and

[5] See, Ralf Emmers, "The Securitization of Transnational Crime in ASEAN", *Working Paper No. 39*, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), November 2002.
[6] Rossy Verona, "Conquering Human Trafficking in ASEAN, RI", *The Jakarta Post*, 25 February 2008. See also "Indonesia: Country Progress Report", Post-Yokohama Mid-Term Review of the East Asia and the Pacific Regional Commitment and Action Plan Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC), Bangkok, 8–10 November 2004, p. 2.

inadequate.[7] In other words, there is still a conspicuous gap between the growing recognition of the magnitude of problem on the one hand and the adequacy of policy responses on the other.

This paper looks at the problem of human trafficking in Indonesia and the response by state and non-state actors to the problem. It specifically analyses the nature of securitizing the problem in Indonesia by looking at the extent to which the problem has or has not been securitized by international, regional and national actors. The discussion is divided into four sections. The first section looks at the situation of human trafficking in Indonesia. The second section seeks to delineate specific strategies—either through speech acts or any other strategies—employed by international and national actors. The third section examines the Indonesian government's response to the process of securitization by both international and national actors and assesses the adequacy of policy outcomes in Indonesia by looking at measures that have been carried out by the government in combating the problem of human trafficking. This section also looks at the domestic political context within which the securitization process has taken place, and explains the "securitization gap", namely the disparity between the process of international and domestic securitization on the one hand and the gap between rhetoric and action on the other. In doing so, the paper seeks to explain why policy outcomes in Indonesia have not been adequate in combating the problem. The fourth section proceeds to provide an alternative path to securitization that can be taken up by securitizing actors in Indonesia in order to move the issue of combating human trafficking "beyond normal politics".

Human Trafficking in Indonesia: An Overview

Human trafficking is not a new problem to Indonesia. However, it is only during the past decade that this problem became major issue for various reasons, mainly due to the growing concerns over the problem at the global level and national media reports on the plight of Indonesian women abused abroad.[8] While the actual extent of the problem is difficult to determine due to the absence of reliable data and the clandestine nature of the problem,[9] a conservative estimation puts the number of women and children being trafficked as high as

[7] Ninin Damayanti, "Human Trafficking Rate in Indonesia Still High", *TEMPO Interactive*, 15 January 2007.
[8] ICMC and Solidarity Center, *When They Were Sold: Trafficking of Women and Girls in 15 Provinces of Indonesia* (Jakarta: ICMC, November 2006). p. 14.
[9] On the problem of the absence of reliable data on human trafficking in Indonesia, see ASEAN Secretariat and IOM, *ASEAN and Trafficking in Persons: Using Data as a Tool to Combat Trafficking in Persons* (Geneva: IOM, 2007), especially Chapter IV.

100,000 every year.[10] Indonesia is also known as a source, transit and destination country of trafficking of people. The Indonesian police estimates that human trafficking yields almost Rp. 23.7 trillion (approximately $2.3 billion) in profit in 2005,[11] compared to Rp. 10 trillion for drug trafficking and Rp. 29 trillion for illegal logging.

The magnitude of the TIP problem in Indonesia is also indicated by the fact that cases of trafficking are found in almost all provinces in the country. A study in 2003 by Rosenberg, for example, demonstrates that there are at least 15 provinces known as sending, receiving or transit areas for victims of trafficking.[12] Again, while reliable data is difficult to obtain, it is obvious that trafficking is taking place within the country (domestic trafficking) and abroad (international trafficking). For international destinations, Indonesian victims of trafficking are often sold to Southeast Asia (Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, the Philippines and Thailand), Northeast Asia (Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan and South Korea), the Middle East (Saudi Arabia), Australia and even South America.[13] As an illustration, it is estimated that, out of approximately 6,809 prostitutes in Malaysia, 4,268 of them come from Indonesia.[14]

While efforts to curb human trafficking have begun to intensify, the challenge, however, remains enormous. In 2000, the Indonesian government revealed that there were at least 7,000 cases of women and children trafficking.[15] In Batam, Sumatera, a marked increase in the demand for commercial sex has transformed the area into a major centre for women and children trafficking, and social activists there believe that "as many as 90 per cent of the prostitutes we see have been trafficked".[16] During 2003–2004, about 4,270 Indonesian women and girls were reported to have been trafficked to Malaysia alone.[17] Minister for Women Empowerment Meutia Farida Hatta, for example, stated that cases of women trafficking in Indonesia in 2006 tended to increase. In December 2006, IOM also indicated that the problem of women and children trafficking in Indonesia tended to worsen.[18] Within the country, it is estimated that 30 per cent of all sex workers are children

[10] Verona, "Conquering Human Trafficking". Other estimations put the number as high as 700,000 to one million people per year. See, Bagong Suyanto, "*Perdagangan dan Eksploitasi Seksual Komersial Anak Perempuan*" [Children Traficking and Sexual Exploitation], *Jurnal Perempuan*, No. 29, 2003, p. 54.
[11] *Kompas*, 3 January 2007, and *Suara Karya*, 10 January 2007.
[12] Ruth Rosenberg (Ed.), *Perdagangan Perempuan dan Anak di Indonesia* (Jakarta: ICMC and ACILS, 2003).
[13] Sutedjo Yuwono et al., *Elimination of Trafficking in Person in Indonesia 2004–2005* (Jakarta: Coordinating Ministry for People's Welfare, 2005), p. 6.
[14] "Curbing Human Trafficking Syndicates", *Pledoi*, Vol. 1 No. 3, 2006, p. 12.
[15] *Kompas*, 27 August 2002.
[16] "Rough Trade", *The Age*, Accessed 30 April 2003, at www.theage.com.au/articles/2003/04/30/1051381978690.html
[17] Hamim, "Indonesian Experiences to Tackle Child Trafficking", p. 4.
[18] *Kompas*, 3 January 2007.

below 18 years of age.[19] As many as 70,000 children have been sold as sex commodities across the country's borders.[20] The deterioration of the situation is also related to the growing number of Indonesian migrant workers abroad, both legal and undocumented, a factor that opens up the possibility for all forms of exploitations and violence against migrant workers. For example, it is estimated that about 1,000 Indonesian female workers in Malaysia come to seek shelter and protection at the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur every year, escaping slave-like treatment, violence and sexual assaults.[21]

As in other countries, human trafficking in Indonesia also takes many forms. People are trafficked into forced labour, sexual services, servitude as domestic helpers (both domestic and abroad), baby selling, begging, contract marriages and marriage to foreigners in the form of "mail-order brides".[22] Whatever purposes they are trafficked for, it is clear that they are all victims of practices of exploitation, with severe material, physical and psychological impacts, and even life, for the victims. The majority of victims of trafficking are women and girls, who are trafficked, both within Indonesia and abroad, primarily into prostitution or work in entertainment establishments and into servitude as domestic helpers. According to the *United States Trafficking in Persons Annual Report 2007*, "a significant number of Indonesian women who go overseas each year to work as domestic servants are subjected to exploitation and conditions of involuntary servitude" and "internal sex and labour trafficking is rampant throughout Indonesia from rural to urban areas".[23]

Factors leading to trafficking in Indonesia have been well researched. Rosenberg, for example, points out that factors leading to vulnerability to trafficking in Indonesia include "poverty; low levels of education; cultural issues related to women's role in the family; relative status and power; children's role in the family; historic precedents of bonded labor; tradition of early marriage; gender biased laws; and the impacts of corruption".[24] Of all these factors, based on cases of trafficking in the country, "poverty is believed to be the most influential factor that lures victims of human trafficking".[25] Combined with the inability of the government to create jobs, especially after the financial crisis of 1997, the risk of

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[19] "Indonesia: Country Progress Report", p. 2.
[20] Devi Asmarani, "Indonesia's Shameful Export", *The Strait Times*, 8 June 2004.
[21] "Abused, Raped, Unpaid: In Malaysia, a refuge for domestic workers", *AFP*, Accessed 30 December 2007 at news.id.msn.com/regional/article.aspx?cp-documentis=1167901.
[22] For a detail discussions on these forms of trafficking in Indonesia, see ICMC and Solidarity Center, *When They Were Sold*, pp. 29–46.
[23] *Trafficking in Persons Report 2007*, U.S. Department of States, Washington D.C., 2007, p. 118.
[24] Rosenberg (Ed.), *Perdagangan Perempuan dan Anak*, p. 25. For a detail discussion of each factor see, ibid., pp. 137–171.
[25] Verona, "Conquering Human Trafficking".

trafficking has increased due to the growing influx of Indonesians, especially women, looking for jobs from rural to urban areas within the country and, more importantly, abroad. In this context, the problem of trafficking in Indonesia is also closely related to job migration movements.[26] The high number of undocumented Indonesian migrant workers abroad (especially to Malaysia) undoubtedly increases their vulnerability to trafficking.

Strategies of Securitization:International and National Context

It has been mentioned earlier that attention to efforts in combating the problem of human trafficking in Indonesia began to intensify over the last decade. The problem has now been recognized as serious by both the state and civil society activists. This clearly suggests that the problem of human trafficking has undergone a process of "status change", from "ordinary" to "urgent". This process resulted from the growing campaign by both international and domestic actors. Indeed, there has been a dynamic discourse in Indonesia regarding the issue since the late 1990s. The process of securitization of human trafficking has in one way or another occurred within this context, involving both international and domestic actors. The following discussion examines the nature of the securitization process within the context of the growing discourse on human trafficking in Indonesia by looking at actors involved (both international and domestic), strategies employed (in terms of speech act and advocacy strategies) and how the problem of human trafficking is framed within the ongoing discourse on the issue.

Actors in Counter-Trafficking: International and Domestic Context

The growing attention to the problem of human trafficking in Indonesia, like Southeast Asia in general, is an upshot of the growing concern on the problem at the international level. By the late 1990s, there was a surge in global attention to the problem of human trafficking as part of a growing attention to non-traditional security issues in the post-Cold War era. The Asia-Pacific region is no exception. In this regard, "the fact that the United States, the European Union and the United Nations—in their capacity as the three most important sources for donor funding and development aid—are the driving force behind projects and

[26] Cheah Wuiling, "Assessing Criminal Justice and Human Rights Models in the Fight Against Sex Trafficking: A Case Study of the ASEAN Region", *Essex Human Rights Review*, Vol. 3 No. 1, p. 55.

programmes on trafficking in the Asia Pacific cannot be denied".[27] The elevation of this problem to the global arena has also been driven by international non-state actors or international INGOs. These international actors, in their efforts to elevate the "status" of the problem from "normal" to "emergency" mode, often employ the language of security to convince an audience of the presence of the existential threat.[28] In other words, these international actors are all engaged in the securitization process of the issue.

The U.S., for example, plays an important role in tackling the problem of human trafficking across the world. The problem received major attention from the U.S. government in 1998 when President Clinton created an inter-agency working to address human trafficking, and then issued a directive on a U.S. government's anti-trafficking strategy.[29] Following the enactment of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) in October 2000, the U.S. government intensified its anti-trafficking efforts. In December 2002, President George W. Bush issued National Security Presidential Directive 22, which directed federal agencies to "strengthen their collective efforts, capabilities and coordination to support the policy to combat trafficking in persons".[30] In December 2005, Congress adopted the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2005 to strengthen anti-trafficking policies and programmes. In 2003, the U.S. government devoted around US$74 million to combat the problem worldwide. By 2006, the total budget allocated for combating trafficking both within the U.S. and internationally had reached US$162.3 million,[31] signifying the importance attached by the U.S. government to the issue. One of the most important initiatives of the U.S. government is the publication of its annual *Trafficking in Persons Report*, which ranks countries into one of four categories (Tier 1, Tier 2, Tier 2 Watch List and Tier 3), based on their efforts in complying with the minimum standards for eliminating human trafficking.

In 2001, the European Union, as a result of the growing influx of migration into the continent, began to intensify its counter-trafficking programmes in its agenda and gave a new priority to address the problem. The work of the EU in tackling the problem of human trafficking is based on the EU framework decision of 19 July 2002—the Brussels

[27] Nicola Piper, "A Problem by a Different Name? A Review of Research on Trafficking in South-East Asia and Oceania", *International Migration*, Vol. 43 (2005), p.. 213.
[28] Jackson, "International Organizations", p. 301.
[29] Julia Winding and Dijana Dmitruk, "U.S. and E.U. Responses to Human Trafficking". Accessed at humanityinaction.org/docs/EU_Lantos_Reports_2006/US_and_EU_responses_to_Human_Trafficking.pdf, p. 2.
[30] U.S. Government, "Fighting Human Trafficking Inside the United States". Accessed at usinfo.state.gov/gi/archive/2004/May/12-381449.html.
[31] Clare Ribando Seelke and Alison Siskin, "Trafficking in Persons: U.S. Policy and Issues for Congress", *CRS Report for Congress*, 10 January 2008, p. 51.

Declaration. Through programmes such as STOP, Daphne and AGIS, it provides support for counter-trafficking programmes, mainly within European countries and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).[32] Another European-based actor, the Organization for Security Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), has also devised an Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings in July 2003, which serves as a framework for the anti-trafficking efforts of the organization.[33] It focuses on legislative reform, law enforcement and public awareness.[34]

While the works by the UN on this issue have started since its inception, it is only over the last decade that it stepped up the efforts to combat human trafficking. Within the UN system, anti-trafficking efforts are carried out by the International Labour Organization (ILO), the International Organization of Migration (IOM), the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and other agencies. The most important initiative within the UN framework is the adoption of the Palermo Protocol in 2000, which has become a reference for global, regional and national initiative in combating trafficking in people. In March 2007, the UN launched a new UN Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (UN.GIFT). The initiative was meant "to create synergies among the anti-trafficking activities of UN agencies, international organizations and other stakeholders; foster partnerships for joint actions; and, above all, ensure everybody takes responsibility for this fight".[35] This initiative is managed in cooperation with several international organizations such as ILO, IOM, UNICEF, UNHCHR and OSCE.

The growing centrality of the problem of human trafficking at the global level leads to the availability of significant resources allocated by the international actors for supporting efforts to combat trafficking worldwide. The U.S. government, for example, has since 2001 spent over US$528 million to combat human trafficking internationally. In 2007, it supported 180 international anti-trafficking programmes in over 90 countries. The IOM, which has been working to counter human trafficking since 1994, has implemented almost 500 projects in 85 countries.[36] The impact of this increased focus on supporting anti-trafficking efforts has also been felt in Indonesia. As international attention on the problem of human trafficking increases, it in turn helps to increase the attention and efforts by both national governments and NGOs to tackle the problem in countries plagued by the problem of human trafficking.

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[32] UNDP, "Trafficking in Human Beings: A Guidance Note", September 2004. Accessed at europeandcis.undp.org/files/uploads/Gender%20CoP%20Istanbul%20January2005/Human%20Trafficking_Nadja_text_30March.pdf.
[33] OSCE. Accessed at www.osce.org/cthb/13336.html.
[34] UNDP, "Trafficking in Human Beings", p. 12.
[35] See, www.ungift.org.
[36] IOM, "Counter-Trafficking". Accessed at www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/pid/748.

In Indonesia, with the support of foreign governments and international NGOs, most work on anti-trafficking are carried out by local NGOs. The role of NGOs such as Migrant Care, Kopbumi, LBH-Apik, Fahmina and Koalisi Perlindungan Anak (Coalition for Child Protection) have been instrumental not only in highlighting the magnitude of the problem and raising public and government awareness of the problem but also in exercising public pressure for heightened response by the state. More recently, with the support from the U.S. government and private foundations such as the Asia Foundation, faith-based organizations such as the Muslim-based Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah also begin to get involved in efforts to combat human trafficking. These groups actively raise public awareness of the problem of human trafficking in Indonesia, conduct public advocacy on the imperative of tackling the problem, and are engaged in various programmes and activities to prevent human trafficking and offer protection to the victims of trafficking.

Strategies and Discourse: Characteristics of Securitization

At the global level, there is no doubt that securitization of human trafficking exists. There are at least five characteristics of the securitization strategy employed by most of international actors discussed earlier. First, despite the unavailability of accurate data, they continue to emphasize the salience of the issue by highlighting the number of people being trafficked worldwide. The U.S. government, for example, estimates that between two and four million people are trafficked worldwide, both within countries and across borders. It is estimated that the number of people being trafficked across borders could be between 600,000 and 800,000 each year. The ILO, for example, claims that there are about 12.3 million victims of forced labour at any given time.[37] The European Commission estimates that 120,000 women and children are brought illegally into Western Europe each year, mostly women trafficked for sexual purposes.[38] By highlighting the staggering number of victims, these actors try to convince their audience that the problem warrants serious attention and therefore urgent responses.

Second, the discourse on the issue is also framed in terms of human rights. The OSCE declares that "trafficking in human beings and other modern forms of slavery constitute an abhorrent violation of the dignity and rights of human beings".[39] The U.S. Government also

[37] Francis T. Miko, "Trafficking in Persons: The U.S. and International Response", *CRS Report for Congress*, 7 July 2006, p. 1.

[38] "EU Declares Battle Against Human Trafficking a Priority", Accessed at www.anti-slavery.org/homepage/news/eutraffick090301.htm

[39] *OSCE Declaration on Trafficking in Human Beings*, 7 December 2002.

declares human trafficking as "a heinous international crime and human right abuse".[40] Terre Des Hommes, an NGO, maintains that "trafficking in human beings for sexual exploitation or bounded labour is the worst form of human-rights violation".[41] Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan has also pointed to human trafficking is "one of the most egregious violations of human rights that the United Nations now confronts".[42] By framing the problem in terms of human-rights violations, human trafficking is clearly presented as a serious threat to human beings both in terms of human dignity and physical safety.

Third, the problem of human trafficking is also most commonly framed as a criminal problem that poses a national and trans-national security threat. The EU, for example, has criminalized the trafficking in human beings (THB) and its efforts to combat trafficking focus primarily on law enforcement. Within this framework, THB is also defined as a sub-set of trans-national crime that poses a serious threat to the state and society. ASEAN, for example, identifies human trafficking as one of eight generic trans-national crimes types that regional countries need to cooperate in combating them.[43] In the context of Central Asia, the EU states that "terrorist forces and their support groups operate in close liaison with trans-national crimes networks, smuggling drugs, arms and human beings".[44] The IOM has also argued, "Since trafficking is generally controlled by international criminal organizations, whose activities often include other forms of illicit trade and smuggling such as drugs and arms, it can have serious security implications for all affected countries."[45]

Fourth, the security dimension of human trafficking is also highlighted by linking it to the problem of migration. It has been noted that, for example, "the EU Member States' anti-trafficking policies and measures view trafficking primarily as a migration issue".[46] The

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[40] *Assessment of U.S. Activities to Combat Trafficking in Persons*, August 2003, p. 1.
[41] Terre Des Hommes, *EU Anti-Trafficking Project Annual Report 2006*, February 2007, p. 6.
[42] Quoted in Jenna Shearer Demir, "Trafficking of Women for Sexual Exploitation: A Gender-Based Well-Founded Fear? An Examination of Refugees Status Determination for Trafficked Prostituted Women from CEE/CIS Countries to Western Europe". A research paper submitted to the University of Pavia ESAS-CS in partial completion of the requirements of a Master in International Cooperation and Development, January 2003, p. 1.
[43] John McFarlane, "Regional and International Cooperation in Tackling Transnational Crime, Terrorism and the Problem of Disrupted States". A paper presented at the Conference on Reassessing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, Washington D.C., 20–21 November 2003. See also Work Plan to Implement the ASEAN Plan of Action to Combat Transnational Crimes, Kuala Lumpur, 17 May 2002. Accessed at www.aseansec.org/5616.htm
[44] European Union, *Strategy Paper 2002–2006 and Indicative Programme 2002–2004 for Central Asia*, 2002, quoted in Jackson, "International Organizations", p. 310.
[45] Quoted in Irene Susan B Natividad, "Trafficking in Women as a Non-Traditional Security Challenge: Philippine Cases and Responses", Centre of Asian Studies, the University of Hongkong, 2005, p. 6.
[46] Magdalena Ionescu, "A Human Security Approach to Anti-trafficking Policies in the EU: Tackling the Structural Sources of Vulnerability". Accessed at www.desk.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/download/es_6_Ionescu.pdf, p. 218.

linkage between human trafficking and migration is often reflected in states' policies to tighten border control as a necessary strategy to combat TIPs. For example, the OSCE maintains that "without prejudice to international commitment in relation to the free movement of people, strengthening, to the extent possible, border controls as may be necessary to prevent and detect THB".[47] ASEAN has also seen the "strengthening of border controls and monitoring mechanism" as an integral part of the Association's strategy in combating trafficking in persons.[48] As migration is often seen as a threat to states' control of border and even to societal and national security, and as cross-border migrants—especially undocumented ones—are vulnerable to trafficking, human trafficking is therefore seen as part of the security threat posed by the larger problem—albeit differently—of migration.

Fifth, a much clearer security dimension of the discourse on TIPs is evident in the use of "security language"—speech act—by some international actors. It has been argued that, for example, the "trafficking in persons is generally also perceived by international organizations as a threat to global security, because it is often part of a larger phenomenon of illegal migration and trans-national organized crime that is believed to threaten global governance and states around the world".[49] The OSCE declares that "trafficking in human beings represents a dangerous threat to security in the OSCE area and beyond".[50] Central to this approach is the tendency to frame the problem of TIPs as part of other security problems such as trans-national crimes, drug and arms smuggling, and terrorism. For example, a joint statement between President George W. Bush and Indonesia's President Megawati Sukarnoputri in September 2001 clearly stated that both countries would enhance cooperation to combat "trans-national crimes, including piracy, organized crimes, trafficking in persons, narcotics and smuggling of small arms".[51] The U.S. government regards human trafficking as a multi-dimensional threat and maintains that "the impact of human trafficking goes beyond individual victims; it undermines the health, safety and security of all nations it touches" and "it fuels the growth of organized crimes".[52] Australian Ambassador for People Smuggling

[47] See, "OSCE Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings", Annex to the OSCE Decision No. 2/2003 Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, 2 December 2003.
[48] "ASEAN Declaration Against Trafficking in Persons", 29 November 2004, Vientiane. Accessed at www.aseansec.org/16794.htm
[49] Jackson, "International Organizations", p. 303.
[50] OSCE Declaration on Trafficking in Human Beings, 7 December 2002.
[51] "U.S. and Indonesia Pledge Cooperation", Joint Statement Between the United States of America and the Republic of Indonesia. Accessed at www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/print/20010910-5.html
[52] "Facts About Human Trafficking", Fact Sheet, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, U.S. Department of State. Accessed at www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/fs/2005/60840.htm

Issues Caroline Millar argues that human trafficking "challenges national sovereignty in controlling borders and potentially threatens national security".[53]

The discourse on human trafficking in Indonesia has, to a certain extent, mirrored the debate at the global level. First, the "securitization" of human trafficking in Indonesia is carried out within the framework of human rights. Within this framework, forced prostitution and violence inflicted on the victims are two aspects of human-rights violation that are often highlighted by anti-trafficking advocates. Most research and studies on human trafficking in Indonesia, for example, emphasize the sexual exploitation of the victims and the violence against them. Human trafficking for sexual exploitation and cases of violence against Indonesia's migrant workers also tend to receive special attention in media reports on the issue.[54] An NGO activist clearly maintained that women trafficking constituted "gross human rights violation".[55] In this context, human trafficking is seen as a form of "violation of human rights"[56] that requires the state to undertake serious measures to combat the problem, by regarding the trafficked women—especially those for sexual purposes—as victims rather than as criminals or the disturbers of public order and societal moral code.[57]

Second, the problem has also been approached in terms of its linkage to the problem of migration. As the number of Indonesians seeking jobs abroad has increased dramatically since the economic crisis of 1997, the majority of trafficking cases occurred cannot be separated from the problem of migration. Many traffickers, for example, lure their victims by offering and promising them jobs abroad with much better salaries than at home. Due to job seekers' lack of information and education, many of them are tricked to take illegal channels to migrate and work abroad, thus making them more vulnerable to be exploited. The discourse on women trafficking within this framework highlights the inability of the state to protect its own citizens while they are working abroad. It emphasizes that, while the migrants have the right to seek jobs abroad, it is the obligation of the state to protect them and ensure that the process of migration for work is not exploited by traffickers. As the number of

[53] Caroline Millar, "Bali Process: Building Regional Cooperation to Combat People Smuggling and Trafficking in Persons". Speech at Institute for the Study of Global Movements, Monash University, 29 July 2004.
[54] This assessment is based on then author's survey of media reports over the period 2003–2007 on human trafficking cases.
[55] Quoted in Yuyun Wahyuningrum, ""Gender Politics in Trafficking Discourses in Indonesia". A paper presented at the International Conference on Mainstreaming Human Security: Asia Contribution, Bangkok, 4–5 October 2007, p. 20.
[56] R. Valentina Sagala, "*Memperjuangkan UU Pemberantasan 'Trafficking': Dari Pengalaman Perempuan*", *Kompas*, 20 June 2005.
[57] Wahyuningrum, "Gender Politics in Trafficking", p. 8.

trafficking cases among migrant workers is increasing due to the growing number of migrant workers, the state is then expected to pay more attention to this problem.

Third, the securitization process is also carried out through the criminalization of trafficking, making it an issue that requires law enforcement. This approach has been employed by both the state and other securitizing actors. As mentioned earlier, the state tends to see human trafficking posing a serious threat to the state, especially due to its (presumed) linkage with other trans-national organized crimes. Non-state actors undertake the criminalization of trafficking by highlighting the exploitation of victims by the traffickers. Indeed, many NGOs in Indonesia have pushed for the criminalization of trafficking acts and demand greater punishment for traffickers.[58] By framing the problem within the imperative of law enforcement, non-state securitizing actors expect the state to take drastic measures to combat human trafficking.

The "language of security" is also employed. The Head of Research and Information of Surabaya-based Children Protection Body (Lembaga Perlindungan Anak), Priyono Nugroho, states that "trafficking is as dangerous as terrorism".[59] Primo Alui Joelianto, the Director General for Asia-Pacific and African Affairs at the Foreign Ministry, states, "We see that people and weapons smuggling have allowed the global terror network to become well-established with finance sources from drug trafficking."[60] Another diplomat has also asserted that "in Indonesia, sex trafficking will remain a threat to the community".[61] Some NGOs activists also maintain that "trafficking (in persons) can create security threats beyond the boundaries of any nation".[62] While it is still a rare view, the problem of human trafficking is also framed as a threat to human security, especially due to the violation of human rights involved in the process.[63] By employing such "language of security" and linking it to other threats, the securitizing actors try to convince the Indonesian government that human trafficking is an existential threat and therefore urgent measures are required to address it.

[58] Hamim, "Indonesian Experiences to Tackle Child Trafficking", p. 12.
[59] *Suara Karya*, 13 December 2005.
[60] Lilian Buanto, "ARF Urges Improved Ties to Fight Terror", *The Jakarta Post*, 23 February 2008.
[61] Verona, "Conquering Human Trafficking".
[62] Usman Hamid and Eko Waluyo, "The Lombok Treaty Problem", *The Jakarta Post*, 27 February 2008.
[63] Abubakar Eby Hara, "Promoting Women Security as Human Security: Indonesian Women Attempt to Find Their Place in the Newly Indonesia Democracy". A paper presented at the International Development Studies Conference on Mainstreaming Human Security: The Asian Contribution, 4–5 October 2007, Bangkok.

State's Responses and Outcomes: Explaining the Securitization Gap

Indeed, the growing international and national attention to the problem of human trafficking has increased the attention of the Indonesian government to the problem. Since 2000, the Indonesian government has begun to take measures to address the problem. It has elevated the status of the problem from "ordinary" to "urgent". In fact, as mentioned earlier, the Indonesian government has also been taking part in securitizing the problem within the ASEAN process. However, whether this increased attention can be seen as a case for a complete securitization process still requires a deeper analysis. Indeed, as Emmers has noted, a securitization process cannot be seen as complete unless it also produces an effective policy response by the state to the problem being securitized.[64]

Efforts to Combat Trafficking: Progress and the Rhetoric-Policy Gaps

As the international community intensifies its counter-trafficking efforts, Indonesia is beginning to pay more attention to the problem. Indeed, there has been significant progress in the country's efforts to combat the problem. In 2000, Indonesia became a signatory party to the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. However, a more coordinated and comprehensive effort by the Government of Indonesia (GoI) to combat human trafficking began to take shape with the adoption of a National Plan of Action for the Elimination of Trafficking in Women and Children (NPA) by Presidential Decree No. 88 in 2002. Indonesia has also developed a National Plan of Action for the Eradication of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the same year through Presidential Decree No. 87. In March 2007, after more than four years of debate in Parliament, the anti-trafficking bill was passed into Law No. 21/2007 on the Suppression of the Crime of Trafficking in Persons, providing, for the first time, a specific legal basis for counter-trafficking efforts in Indonesia.

The government has also undertaken a number of institutional changes to support its counter-trafficking measures. For example, a multi-sectoral task force to implement the NPA was created in 2002 and has brought together various key government ministries, especially the Ministries for Women Empowerment, Social Affairs, Manpower and Transmigration, Justice and Foreign Affairs, as well as the Indonesian Police, in order to better coordinate

[64] See, Emmers, "The Securitization of Transnational Crime in ASEAN", pp. 16–17.

counter-trafficking programmes and activities.[65] It has also taken a specific measure to provide a systemic approach to the victims of trafficking by developing Standard Operating Procedures for Return, Recovery, and Reintegration of trafficking victims.[66] The Ministry for Women Empowerment and the Office of the Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare have been actively encouraging provincial and district-level agencies to step up their counter-trafficking measures, especially with regard to the protection of victims.[67]

One of the most important measures in this regard has been the proliferation of local government regulations at the provincial and district levels on the elimination of trafficking in women and children.[68] A significant number of special task forces (*gugus tugas*) has been formed within provincial and district governments to combat the problem, and assist victims of trafficking to recovery and reintegration. Even before the enactment of Law No. 21/2007, which makes it mandatory for local governments to establish such a task force, several provincial and district governments—such as those in North Sumatera, East Java, Riau Island, North Sulawesi and West Kalimantan provinces—have already set up such task forces with their own funds.[69] Moreover, a growing number of Special Service Rooms (RPK) in district-level police stations, which provide services to trafficked individuals, is being put in place. In 2007, there were over 280 of such services across Indonesia.[70]

Improvements can also be found in the areas of law enforcement and justice. The Indonesian Police, for example, has set up several special units to tackle the problem of human trafficking. While these units are expected to focus their work on the protection of victims as well as the persecution of traffickers, most of the police activities focus on the latter. Indeed, the Indonesian Police has made notable progress in disrupting rings of human traffickers over the last few years. Between 2002 and 2004, for example, the Indonesian Police handled 323 cases of trafficking.[71] The number of arrests made has also increased over the last four years. In January 2006, for example, the Indonesian Police foiled an attempt to send 60 illegal women workers from West Java abroad and arrested two traffickers.[72] In February 2006, the Police uncovered an organized-crime network in Medan that had been

[65] ASEAN Secretariat and IOM, *ASEAN and Trafficking in Persons*, p. 32.
[66] Kim Warren, "Trafficking of Women and Children in Indonesia", p. 5.
[67] Hamim, "Indonesian Experiences to Tackle Child Trafficking", p. 4.
[68] For a detail discussion on local governments' regulations, see ICMC and Solidarity Center, *When They Were Sold*.
[69] Hamim, "Indonesian Experiences to Tackle Child Trafficking", p. 4
[70] Interview, Hana Satriyo, Director for Gender Program, the Asia Foundation, Jakarta, 14 April 2008.
[71] *The Elimination of Trafficking in Persons in Indonesia, 2004–2005*, Coordinating Ministry for People's Welfare (Jakarta: 2005), p. 18.
[72] "Police Foil Trafficking Attempt", *The Jakarta Post*, 26 January 2006.

involved in human trafficking since 2003.[73] In October 2007, the Police arrested two traffickers in Jambi, Sumatera, when they were about to send 103 illegal migrant workers to Malaysia.[74] Programmes that provide training necessary for the police have also been carried out over the last few years. In August 2007, for example, the Indonesian Police was the first in the world to receive a computer-based training programme to combat human trafficking and to increase its intelligence on the issue.[75] Training for judges and state prosecutors have also been conducted so that they can preside over cases of trafficking with sufficient knowledge about the problem.

Despite the growing efforts in combating trafficking and its own involvement in securitizing the problem, the actual response by Indonesia's government to the problem remains subject to criticism. Wahyu Susilo, an activist at Migrant Care, for example, has argued that Indonesia's efforts in eliminating human trafficking have not yielded significant progress over the last two years.[76] Even an expert staff to the Minister for Women Empowerment, for example, admitted that Indonesia was not serious enough in combating human trafficking.[77] A lack of attention from local governments has also been identified as a source of major problem in the effort to combat trafficking. An official from the Ministry of Health, for example, complained that, despite the fact that the majority of victims of trafficking come from West Java province, the local government has not paid adequate attention to the problem.[78] Despite the enactment of Law No. 21/2007 on Anti-Trafficking, the enforcement of the law continues to be seen as weak, and anti-trafficking efforts have not taken into account the needs and rights of the victims.[79]

The inadequacy of Indonesia's response can also be seen from the allocation of resources to combat the problem of human trafficking. It is true that, as discussed earlier, there have been some institutional changes made by the GoI to better address the problem. However, the resources allocated to combat the problem are still limited. It hardly matches the security claims made by the government itself. For example, the overall budget allocated to the Ministry of Women Empowerment, which is assigned as a leading sector in coordinating efforts to combating human trafficking, constitutes only 0.06 per cent of the

[73] "Polisi Bongkar Sindikat Perdagangan Manusia", *Kompas*, 25 February 2006.
[74] Nurni Sulaiman and Jon Afrizal, "E. Kalimantan Cities Seen as Gateway for Trafficking", *The Jakarta Post*, 10 November 2007.
[75] "RI First With Anti-Trafficking Training for Police Officers", *The Jakarta Post*, 16 August 2007.
[76] Damayanti, "Human Trafficking Rate in Indonesia Still High".
[77] "*Indonesia Belum Serius Antisipasi Perdagangan Manusia*" [Indonesia Is Not Yet Serious in Anticipating Human Trafficking Problem]. Accessed at www.detiknews.com, 26 August 2006.
[78] "*Jawa Barat Pemasok Korban Trafficking Tertinggi*", *Republika*, 10 May 2007.
[79] "*300 Warga Jawa Timur Korban Perdagangan Manusia*", *Koran Tempo*, 26 July 2007.

2007 national budget (IDR 139 billion or US$15 million). While the exact amount of budget allocated to counter-trafficking programmes is not specified within the ministry's budget, it is estimated that only a small fraction goes to counter-trafficking programmes, especially to those related to child protection and public awareness on the issue. In fact, the ministry does not have a specific allocation for counter-trafficking programmes.[80] In the area of law enforcement, the police have often complained that their efforts to investigate cases of human trafficking are often hampered by the lack of adequate operational budget, which amounts only to IDR 50,000 (US$7) per case.[81]

The case of West Kalimantan province provides an example of the obvious gap between the government's rhetoric on the one hand and actual policy response on the other. A study by Sri Mastuti reveals that in 2006 the Government of West Kalimantan allocated only 0.03 per cent of its overall budget to counter-trafficking programmes. In 2007, it was increased to only 0.53 per cent of the overall local budget.[82] Anti-trafficking efforts in both sending and receiving provinces, such as in East Nusa Tenggara and Papua, also suffer from the problem of inadequate financial resources and lack of capacity. NGOs complain about the lack of commitment on the part of the law enforcement apparatus. Meanwhile, officials of the government-initiated task forces often argue that they cannot perform adequately due to a lack of funding.[83] Compared to the government's response to the problem of terrorism, the policy response to the problem of trafficking remains within "normal politics". To counter terrorism, which has also been heavily securitized, the Indonesian government allocated a significant portion of the national budget and introduced necessary institutional changes, including the creation of a very effective anti-terrorist task force called Detachment-88 and the establishment of several anti-terrorism training centres across the country.[84]

External Pressure and Domestic Constraints

It is clear that despite the growing acknowledgement and rhetoric by the state regarding the danger of—and threat posed by—the problem of human trafficking, policy responses remain

[80] See, Annex, Sri Mastuti et al., "*Laporan Penilitian Studi Kinerja Pemerintah Kalimantan Barat Dalam Pemberantasan Perdagangan Orang*" (Jakarta: CiBa, 2007).
[81] Anis Hamim, "Indonesian Legislation to Counter Commercial Sexual Exploitation Against Children: Crucial Problems and Challenges". A paper presented at the Southeast Asian Conference on Trafficking in Children for Sexual Purposes, Medan, 28–30 March 2004, p. 5.
[82] Mastuti et al., "Laporan Penelitian", p. 44.
[83] See, *Rapid Assessment Report*, conducted by ACIL and ICMC on 19 November – 12 December 2007.
[84] For a detailed analysis on Indonesia's response to terrorism, see, Rizal Sukma, "The Quite Achiever: Indonesia's Response to Terrorism". A paper presented at the Third Bi-Annual International Symposium on Creating Effective State and Regional Responses to Counter-Terrorism, Goa, India, 17–19 October 2006.

inadequate. Indeed, there have not been enough developments to suggest that the problem of trafficking has been moved beyond normal politics. Why does such a gap exist? The key factor that creates such a gap can be located in the continuing dominance of state-centric perspective or approach in looking at the problem of human trafficking in Indonesia.[85] The state-centric view tends to prioritize state security over human security. Within this state-centric perspective, counter-trafficking measures in Indonesia have not adequately addressed the problem in terms of the victim's perspective. Such dominance in turn leads to a number of problems that hinder any extraordinary response to the problem of human trafficking.

Central to the state-centric perspective or approach is the notion of human trafficking as a problem that brings about negative implications for the interests of the state or the nation. In this context, the need to protect national dignity, the international image of the Indonesian state and the moral foundation of the nation become the key motivation behind efforts to address the problem of human trafficking. The Islamic-based Justice and Prosperity Party (PKS), for example, sees the problem of trafficking as giving the impression that Indonesia is "incapable to protect its citizens and is grouped with countries which have bad records on trafficking in persons". The PKS also asserts that trafficking has "disgraced Indonesia's dignity and identity as a nation".[86] An official at the Ministry of Women Empowerment also stated, "Indonesia is committed to eliminate human trafficking, especially women and children. This is a matter of *national dignity* and human rights."[87]

As the response to the problem of human trafficking is not necessarily motivated by the genuine need to protect the victims, both in terms of needs and rights, it is not surprising that efforts to combat trafficking in Indonesia have not shown a degree of consistency. When Indonesia was placed under the Tier-3 category by the U.S. government report on TIPs during the period 2000-2001, efforts to combat trafficking began to intensify. These efforts received acknowledgement and won praise in the U.S., which eventually put Indonesia under the Tier-2 category during 2003–2005. However, in 2006, Indonesia was downgraded again to the Tier 2 Watch List before it was placed again under Tier-2 in 2007. In this regards, it has been argued that Indonesia's response to human trafficking has also been motivated by the need to escape sanctions from the U.S., such as restrictions on fund not only for counter-trafficking measures but also for non-humanitarian and non-trade aids. Wahyu Susilo, for

[85] For a detailed discussion on the state-centric approach to human trafficking, see Ionescu, "A Human Security Approach to Anti-trafficking", pp. 216–220.
[86] Quoted in Wahyuningrum, "Gender Politics in Trafficking Discourses in Indonesia", p. 16.
[87] "*Indonesia Belum Serius Antisipasi Perdagangan Manusia*" [Indonesia Is Not Yet Serious in Anticipating Human Trafficking Problem]. Accessed at www.detiknews.com, on 26 August 2006. Emphasis added.

example, argued that progress in Indonesia's efforts to counter human trafficking was driven also by the need to secure access to foreign aid.[88] In other words, Indonesia's response to the problem of human trafficking has been seen as being subject to the pressure exercised by the international community, especially the U.S. government.

The dominance of the state-centric approach is inevitably reflected also in the inadequate attention given to the victims in the government's response to the problem of human trafficking. This approach dictates the state apparatus to prioritize state security over that of human security due to differences in the emphasis given by state on the one hand and the securitizing actors on the other. While the securitizing non-state actors have tried to place the problem of human trafficking in a comprehensive framework (such as crime, human rights and migration), the state tends to put emphasis on human trafficking as a crime problem. In other words, within the state-centric perspective, the referent object of security is the state, not the people. Indeed, there have been complaints by NGOs that the state apparatus in charge of combating trafficking often see trafficked persons as offenders rather than as victims. In this context, it has been noted that "a woman suspected of being trafficked is far more likely to be treated as an illegal immigrant, liable for deportation, than as someone whose human rights have been violated".[89] Within the context of cross-border trafficking, it has been argued that the "protection of trafficked women is, at present, not a strong focus of destination governments who are concentrating their efforts on impenetrable borders".[90]

The fact that the government's response to the problem of human trafficking is primarily driven by the need to response to growing international pressure, especially by the U.S., also suggests that the securitization by international actors have increased the attention of the Indonesian government on the issue. However, the above discussion also suggests that the increased attention has not been necessarily translated into a full-pledged policy response beyond normal politics. It has been mentioned earlier that the response by the Indonesian government to the problem of human trafficking at home has not been adequate, and the problem persists. Measures to combat human trafficking have not moved beyond normal politics. The reasons for this have to be located within Indonesia's domestic context. There are at least four domestic factors that account for the gap between the rhetoric and actual policy response in Indonesia's efforts to combat trafficking.

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[88] Quoted in Wahyuningrum, "Gender Politics in Trafficking Discourses", p. 18.
[89] Gillian Wylie, "Securing States or Securing People? Human Trafficking and Security Dilemmas", in *Studies: Irish Quarterly Review, A Website of the Jesuit in Ireland*. Accessed at www.studiesirishreview.com/articles/2006/Wylie.htm
[90] Demir, *Trafficking of Women for Sexual Exploitation*, p. 42.

First, it has been widely argued that the difficulty in combating human trafficking in Indonesia is primarily due to structural factors such as poverty. It has been noted, for example, that "trafficking victims mostly come from poverty-stricken areas or places where jobs and financial opportunities are limited".[91] A study on child trafficking in Central Java, Yogyakarta and East Java also found that the majority of trafficked children, especially for sexual purposes, come from poor families in rural areas.[92] The economic situation in Indonesia has indeed deteriorated since the economic crisis of 1997, which forced millions of people back to under the poverty line. Economic hardship in turn forces people in rural areas, especially women, to seek jobs in the cities or abroad as a strategy of survival. Coupled with the lack of information, the lack of protection by the state and the lack of education, they become vulnerable to trafficking.

Second, efforts to combat human trafficking are also hampered by cultural constraints. The occurrence of human trafficking, especially if the victims have been subject to sexual exploitation, is often regarded as a shame to the community. This attitude leads to an attitude of denial by state officials, especially at the sub-district and village levels.[93] Victims are also reluctant to come forward and report cases due to the fear of rejection by family and society. Moreover, it is not uncommon to find those in the society who argue that the root cause of the human trafficking problem lies with the women themselves. According to this view, women should not go abroad to seek jobs. They should stay at home as *ibu* (mother) instead.[94] In other words, cultural factors tend to work against any counter-trafficking efforts, especially in uncovering cases of trafficking, providing protection to the victims and punishing the traffickers.

Third, human trafficking also strives in Indonesia due to the complicity of a corrupt state apparatus. In this regards, corruption constitutes a major problem that renders anti-trafficking measures difficult. For example, it has been noted that law enforcement agents are easily bribed by the traffickers.[95] Corruption has also been pointed out as the main reason for the ease with which identity cards can be obtained. Traffickers often provide under-aged girls with identity cards stating that they are over 18 years old.[96] The ILO also noted that "obvious

[91] "The Tragedy of Human Trafficking", *Asia Views*, Vol. I No. 17, September – October 2007, p. 4.
[92] ILO and IPEC, *Perdagangan Anak Untuk Tujuan Pelacuran di Jawa Tengah, Yogyakarta, dan Jawa Timur: Sebuah Kajian Cepat* [Child Trafficking for Prostitution in Central Java, Yogyakarta, and East Java: A Rapid Assessment0 (Jakarta: ILO, 2004), p. 29.
[93] Wahyuningrum, "Gender Politics in Trafficking Discourses", p. 14.
[94] Ibid., p. 16.
[95] Adriana Venny, "Child Trafficking: Saved by the New Law?" *Asia Views*, Vol. I No. 17, September – October 2007, p. 13.
[96] Hamim, "Indonesian Experiences to Tackle Child Trafficking", p. 6.

crimes of trafficking have been ignored by law enforcement authorities and bypassed by corrupt police officials, border guards, labour inspectors and the judiciary".[97] Collusion between traffickers and corrupt police officials, especially in cases of trafficking for sexual purposes, has been found to be the main obstacle for counter-trafficking measures.[98] In short, corruption creates an environment that facilitates human trafficking due to the absence of fear among the traffickers.

Fourth, the problem of inadequate attention and response to the problem of TIPs in Indonesia reflects a much deeper problem of the marginal position of human--security perspective within the Indonesian state. State security remains the highest priority for government officials and politicians. The Indonesian government, despite its rhetoric, has not considered the problem of human trafficking to posing an existential threat to the state. Here, despite the securitization by non-state actors, human trafficking remains at the bottom of the hierarchy of security urgency within the Indonesian state. Top priorities are still given to issues that pose threats to the state such as separatism and terrorism, rather than to threats to human being. It has been asserted that the difficulty in combating human trafficking "is due to the low level of awareness of the importance of protecting the rights of women and children".[99] In other words, the security of the state still takes precedence over human security within the national security discourse.

Trafficking as a Human Security Problem: Alternative Road to Securitization

Identifying the dominance of state-centric perspective as a major obstacle to counter-trafficking measures in Indonesia opens up an alternative road to the securitization of human trafficking. In this regards, a human-security approach provides a much more promising path towards the securitization of human trafficking. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, the problem of inadequate attention and response to the problem of human trafficking in Indonesia reflects a broader problem of the marginal position of human-security perspective within the Indonesian state. Despite the fact that the process of securitization of human trafficking in Indonesia by NGOs and international actors has incorporated aspects of human security (such as human rights, crime and migration), the overall strategy of securitization has not been framed within the broader framework of human-security discourse. Discourse, or speech act,

[97] ILO, *Demand Side of Human Trafficking in Asia: Empirical Findings* (Bangkok, ILO, 2006), p. 20.
[98] See, Harkristuti Harkrisnowo, *Indonesian Country Report: Human Trafficking*, 26 February 2003.
[99] Venny, "Child Trafficking: Saved by the New Law?" p. 13.

that presents human trafficking as a threat to human security in Indonesia remains scanty. Similarly, human trafficking is also rarely framed within, or analysed from, the perspective of security. Even when the problem is framed within a security perspective, it hardly moves beyond linking it to the problem of trans-national crimes, which in turn overshadows the need to understand and address the problem in a comprehensive manner and in its own right. In other words, without framing it within the broader framework of threats to human security, the securitization of human trafficking in Indonesia will remain inadequate.

Indeed, the lack of focus on the human dimension in the state-centric approach requires a new approach that will bring the people back in the discourse on, and the practice of, combating human trafficking. A human-security approach provides just that in that it places the human being at the centre and recognizes both his or her physical security and the protections of basic liberties.[100] Human security "allows us to focus on the protection and security of the individual and the community rather than on the state and its territorial integrity".[101] Applied to the problem of human trafficking, it also recognizes the victims as at risk, not as a risk or a cause of insecurity. The complexity of the human-trafficking issue makes it difficult to be tackled by any one actor, by focusing on a particular aspect of the issue, or by ignoring the political, social, and economic context within which it occurs; thus allowing us to also understand the root causes of the problem. And, addressing "the root causes means to address issues with development in general and social development in specific".[102]

A human-s ity approach also requires active participation of both non-state and state actors in a partnership relationship. It has been noted that "the role of the state is central to human security in that it has the power and the means to ensure physical security of its citizens".[103] In this context, human security provides a framework that allows the integration of protection and prosecution—which tend to be the focus of the state-centric approach—with that of prevention. Through this integration, rather than treating prevention, protection and prosecution respectively as a parallel undertaking, efforts to combat trafficking would not only focus on the protection of victims and persecution of traffickers but also seek to eradicate the vulnerable environment that gives rise to the problem in the first place. More importantly, arguing that human trafficking is a human-security issue should not be that difficult. The challenge, however, lies in the imperative of persuading and convincing the

[100] Ionescu, "A Human Security Approach to Anti-trafficking", p. 221.
[101] Ibid., p. 220.
[102] Piper, "A Problem by a Different Name?", p. 226.
[103] Ionescu, "A Human Security Approach to Anti-trafficking", p. 220.

state to move from a state-centric to a human-security approach in addressing the problem of human trafficking. That is where the securitization strategy based on the framework of human security is needed the most.

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