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Human (In)security, Human Trafficking and Security in Malaysia

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Abstract

Trafficking in human beings is one example of the world's growing number of transnational threats to security. While trafficking in humans is not a new transnational issue, in Southeast Asia the magnitude of the problem is unprecedented. Focusing on Malaysia, this paper discusses how human *insecurity* has led to human trafficking, which in turn constitutes a threat to every state's national security. The paper discusses the concept of human security, and in that context discusses the magnitude of the trafficking problem today, and its implications for Malaysia's security in general. The paper concludes that in planning for security it is crucial to include the protection of the individual inhabitants of a country, in addition to the protection of the state itself--recognizing that the people's survival and well-being is essential to the health and survival of the nation. Similarly, both regional and international security are affected by transnational threats such as human trafficking, and efforts to address these problems require cooperative efforts on a global scale. At all levels, human security and quality of life must become a focus in designing security policies.

Keywords: insecurity, human trafficking, security, transnational, national security

Biodata

**Zarina Othman earned her PhD in International Studies from the University of Denver, Denver, Colorado (USA). Her fields of study are International Politics, Comparative Politics, and International Security Studies; and research interests center on Islam; gender and development issues; Southeast Asia regional security studies; as well as the area of human security and nonmilitary threats. She is now a lecturer at the School of History, Politics and Strategy, of the UKM and currently conducting two major research studies, one on trafficking in women and children as a challenge to the national security of Malaysia, and the other on how Malaysia perceives security threats in Southeast Asia.*

Human (In)security, Human Trafficking and Security in Malaysia

Introduction

The 21st century's international political environment has given rise to three major themes in the international security arena. First, nonmilitary security threats have become more prominent on the world's security agendas. Among those non-military threats are poverty and hunger, and related economic inequities; environmental degradation; inadequate sanitation and health care, and contagious diseases; lack of education; crime and corruption—including trafficking in humans, drugs, and weapons—are. The second major theme is the awakening of leaders to a better understanding of the roles played by “non-state actors,” who may have either economic or political motives in their activities that affect our world's security. The increasing impact of transnational non-military threats—activities that move across borders, do not represent any sovereign state, and yet have a terrible effect on the human race as well as on sovereign states of the world. Among these threats include the activities of terrorist groups and organized crime. Finally, from the above themes emerges the urgent need to investigate the root causes of these threats, and to rethink and redesign our security measures accordingly.

One of the issues deemed most important, one that has increasingly grown in magnitude, is the trafficking in human beings—men, women and children. Human trafficking is not a new phenomenon. It began thousands of years ago, in the form of slavery and forced servitude. While we may like to think that such forms of exploitation have ended, human trafficking has emerged as a new form.¹ This “old wine in a new bottle” is real. Trafficking of women and children, for example, generates the third largest source of profits for organized crime, after weapons and illicit drug trafficking.² (Transnational organized crime—TOC—refers to well-organized and intricately connected networks of “syndicates” that form a sinister web encompassing the globe.)

¹ See Diana Wong. “Border Controls, Illegal Migration and the Sovereignty of the Nation-State.” IKMAS Paper Work Series, No. 10. (UKM: IKMAS, July 2004)

² Skeldon, Ronald, “Trafficking: A Perspective from Asia.” In Reginald Appleyard, ed. 2000. *Perspectives on Trafficking of Migrants*. (Geneva: International Organization for Migration and the UN), p. 13.

The US government, in statistics published in 2002, estimated that the largest number of victims trafficked during the previous year—about 225,000—had come from Southeast Asia, and another 150,000 are from the countries of South Asia³. These numbers are likely to have increased during these past two years. In Southeast Asia, a region with impressive economic growth in recent times, (except during the Asian economic crisis, 1997-1998), Malaysia is one of the favorite destinations for trafficking victims.

Focusing on Southeast Asia in general and on Malaysia especially, this paper argues that human insecurity has led to human trafficking, which in turn constitutes a threat to every state's national security. It is hoped that the discussion provided in the paper will shed light especially on a shift from focusing on the state as the primary entity to be protected—an approach traditionally known simply as “national security”—to focusing even more on protecting the human beings who live in that state. This newer approach, is commonly known as “human security.” The understanding gained from this new approach is different from the assumptions and perceptions of the traditional security view, in which security most often meant defending territorial boundaries from immediate attack. New insights may contribute to a better design of overall regional security, with strategies to address not only human trafficking but also similar transnational threats—threats that cannot be confronted by one country alone.

Security and Human (In)security

When we examine the exact meaning of the word “security,” the closest meaning to it is “safety.” However, in the field of international relations, security has been defined as “protection against threats.” As a general rule, states seek security mainly to defend themselves from what they consider to be threats--imagined or real--to their survival. “Survival” however, may be defined broadly or narrowly. States often broaden their idea of survival to justify aggression that goes well beyond current survival needs. They project into their future and come to believe that long-term survival depends on becoming bigger, or more powerful—or upon eliminating or reducing the strength and power of

³ CRS report for Congress. *Trafficking in Women and Children: The US and International Response*. (March 18 2002).

other states. On the other hand, a state may narrow its definition of survival by not including survival of certain individuals and groups among their citizens.

Given the fact that the world is comprised of nations and states with different cultural and historical backgrounds as well as geographical settings, the way states seek to preserve their national security will not be the same for all. National security policy varies from one region to another, from one state to another, and from one time to another. It will vary also with circumstances that arise, both planned and unplanned. In other words, national security is not a concept in which “one size fits all.” Thereby, what the United States defined as a national security threat may not be an issue at all to Malaysia, and vice versa.

Any discussion of security today would not be complete without including the views of “Realism,” one of the major schools of thought in the field of international security studies. This school, (including its more recent variant group known as Neo-realism), attempts to view the world “as it is,” and has understood security as “high politics”—the highest priority in any state’s agenda. To Realists, to focus on security is to focus on the security of the state itself. They argue that states are the main actors in world politics, that states rationally pursue their interests by focusing mostly on external threats--threats from outside the political boundaries of the state. In addition, Realists recognize that security has been mainly the domain of the military, and they have emphasized the potential--as well as the actual--conflicts between states. Their understanding of national security leads them to conclude that the state has to be stronger than its enemies in a world where war can break out at anytime; and peace—defined by them as simply “the absence of war”—is always only temporary. Therefore, each state must decide the best means to preserve its national interests, and that always includes being prepared to use force or to go to war in order to survive.

Although this Realist tradition has a long history,⁴ the idea of national security actually is a relatively new concept that emerged after the end of the World War II. It was put forward by the American president Harry S. Truman, in 1949. Today all states are concerned about their national security, about their survival as a state, and about

⁴ Among the classic political philosophers that have discussed the concept of security include Thucydides (471-400 BC) in *The Peloponnesian War*; Niccolo` Machiavelli 1469-1527) in *The Prince* and Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) in *Leviathan*.

defending themselves from threats—real or perceived, internal or external. More broadly conceived, threats can include events, activities and entities that have the potential to weaken or damage the very core values of the state. In fact, anything that brings change to the basic elements that comprise the state may be considered as a threat.

For the developing countries, categorized by Barry Buzan as “weak states” who are vulnerable to political threats,⁵ national security is certainly no less important than to other countries. However, national security for the developing countries differs somewhat from the concept held by the well-developed countries. Due to lack of unity within many of a region's states, uneven economic development, and unresolved ideological as well as cultural conflicts, developing countries face a different set of problems. Alagappa indicates the need to define the concept of national security differently, because the security issues of developing states “are seldom explored comprehensively and in their own right.”⁶

As a developing country, Malaysia has defined its national security mainly in terms of preserving its national boundaries and important core values, and as protecting its most important entities. The latter includes its parliamentary democracy, constitutional monarch, its national constitution, and its unity as the Malaysian nation.⁷ Anything that can threaten items on this list will be defined as a threat to Malaysia's national security. The Malaysian government also recognizes that threats do not necessarily originate externally.

Besides, Malaysia has long acknowledged the fact that “security begins at home,” which means we have to be strong on the inside in order to be stronger on the outside.⁸ In that sense, Malaysians are very fortunate, because our government has realized the importance of domestic issues and in fact officially declared illicit drug trafficking (*dadah*), for example, as a threat to its national security as early as 1983, at a time when most other countries were still struggling to understand how illicit drugs and related

⁵ Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear*, 2nd. ed., (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991), p. 156.

⁶ Muthiah Alagappa, *The National Security of Developing States: Lessons From Thailand*. (Dover: MA: Auburn Huse Publishing, 1987), p.1.

⁷ See Kamarulnizam Abdullah and Mahmud Embung, “Kepentingan strategik di dalam keselamatan negara Malaysia, “ dalam *Sejarah: Jurnal Jabatan Sejarah Universiti Malaya*, (6), 151-176.

⁸ Speech given by former Deputy Prime Minister, Dato' Musa Hitam at Harvard Club, Singapore (1986).

issues could actually affect a nation as a whole, not just the individuals who are directly involved. Nevertheless, even in Malaysia, the focus of national security has largely remained on the state as the main entity to be protected. What we seem to be having trouble understanding is the growing interconnectedness in the world--the growing interdependence between and among states, both rich and poor, developed and developing countries. Issues that are important for one country so often have a spillover impact onto other countries.

In Malaysia, as we all know, the National Development Policy that was designed in 1990 replaced the former New Economic Policy that had been established 20 years before. Later, in 1991, our former Prime Minister, Dato' Sri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, announced the "Vision 2020," outlining the goals for changing Malaysia into a "developed" country and presenting the National Vision Policy. All of these policies were designed at least partly to strengthen our security at home!

At the international level the United Nations has acknowledged some of these problems, including the need to change some of our notions regarding the concept of security. In one of its annual reports, *Human Development 1994*, there was introduced the concept of "human security."⁹ This term refers to a kind of security that does not focus on traditional "national security." It focuses instead on the importance of protecting the safety, health, and well-being of the human race—not just the security of one's own people, but of all--cutting across distinctions and boundaries of nationality and ethnicity, class and culture, gender, religion, etc. To be more specific the UN refers to its human security concept as "freedom from fear and freedom from wants."

In this paper I referred to as acknowledging and protecting basic human rights and meeting the basic needs of all the people. By human rights, I refer to the freedom to participate in all legal aspects of community life, including government, to express their culture, practice their religion and other manifestations of their identity; and to the granting and protection of other rights necessary to ensure freedom from fear of threats to human survival, health and well-being. By basic needs, I mean adequate food, clean water and sanitation, safe shelter, basic education and health care. Such is the nature of

⁹ UNDP. *Human Development Report 1994*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

an interconnected world, that both threats and security from threats must take on this focus.

Nevertheless, the idea of human security does not ignore the importance of national/ state entities. Rather, it holds the perspective that in the long run human security is essential to the well-being of the state itself. One entity cannot exist in a sustainably secure state of being without the other. When the people of a country suffer from a lack of safety, health, and overall well-being—in other words, when as individuals and groups they do not experience a state of being secure--then the country as a whole, including its sovereignty and ability to protect against outside threats, is put at risk. When there is poor health among the populace--not only their physical and mental health, but also poor economic and social health--then the health of the nation itself is also threatened. Providing protection and security to the people is thus seen as an essential means of providing security to the state.

In general, scholars in the field have grouped threats to human security into at least three categories. First is what some refer to as “societal security” (especially including security for the most vulnerable groups—such as the impoverished; the disabled; ethnic minority groups; and women and children). These are threats that originate from within the state itself, and can also include the political separatist movements in many countries, such as the Moros in the Philippines, the Kurds in Iraq, the Patanis in Thailand, etc.

The second category consists of threats to human security that are due to development, or to what today some refer to as due to globalization. These threats are more complex, and include how globalization is driven by a capitalism that affects human security through inequalities in power and resources, often resulting in poverty and inequality. This implies that human security cannot be pursued at the expense of others. Likewise, technological developments and rapid expansion of capitalism has contributed to the growth of inequalities between states.

The third category of security threat is comprised of threats to the survival and well-being of individuals. This means that security refers not only to peace and stability,

but also--and perhaps more importantly-- it includes the preservation of the quality of life of the people.¹⁰

The very core of this concept is that from our people will come our future leaders, workers, thinkers and innovators, at all levels of the society. Therefore, the health, safety, and security of our children, and of the families and communities into which they are born and nurtured, will ultimately determine the strength--and probably the fate--of one's country as we travel into the unknowns of the future.

Human Trafficking in Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia has a long coastal line with undefended borders, which suggests that law enforcement may be especially difficult in regard to threats that cross those borders. All of the countries in the region, except the landlocked Laos, are surrounded by the sea, a fact which further complicates the matter.

However, before we go further, it is crucial to understand the differences between *trafficking* and *smuggling*. People commonly do not fully understand the issues involved with human trafficking, partly because in Malaysia and some other countries they do not see the differences between these two terms. Human trafficking as defined by the United Nations is,

“... the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of [another person's] position of vulnerability... or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation includes... prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”¹¹

¹⁰ Zarina Othman, *Human Security in Southeast Asia: A Case Study of Illicit Drug Trafficking as a Transnational Threat in Myanmar (Burma)*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation (University of Denver, Colorado, USA, 2002).

¹¹ UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (2000).
<http://www.unodc.org/palermo/convmain.html>

Trafficking involves the ongoing exploitation of the victims after arriving in a country; they are manipulated and controlled by criminals—by the organized syndicates, or by less-widely organized local crime operations to which victims are given or sold by the syndicates who transported them there. Trafficking also can take place within the same state or country, taking victims from one part to another against their will.¹²

Smuggling, on the other hand, refers to an illegal activity in which migrants have agreed to be transported. It ends with the arrival of the migrants at their destinations and it almost always involves the crossing of national borders, or occasionally of other borders within a state. When it comes to people, we are more concerned with trafficking than with smuggling as a threat to security, for many reasons—chief among those reasons being that human beings are being made into simply another commodity, along with illegal weapons and drugs, from which profit can be made easily.

Generally, causes of human trafficking in Southeast Asia can be divided into *push* and *pull* factors. Push factors include:

- *Poverty.* Food insecurity has been identified as the major cause of human trafficking. Being poor, with insufficient food, makes the victims vulnerable to the traffickers, and makes engagement in criminal activities such as trafficking particularly tempting .
- *Lack of education.* Traffickers often recruit hill tribe people, especially from the mountainous areas of Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, China and Vietnam, who have little formal education or exposure to the modern world. Trafficking victims also often have little knowledge of the world, and especially of legitimate job opportunities. Without knowledge of and qualifications for legitimate jobs, they fall easy prey to traffickers who deceive them with false promises of jobs in other countries.
- *Demand.* Economic law of “supply and demand” helps to create conditions ripe for trafficking for profit. In Southeast Asia, transnational organized crime, such as the Chinese Triads, has been identified as being

¹² United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.
http://www.undoc.org/unodc/trafficking_victim_consent.html (visited on 5/10/2003)

mainly responsible for the trafficking business.¹³ Nevertheless, there are also other smaller local syndicates involved, and the region's overall rapid development has led to increasing demand to supply more labor in the destination countries. This demand provides incentives that help to fuel the illegal supply.

- *Easy money.* Young girls and women, with no specific training and skills, are easily attracted to this illegal business because it produces 25 times more money than working in the factory.¹⁴ They in turn can find it easy to lure female trafficking victims.
- *Insecure environment.* In some countries, such as Myanmar, oppressive regimes have caused frustration among the people in the country. Being trafficked is seen as the easiest way to get out of their country.
- *History of sexual abuse.* Frustrated with their lives, many victims of sexual abuse are more vulnerable to becoming victims or to involving themselves with the trafficking activities.
- *High price for a virgin girl.* Some families, especially in Vietnam, willingly allow their young daughters to be trafficked to become prostitutes. This is because the price of a virgin prostitute is high, about US\$100.00.¹⁵ This amount of money can support a family for several years.
- *Uneven development.* Southeast Asia is a region with uneven development. Some countries are more developed than others. Likewise, the urban areas are more developed than the rural areas, especially in Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia. These countries also are in transition from centrally planned to open economies. Many regional and

¹³ Sheldon Zhang and Ko-Lin Chin, "Enter the Dragon: Inside Chinese Human Smuggling Organizations," *Criminology*, Vol. 40, #4 (2002); Bertil Lintner, "People Smuggling: The Crime of Flight," *Far Eastern Economic Review* (July 18, 2002), pp.: 18-20; Siripon Skrobaneck, et. al. *The Traffic in Women*. (London: Zed Books, 1997), Bertil Lintner, *Blood Brothers: The Criminal Underworld of Asia*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

¹⁴ Karen Tumlin. *Trafficking in Children in Asia: A Regional Overview*. (February 2000), Bangkok: Institute for Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University (An ILO-IPEC Paper); *Labor Migration and Trafficking Within the Greater Mekong Subregion*. Bangkok: ILO TICW and UN AP.

¹⁵ Ibid.

global investors have come in because of this transition process creating a need for more laborers. In this case, the TOC acted as the supplier.¹⁶ As a result, some countries—usually the poorer ones-- became source countries, while others—usually the more well-developed countries in the region have become the host countries.

- *Population pressure.* Crowded and poor countries like Indonesia and the Philippines have sometimes forced groups of people to migrate to other countries to search for jobs.

Pull factors include:

- *Globalization.* This phenomenon has exacerbated trafficking activities in the region. We may continue to witness an increase in human trafficking (especially with the on going ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA)).
- *Higher wages.* This is one of the factors that attract people to be trafficked. Syndicates usually lure people by promising jobs with high wages, and instead they end up as victims in an illegal business in host countries such as in Malaysia or Thailand. This is also influenced by the fact that the Malaysian *Ringgit* or Thai *Baht* currency are worth more when converted into Indonesian *Rupiah* or Myanmar *Kyat*.
- *Jobs opportunities.* Because there is a lack of job opportunities in the source countries, many trafficking victims look forward to the destination countries, such as Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia, where there are many jobs available. Unfortunately, when they arrive they are not allowed to obtain legitimate jobs.
- *Better quality of life.* Destination countries are usually more developed than the source countries and provide not only job opportunities but also promise other benefits of a higher quality of life.
- *Geography and Culture.* Factors such as geography and culture also play important roles. Malaysia has been swamped with Indonesian immigrants

¹⁶ Paul Smith, "Economic Transformation and Labor Migration." In James Shinn, ed. *Fires Across the Water: Transnational Problems in Asia*. (New York; A Council of Foreign Relations, 1998).

due to the two countries having a similar culture and religion, while Burmese immigrants top the list in Thailand.

What we can summarize here is that human insecurity factors such as poverty, lack of education, insecure environment due to an oppressive regime, are among the factors that contribute to human trafficking. These situations have been manipulated by the organized criminal syndicates (TOC) that are based in several countries, “commit their crime in at least one, but usually several, other host countries, usually where market conditions are favorable, and conduct illicit activities which carry a low risk of apprehension.”¹⁷ In the academic field of international relations, TOC is categorized as a “non-state actor” because they do not represent any legitimate governments or any sovereign states in the world.

The criminal organizations conducting trafficking activities in the region have indeed exploited the on-going process of globalization. The expansion of trade, tourism, and various kinds of networks and transportation, all have made it possible for transnational organized crime to carry out their illicit activities. The growing integration of the global financial system has also provided more opportunities for TOC to launder their illicit money.¹⁸ Money laundering flourishes as a necessary step in most profitable criminal activity. Not only is it needed to reduce the risk of the criminals being caught, but also to enhance their profits. Fighting money laundering, at least, helps to fight the criminal organizations that are involved in many of these illegal trafficking activities.¹⁹ Several research studies have been conducted in trying to understand the root causes of the trafficking issue in the region. Although these studies have revealed several different causes or contributing factors, most can be grouped under the category in which threats to individual human beings and groups have contributed to their insecurity, which made

¹⁷ Phil William. “Transnational Criminal Organizations and International Security.” *Survival* 36, (Spring 1994), 1: 96-113.

¹⁸ Robert Schaeffer, *Understanding Globalization: The Social Consequences of Political, Economic, and Environmental Change* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1997); Phil William, “Transnational Criminal Organizations and International Security,” *Survival*, 36, (Spring 1994), 1: 96-113.

¹⁹ However, not all countries declare or even perceive that money laundering is an illegal activity--which complicates the whole problem of trying to control all kinds of trafficking that are clearly criminal in nature. Laundering money is the processes of converting illegally gained money into forms that make it appear legitimate--moving it into legal businesses such as hotels and real estate.

those people vulnerable, and thus made them more likely to become victims of the trafficking syndicates.

Human Trafficking and Its Impact on Malaysia's Security

As earlier discussed, poverty has been identified as a key factor in source or sending countries, which indicates that threats to human economic security contribute to human trafficking, and thus threaten national security. These countries include Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Philippines, Indonesia, as well as the southern part of China, in the state of Yunnan. For example, as reported by the International Migration Organization (IOM), an estimated 15% of the children below the age of 15 have been trafficked as prostitutes in the Mekong sub-region area.²⁰ Cambodia is a notable case in the region as a country from which children are trafficked for sexual exploitation. It has been estimated that somewhere between 15 and 33% of the children between 9-16 years of age have been trafficked annually from this poor country. Nonetheless, about 75% of these children are actually Vietnamese immigrants in the country. The Vietnamese culture may more readily allow parents to use their children in an illegal business, such as prostitution, which they justify as a survival need due to chronic poverty. Compared to the Vietnamese, more Cambodian children are trafficked to be beggars in rich neighboring countries, such as in Thailand and Malaysia.

Human trafficking has implications for Malaysia's national security. It empowers the TOC, and it also creates a lot of public disorder within the receiving countries, of which Malaysia is one. Among recent news related to human trafficking include: "Pat Pong-Style Vice Den Busted,"²¹ and "China Dolls for Sale."²²

So, why are we so slow to include human trafficking on our security agenda? Closer investigation reveals the following issues, which complicate the whole effort to see it as an important national security issue.

First, the Malaysian government does not consider the problem as a trafficking issue, but rather deals with it only as a smuggling issue. And since they define smuggling

²⁰ Tumlin. *Trafficking in Children in Asia: A Regional Overview*.

²¹ *The Malay Mail* (25 February 2004)

²² Ibid.

as meaning the transported persons have agreed to be transported illegally, trafficking victims therefore are considered illegal immigrants rather than trafficking victims.

Second, the whole problem of trafficking is greatly complicated by language. The word “trafficking” has no equivalent in the Malay language. In Indonesia, where the language is most similar to the Malay language, the word “trafficking” has been used interchangeably with “*perdagangan*”(trade),²³ a word that is again actually more appropriate to smuggling. However, in Malaysia, we do not really focus on the concept of “trafficking;” rather, the focus is on the issues surrounding the occurrence. As a result, “trafficking” issues have been looked upon as the same as “smuggling” issues. It may not make much difference whether we use “trafficking,” “smuggling,” or “trading” —as long as we describe them all as illegal or illicit—when we are talking about transporting weapons or drugs. But it makes a big difference when we are talking about human beings. People should have a choice, and should not be treated as mere unthinking, unfeeling commodities. Therefore, we need to make a concerted effort to distinguish between trafficking and smuggling in every language, even creating new terms when necessary to accurately describe what is happening. Unless this is done, building trust and transparency between the sending and the receiving countries, and working together to tackle the problems of human trafficking among all the countries in the region, cannot proceed successfully.

Third, our research shows that most persons in Malaysia, who have come from outside the country and are engaged in illegal activities, are coming from Indonesia. Unfortunately, available statistics do not distinguish between victims who have been trafficked and those who have been smuggled, and they do not report separately on women and children. Although the United Nations has defined a child as being anybody below the age of 18, official data collection in Malaysia does not allow us to distinguish how many of those person are victims of trafficking, and from a legal standpoint children are not usually considered able to make a choice about such things as being “smuggled.” Therefore, they should be considered either trafficking victims or runaways, and returned to their home country. Thus, more work needs to be done to collect and analyze the data

²³ Perhaps the author would like to suggest the Malay word of trafficking to *Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka*, a national institute that officially deals with Malay language.

differently, in order to rightfully show trafficking as a national security issue. When that happens, human trafficking will be given the attention it deserves, and progress to counter it can be made.

Our research also demonstrates logically that there must be close cooperation between Malaysian and Indonesian governments, and probably other governments as well, to successfully fight the problem. By looking at it as a threat to both national and human security, and to both the sending (Indonesia) and receiving (Malaysia) countries, cooperation becomes essential. Finally, although Malaysia is among the countries that have ratified the Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, it has not ratified the protocols.²⁴ The UN Convention Against TOC promulgated the “Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially in Women and Children” under its “Trafficking Protocol” and the “Protocol Against Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air.”²⁵ This tells us that there is resistance toward collaboratively making efforts to address the trafficking problem, and that resistance becomes itself a new problem to address.

Conclusion

For reasons discussed above, the problems surrounding human trafficking make it much more than a law enforcement issue. By looking at the root causes of the problem, we can see that it contributes to widespread human insecurity, which in turn makes it a threat to state, regional and international security. Thus, it is important to put human trafficking on our security agenda. We know that victims are being trafficked by organized criminal groups, and forced into such activities as prostitution and begging, which reap profits for the traffickers and challenge the sovereignty and integrity of civilized nations. The fact that these illegal activities are being carried out by non-state actors certainly suggests that effective ways to counter them will not be found by treating them as a traditional external threat. Similarly, it further supports the idea that the traditional focus of national security needs to shift to include human security.

²⁴ The protocols deal with Smuggling of Migrants, Trafficking in Persons (Especially Women and Children), and Trafficking in Firearms.

²⁵ <http://www.unicef.org/program/cprotection/focus/trafficking/issue.html>

Therefore it is crucial to include, in planning for security, the protection of the individual inhabitants of a country, in addition to the protection of the state itself--recognizing that the people's survival and well-being is essential to the health and survival of the nation. Similarly, if we accept these ideas, and note that regional and international security are also affected by complex transnational threats such as human trafficking, any efforts to address such problems require cooperative efforts on a global scale in order to be effective..

At all levels, human security and quality of life must become a focus in designing security policies. In addition, by looking at security problems from the perspective of "human security," which is associated with a "humans first" orientation to policy-making, we will be more likely to gain a broader understanding of all the social, economic, and political factors that impact on the well-being of people and thus on all levels of security.

Table 1: Number of Arrests of Foreign Prostitutes in Malaysia: 1993-2003

COUNTRY	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
INDONESIA	683	702	595	850	1190	1467	2077	2191	2451	2155	2112
THAILAND	294	263	212	153	31	408	626	642	785	946	1131
PHILIPPINES	642	390	217	212	265	145	402	413	312	189	142
CHINA	8	29	42	47	309	60	96	196	368	1230	1971
UZBEKISTAN	0	0	2	5	46	50	54	96	112	139	90
VIETNAM	2	0	0	0	6	1	0	12	35	296	174
RUSSIA	0	7	8	20	22	8	9	8	1	12	6
MYANMAR	31	5	3	9	9	15	9	6	5	8	6
KAMPUCHEA	0	3	6	2	20	5	7	22	45	125	169
INDIA	3	1	0	2	6	4	10	12	9	43	51
LAOS	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	4
SINGAPORE	2	2	4	1	3	1	4	2	1	0	1
TAIWAN	0	1	9	9	7	0	1	4	0	0	0
OTHERS	1	1	3	4	36	12	4	1	8	4	21
TOTAL	1666	1404	1101	1314	2250	2176	3301	3607	4132	5149	5878

Source: Malaysia Royal Police, Kuala Lumpur, (as of 17 March, 2004).