



Human Trafficking and the Challenges for Social Development in Indonesia¹

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Abstraksi

Perdagangan manusia merupakan masalah serius di Indonesia meskipun negara telah mengesahkan dan menerbitkan Rencana Aksi Nasional dan membentuk Gugus Tugas untuk menghentikan kejahatan ini. Kajian ini mencoba untuk mengkaji hubungan antara perdagangan manusia dan pembangunan, terutama mempertanyakan mengapa beberapa daerah lebih rentan dibandingkan dengan daerah lain. Kajian ini juga membahas jenis eksploitasi di daerah tujuan serta bagaimana strategi dalam mengurangi dan menghentikan praktik perdagangan manusia. Terungkap bahwa perdagangan manusia memiliki keterkaitan dengan isu pembangunan di mana ketimpangan pembangunan, pengaruh budaya dan eksposur terhadap globalisasi meningkatkan kerentanan individu terhadap perdagangan manusia di daerah yang lebih maju. Karena perdagangan manusia melibatkan jaringan kriminal internasional, partisipasi dari semua pemangku kepentingan melalui pendekatan yang sistematis dan penguatan jaringan adalah suatu keharusan dalam mencegah dan memberantas hal ini terjadi.

Kata kunci: Indonesia, ketimpangan pembangunan, migrasi, perdagangan manusia

Abstract

Human trafficking has become a serious problem in Indonesia even though the state has enacted and published many National Plan of Actions and established Task Forces to stop the crime. This study attempts to examine the relationship between human trafficking and development mainly questioning why some regions are more vulnerable compared to the other areas. This study also discusses the type of exploitation in the destination areas as well as strategies developed to reduce and stop the practice of the trafficking. It is revealed that human trafficking has a linkage with the issue of development where the unequal development, culture and exposure to globalisation increase the vulnerability of individuals to trafficking in more developed regions. As human trafficking involves international criminal networks, participation from all stakeholders through systematic approach and strengthening the networks is a must in preventing and combating this from happening.

Keywords: : Indonesia, unequal development, migration, human trafficking

A. Introduction

In recent years, human trafficking has attracted growing attention worldwide since the number of trafficked people is high. United States reports that there are 1.8 victims of trafficking per every 1,000 inhabitants, and in Asia and the Pacific the figure rises to 3 victims per every 1,000 inhabitants (Department of State US, 2010). The largest number of victims of trafficking is from Asia which accounted

for over 225,000 victims each year from Southeast Asia and over 150,000 from South Asia (Emmanuel, 2006). Indonesia is one of the countries in Southeast Asia which is known as the source, transit and destination country for human trafficking mainly for prostitution, marital force arrangements and forced labour (Varia, 2004; Laczko & Gozdziaik, 2005). Lazsko and Gozdziaik noted that human trafficking in Indonesian context has not been subject to much research and has not yet been given much attention

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by donors institutions. This study is an attempt to analyse and compare the vulnerability of human trafficking in Indonesia based on development and migration broader context.

Surtees (2003) noted that a significant number of female Indonesian migrant workers become victims of trafficking. International Organization of Migration (IOM), an anti-trafficking International Non-Government Organization, estimates that 43 to 50 percent (around 3 to 4.5 million) of Indonesia's migrant workers are victims of trafficking compare to Vietnam's victim of approximately 5,700 from 1998–2008 (IOM, 2013, Duong, 2012). However, the number is only the estimated number of human trafficking because like much other illegal activity, it is difficult to assess precisely the scope and magnitude of human trafficking. The published estimation number is often varied and contradictory. Makkai, McCusker and Gallagher (2004) argue that one of the causes of the difficulties is the debate on the definition of human trafficking resulting that the data on human trafficking are often mixed with illegal migrants, sex workers and people smuggling.

According to International Labour Organization (ILO), human trafficking comprises three elements including process, means and purpose of exploitation (ILO, 2008). In term of operation, human trafficking and people smuggling are similar. However, in term of purpose, human trafficking and people's smuggling are different (ILO, 2008). Gallagher elaborates the difference between trafficking and smuggling where people smuggling is not involving exploitation, but trafficking involves exploitation (Gallagher, 2004). In term of means, consent of victims also become a heart debate if the

victims gave their consent to engage in prostitution can be categorised as trafficking? A group of NGOs organised by the trafficking project at the Washington based International Human Rights Law Group (IHLG) and countries that had legalised prostitution agree to limit and restrict the definition of trafficking to only those women who could prove that they had been forced into trafficking. The majority of countries, many of them from sending countries for trafficking proposed a definition that cover all victims of trafficking and that was not limited to force or coercion and consent of victims is irrelevant (Jeffreys, 2009). The protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons refers to the majority of countries that defines human trafficking as "recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring 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 a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation" (Raymond, 2002: 495). This study refers to this definition.

Moreover, as a sending, transit and destination country for human trafficking, there is little known in the Indonesian context. Lazsko and Gozdzak (2005) noted that Indonesia is better known for migrant workers exporter. International migration has a strong link with human trafficking, but little attention given to human trafficking in the process of international migration in the Indonesian context. A body of evidence in the extensive literature describes all sorts of aspects of human trafficking. The main causes of human trafficking, for instance,

has been discussed extensively in most of the existing literature (for example Utomo, 2004; Adiutomo, 2004) who elaborate the increased demand and supply of human trafficking mainly women for the sex industries as the leading causes of human trafficking.

Utomo and Adioetomo (2004) explore poverty, poor education, employment opportunities, socio-cultural values and the demand for cheap labour and sex industries as the main causes of human trafficking in Indonesia. Those underlying causes are characterised as development issues. Lazsko and Gozdzia (2005) insist that human trafficking is the problem of development in general and social development in particular. Similarly, Shelley (2010) argues that unequal development causes poverty as the primary cause of human trafficking. Unequal development occurs because capitals often concentrate in areas where investors can make a profit. The fields are often supported by abundant of human resources, region transportation infrastructure, and communications. As a result, some parts of regions are experiencing lack of employment and poverty (Shelley, 2010).

Unequal development forces rural communities to survive through migration either overseas (e.g. Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and Hong Kong) or within the country or from rural to urban areas (e.g. Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung and Medan). The regions which are known as sending areas for migrant workers are West Java, Central Java, East Java, East Nusa Tenggara, West Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi, and Lampung (Hernández et al. 2008). The main purpose of their migration is to obtain better employment and to support their families back home. The money they get often sent back to their home country. Based

on the survey conducted by Bank Indonesia (BI), about 45 percent of migrant workers' wages are remitted back to Indonesia. International Monetary Fund (IMF) records the number of remittance to Indonesia from all over the world in 2006 was US\$5.7 billion. Those remittances tend to be concentrated to those sending provinces of migrant workers. The remittance inflows may be highly significant in a local context. In certain areas of Indonesia, remittance inflows are higher than total local income. West Nusa Tenggara Province, for instance, the number of remittances in 2002 was over 300 billion rupiah exceeded the 61 billion rupiahs in local revenue in 2001 (Hernández et al. 2008). Those remittances are valuable resources for economic development in sending areas that in turn might prevent them to migrate and become victims of human trafficking. However, the highest number of migrant workers is still dominated by those provinces time to time, and many victims of human trafficking come from those sending areas (BNP2TKI, 2013; US Embassy, 2010).

This situation leads to questioning does human trafficking parts of the problem of development. In this study, I attempt to critically examine the relationship between development and human trafficking by exploring does trafficking always take place between less developed and more developed regions or countries? If this is the case, what the reason for this situation and why some regions are more vulnerable compared to the other areas? This study argues that human trafficking has a relationship with development issues since the primary cause of human trafficking is poverty, poor education and lack of employment opportunities. However, human trafficking is universal where the

victims of human trafficking are not always coming from less developed regions in Indonesia. This study argues that unequal development, culture and exposure to globalisation increase the vulnerability of human trafficking. This study also examines people who are benefitting from human trafficking and type of exploitation in destination areas. The strategies to reduce and stop human trafficking are also explored.

B. Development and Migration Perspectives as Conceptual Frameworks

Human trafficking happens in a broader context of development and migration. Development is defined differently over time. Based on the classical political economy, development is described as a remedy for progress. The development also can be defined as industrialisation, deregulation and privatisation. Development also can be defined as capacitation and enlargement of human choice. The core meaning of development is economic growth and capital accumulation based on dependency theory (Pieterse, 2010). Cypher and James (2009) define development as realising very fundamental human value including sufficient food, shelter, and other amenities for a decent and meaningful life above the poverty line and the opportunity to pursue education and the increased quality of life. Those conceptions become basis in determining “underdeveloped/less developed” and “developed” regions or countries where poverty level become an indicator to measure less and more developed regions. Another barometer used as a proxy for development is the gross regional domestic product (Ghoose, 2004).

The gap between the rich and the poor countries in term of per-capita income reflects the global inequality (Ghoose, 2004). This inequality associates to unequal development among regions or countries. The unequal development is one of the critical factors which place people at risk of human trafficking (Shelley, 2010). People in poverty in less developed regions cause them in situations where they have few alternative opportunities. The unequal development forces people in poverty from rural areas to migrate and search for better employment in urban areas. People from less developed regions often migrate to find something better in more developed areas. They often migrate to escape from economic hardship or poverty experiencing by them in less developed regions. This movement places them in a vulnerable situation to be victims of human trafficking if their migration movement is not managed through secure channels (ILO, 2008). The limited opportunity in less developed areas may increase their vulnerability to deception and coercion into situations of forced labour and slavery-like practices (Varia, 2004). The traffickers often use this situation to deceit poor people to migrate which usually ended with trafficking. Based on this situation, ILO maintains that poverty and the high number of migration are the indicators to determine vulnerable regions of human trafficking. Migration as an indicator of human trafficking raises a further question on the parameter of movement. ILO determine the movement or migration between districts as a minimum parameter of movement or migration (ILO, 2008). This study employs movement or migration between provinces as unit analysis in the next section.

The process of migration also change the traditional values and traditional way of living that in turn increase the vulnerability of people in less developed regions for being trafficked. In urban areas, for instance, former rural communities lose their traditional way of life and their traditional values by mass media exposures, promotion of materialism and the daily struggle for survival. Needy migrant families often have limited capacity to take care of their children causing the children become street children that in turn make them vulnerable to be trafficked. Men who migrate alone also often demand prostitution services. This demand increases the vulnerability of women and the young girl to become victims of trafficking (Shelley, 2010).

The high cost also places people who migrate to find employment at the vulnerable condition for being trafficked. There are expensive costs associated with migration such as administration fees, placement fees, pre-departure accommodation and living costs, and transportation. To cover those costs, migrant workers are often incurred results in debt bondage. They have to take out large loans with extremely high interest to cover these costs informal loan providers because they have limited access to the formal financial sector (Hernández et al. 2008). Another strategy they used causing them in debt bondage is paying the cost by the first four or five months of their salary is held as payment. Labour recruiters also often do not provide complete information about the job description, work conditions, or institutions they can contact for help if they have a problem. This situation leads them to be more vulnerable to be exploited and being victims of trafficking (Varia, 2004).

Moreover, in the process of movement, those migrant workers often experience exploitation and abuse. Exploitation is one of the indicators of human trafficking. Surtees examines the exploitative condition of victims of human trafficking in great detail from recruitment to upon return to Indonesia. In training stage in holding centre for instance where the purpose of the training is to prepare the female workers with skills and language but often the training exclude workers' rights, potential problems they might face and how to seek assistance. In this process, the workers have to stay in the centre and not allowed to leave, and they have to pay while they remain in the centre. The exploitative experienced by the migrant workers become one of the indicators that they are victims of trafficking (ILO, 2008).

The exploitative experience also often experienced by undocumented migrant workers. There are two leading causes of undocumented migrant workers. The first is through illegal migration. Most of them are people in poverty who cannot pay the high cost of migration through the formal process. The second is legal workers who run away from their employers because their employers withhold all of their documents. Documented migrant workers who have entered Malaysia, for instance, are often restricted to work only for the employer that brought them into the country. Those workers are often forced to submit work permits, visas, and passports to employers, which makes it impossible for them to leave their work legally. If they go, they are highly susceptible to extortion by local police. Based on this situation Cameron and Newman (2008) maintained that undocumented migrant workers are vulnerable to trafficking.

The unequal development also perpetuates discrimination against minorities and women. Trafficking often occurs in communities where women have lack of property rights, cannot inherit land and unequal protection under the law. It has been noted that fewer resources are provided for the education, medical care, or overall welfare of female children in many societies. Female children are often the first to be dropped out of school. As a result, female children have fewer options and often have the employment opportunity only in sectors where they are most vulnerable to forced labour and sexual exploitation, including as domestic servants, carpet weavers, and child care providers (Shelley, 2010).

C. The Vulnerability of Human Trafficking in Indonesia: Comparative Analysis between Eastern Part and Western Part Areas of Indonesia

This study argues that human trafficking has a strong relationship with development issues since the primary cause of human trafficking is unequal development and poverty. Development in this context is defined as capacitation and enlargements of human choice (Pieterse, 2010) as well as a condition of the needs are fulfilled (Cypher & James, 2009). The development in this perspective more focus on the quality and human development aspect compare to dependency theory that defines development as economic growth and capital accumulation. Dependency theory insists development on growth that might neglect the quality of the growth. Based on this perspective, the most vulnerable regions of human trafficking are less developed regions or countries where the number of poverty is high, and the growth is low.

However, this study argues that human trafficking is universal and not only related to growth in macro level. This study discusses that human trafficking is not always taking place in less developed regions in Indonesia. It is because the high number of out-migration as indicators of human trafficking often take place in Western Part of Indonesia such as Java and Sumatra Island which often identified as more developed regions compare to Eastern parts of Indonesia.

Table 1 of bar chart describes the picture of less developed and more developed regions by poverty by province in 2013. It illustrates the Eastern part of Indonesia are more impoverished and less developed compared to Western part. The provinces in Eastern part such as Papua, West Papua, East Nusa Tenggara, Maluku, Gorontalo and West Nusa Tenggara are among the highest percentage of poverty at 31.53%, 27.14%, 20.24%, 19.27%, 18.01% and 17.25% respectively compared to Western part of Indonesia such as DKI Jakarta, Banten, Kepulauan Bangka Belitung, Kepulauan Riau and West Sumatera which have the lowest poverty rate at 3.72%, 5.25%, 5.89%, 6.35% and 7.56% respectively.

Percentage of Poverty by Province in 2013

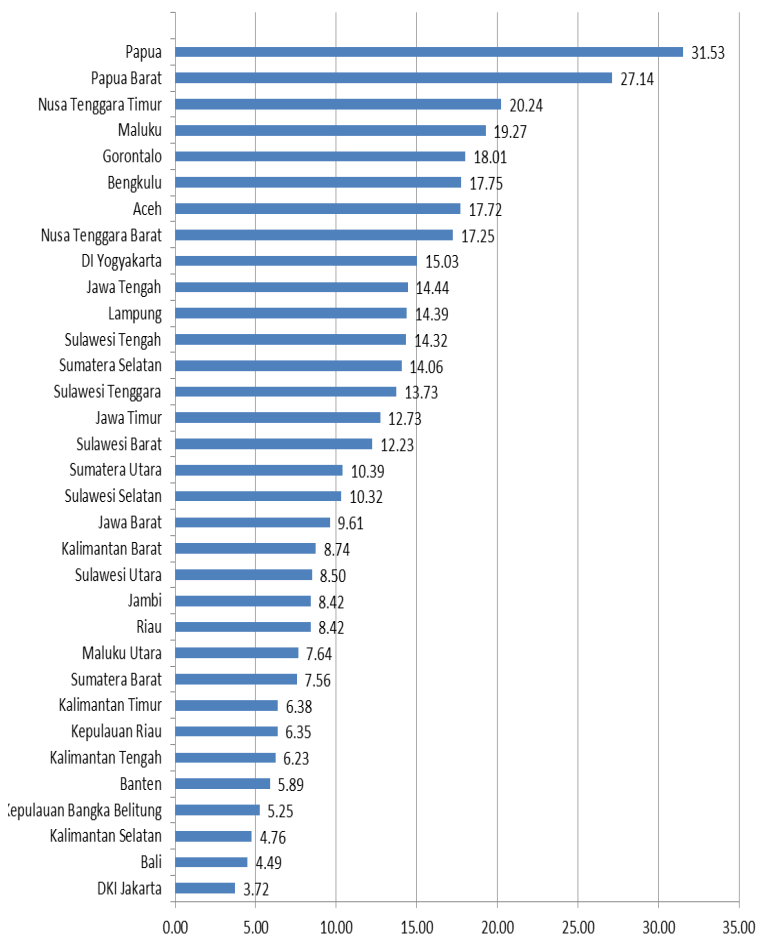


Table.1. % of Indonesian Poverty (by Provinces) in 2013

(Source: BPS, 2013)

Similarly, the gross regional domestic product between provinces in Indonesia also depict that Western Part of Indonesia is more developed compared to Eastern part. The bar chart below describes the gross regional domestic product by province in 2012. Table 2 of bar chart describes similar finding with poverty indicator where Western part of Indonesia is far more developed compare to Eastern Part. East Java and West Java Provinces for instance which are known as sending province for migrant workers have the gross regional domestic product at around 1000 times higher (1.001.721 and 946.861 respectively) than

Gorontalo and Maluku Utara provinces at 10.368 and 6.918 respectively.

Gross Regional Domestic Product by Province in 2012

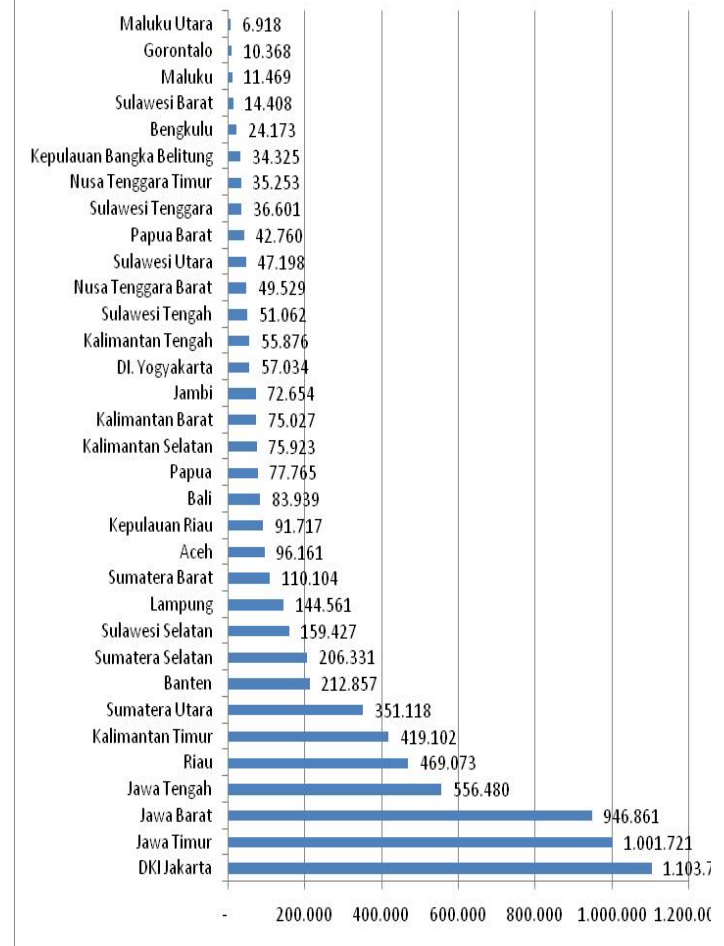


Table.2. Gross Regional Domestic Product (by Provinces) in 2012

(Source: BPS, 2013)

However, the migration is not always happening from less developed or poor region to more developed area as shown by the data on recent migration in Indonesia (the detail is attached on appendix a). The data on recent migration by province in 2010 shows that the highest number of net migration occurred in more developed regions (Western Part) such as Central Java, East Java, North Sumatra and Jakarta at -678,443, -285,309, -248,682

and -239,464 respectively, compared to less developed (Eastern Part) such as East Nusa Tenggara, West Nusa Tenggara, Papua and West Papua at -18,145, 6,666, 27,759 and 37,070 respectively. Similarly, the data on the number of migrant workers overseas in 2012 and 2013 describes that the migration occurred in more developed regions such as West Java, Central Java and East Java provinces compare to Gorontalo, Papua, West Papua, North Maluku, East and West Nusa Tenggara Provinces (Table 3).



Table.3. The Number of Migrant Workers by Province in 2012 and 2013
 (Source: BNP2TKI, 2013)

This study also found that the victims of human trafficking blown up by mass media are coming from more developed provinces particularly in Java Island. The table below describes sending and destination areas of human trafficking blown up by mass media and non-government institution report (Table 4)

Number of Victims	Sending Areas	Receiving Areas
14	West Nusa Tenggara	Malaysia
41	West Java	Malaysia, Batam, West Kalimantan
24	East Nusa Tenggara	Malaysia, North Sumatra, Bali
26	Central Java	Banten
7	North Sulawesi	
9	West Kalimantan	Jakarta
208	East Java	

Table.4. Areas of Human Trafficking 2012-2013
 (Source: primary data based on Mass Media Reports 2012-2013)

D. The Challenges for Social Development: Analysis of Vulnerabilities and Strategies of Combating Human Trafficking

There are three main reasons why the more developed region is more vulnerable to human trafficking. The first is unequal development either between provinces or within provinces. The development in West Java and East Java, for instance, are concentrated in some districts such as Surabaya, Sidoarjo and Malang Municipalities. Those three districts are industrialised cities where capitals often focused in those regions which

contribute to increase gross regional domestic product. Those two provinces are the second and the third highest gross regional domestic product at 1.001.721 and 946.861 respectively in Indonesia (BPS, 2013). However, unequal development within those two provinces increases their vulnerability of human trafficking. There are many districts well known as sending areas for migrant workers and human trafficking such as Ponorogo, Banyuwangi and Tulungagung Districts (BPPKB, 2010). The incidence of poverty and international migration in those regions are high. The data from Placement and Protection of Indonesia Workers in Foreign Countries Institution (BNP2TKI) shows that the number of migrant workers in Ponorogo, Banyuwangi and Tulungagung are among the highest number of migrant workers in East Java (BNP2TKI, 2013).

The second reason is the exposure to globalisation. Cameron and Newman (2008) argue that globalisation has increased people's vulnerability to trafficking. Globalization changes people's expectations, particularly young people because they become more familiar with lifestyle and standards of living in other regions. Television plays a significant impact on improving this expectation as well as increase consumerism, particularly for young people. Tv exposes people to glamorous middle and upper-class lives. To become a modern and trendy girl/woman, women feel they have to maintain their beauty by staying slim, having white and silky skin, beautiful black hair, and wearing fashionable clothes and accessories. The answer to this consumerism is an easy job that requires limited education and skill, sex work or other cheap labour jobs (Utomo, 2004).

The geographical proximity to megacities and recreational areas also play a significant impact on changing people expectation to imitate the lifestyle and living standard of people in developed regions. The proximity to big cities (e.g. Denpasar and Surabaya) and recreational areas (e.g. Bali) and exposure to globalisation in West Nusa Tenggara is an excellent example of the influence of globalisation on people's vulnerability to trafficking compare to People in Maluku and Papua (Riani, 2012).

The third reason is culture. Some cultures in Indonesia place women and children as a family asset. As a family asset, many young girls and young mothers have to work to support their family income. The limited opportunities in home country force them to migrate and place them in the vulnerable condition of trafficking. A good example of this is Indramayu District in West Java where these practices are socially acceptable. As a result, many young girls and young mothers migrate for better employment overseas and place the district as the highest number of migrant workers in 2011 and 2012 (BNP2TKI, 2013). This practice increases the vulnerability of those migrant workers to trafficking. In contrast, Papuan communities are known have strong traditional values where many of communities living in the subsistence economy and many of them rely on forest and animal for their survival as well as slash and burn agriculture system to fulfil their daily needs (Riani, 2012). These traditional values and culture prevent them from migrating and they are less likely to be victims of trafficking.

Moreover, some cultures also subordinate women. Many families prioritise boys rather than girls to access education. Female children are often the first

to be dropped out of school. As a result, female children have fewer options and often have the employment opportunity only in sectors where they are most vulnerable to forced labour and sexual exploitation such as child domestic workers and child care providers. This condition is exacerbated by the demand for cheap labour, particularly in urban areas. Many families prioritise female children as domestic workers as they are perceived to be more docile and compliant, as well as willing to work for lower wages compare to adult. These practices increase the vulnerability of young girls in rural areas to trafficking.

D. 1. Destination Countries and Types of Exploitation

The following sub sections will focus the exploration on two destination countries including Malaysia and Saudi Arabia as the primary destination countries of migrant workers

1.1. Malaysia

Malaysia is the most popular destination country of migrant workers which stood at 134,120 people in 2011 and followed by a slight decrease in 134,023 and moderate increase to 150,236 people in 2013. Most of the workers who migrate to Malaysia come from East Java, Lombok (West Nusa Tenggara), and Flores (East Nusa Tenggara). However, those numbers do not depict the real number of migrant workers since the data only covers documented migrant workers. Davis (2007) estimated that there are 1.2 million undocumented workers in Malaysia, of which 60 percent of them are Indonesian. These undocumented migrant workers particularly

women are highly vulnerable to trafficking. Most of the workers are working in informal sectors such as domestic labour, plantation, construction and agriculture. Many of them are experiencing exploitation mainly migrant workers who work in plantation and domestic sectors (Hernández et al. 2008). Forced labour in the palm oil plantation, for instance, is maintained a result of international trafficking in people. Many of Indonesia workers are victims of severe labour exploitation, and many of them are trafficked into bonded labour, forced to work and live under extreme conditions, with limited legal protection and suffer from abuse or the threat of abuse as well as victims of child labour. These exploitations constitute modern forms of slavery (Accenture, no year).

1.2. Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia is the first destination countries from Indonesian migrant workers in 2011 which stood at 137,835 people. Hernández (2008) noted that 90 % of migrant workers in Saudi Arabia are women. Most of them work as domestic helpers. As domestic helpers, they are in highly vulnerable for exploitation since no legal protection in domestic areas. BNP2TKI reported that Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia are experiencing the highest problems compare to other countries. These include unpaid salary and physical as well as sexual abuse. Moreover, Surtees (2003) noted that a significant number of female Indonesian migrant workers become victims of trafficking. They are suffering from abuse and violence at every stage of migration including sexual harassment, poor working conditions, long working hours, debt bondage and withholding of wages. Similarly, Aronowitz (2009) noted that the significant number

of Indonesian migrant workers become victims of human trafficking in Saudi Arabia for forced labour purposes.

D.2. Actors Benefitting From Human Trafficking

Human trafficking involves international criminal networks. As a criminal network, many people are benefiting from human trafficking. These include the broker, recruitment agency, community leaders, village chief, immigration officer, employer, embassy office, government officer, police, and airport authorities (Utomo, 2004; Surtees, 2003). Moreover, Adiutomo (2004) maintains that women and girls are usually trafficked by someone they know well such as relatives, friends, and parents.

Among those perpetrators, brokers play significant roles in trafficking process. Brokers are known as Taikong and "Petugas Lapangan". The brokers' primary tasks are mediating between migrant workers, government and formal recruitment migrant workers agency as well as helping migrant workers with documents, transportation and various form of translation. The brokers are usually married men who finished high school education. Haji Ismail, the most well-known successful informal broker in Lombok (West Nusa Tenggara), is a good example where he is an elementary school teacher. He also is a respected religious leader in his community. He recruits the potential migrant workers with his son in law who works as a police officer. Those occupations and their respectful position in communities become capital in building trust and relation with potential migrant workers. Building trust plays a significant role in recruiting the migrant labour. Besides maintaining respected

position in the society, there are some strategies used by informal brokers to build credence including giving "shopping money" to family members of potential migrant workers, wearing religious symbols (white cap) and dress Saudi style as well as speak Malay dialect (Linguist, 2012).

D. 3. Strategies to Combat Human Trafficking

Indonesian Government and many International agencies such as ILO, Save the Children, International Organization for Migration employ social development approach to stop human trafficking. ILO through International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) for instance uses community development and education strategies to combat child trafficking. Similarly, Indonesian Government introduced National Action Program (NAP) against trafficking in women and children through community empowerment and education services. Some of the services are provided to vulnerable groups including poor people and drop out school children. The assistance is aimed to address the underlying causes of human trafficking such as poverty, limited access to educational services and cultural factors (Inter-Parliamentary Union & UNODC, 2009; Julie & Elizabeth, 2005). Block Grant for Tackling Child Trafficking, Operational Aids for School (BOS), Scholarship for Poor Children and National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM) are examples of the programs addressing the main causes of human trafficking (Irwanto, 2011). The NAP has been the national policy framework between 2003–2007 and 2009–2014. The Indonesian government also establish a national

task force which has the responsibility in coordinating response against trafficking in national and district level.

This study argues that social development approach in combating human trafficking need participation from all stakeholders as no single institution or department is being able to fight trafficking alone. Human trafficking involves international criminal networks. Therefore, the strategies to combat the criminality also need networking from all stakeholders such as NGO, INGO, United Nations Agencies, universities, migrant workers union, communities, media and government institutions at all levels including international, regional, bilateral and national levels.

Those networks need strong leadership and good coordination as one of the gaps in combating human trafficking in Indonesia is overlapping roles between government institutions and the task forces established. Indonesian government created many task forces and commissions to address the issue of human trafficking. In case of combating child trafficking for instance, some commissions formed by the government at national, provincial and district level are Commission On The Elimination Of The Worst Form Child Labour based on presidential decree no 12/2001, Indonesian Child Protection Commission based on presidential decree no 77/2003 and Task Force On The Prevention And Elimination Of Human Trafficking based on presidential decree no 69/2008. Those commissions have a similar mandate on combating child trafficking. This condition is also exacerbated by the fact that some government institutions have the same responsibilities in combating human trafficking such as Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry

of Women and Child Protection, Ministry of Social Welfare as well as Manpower Ministry. Another example is in protecting migrant workers efforts from trafficking, Indonesian Government established the National Agency for Placement and Protection of Indonesia Overseas Workers (BNP2TKI). This institution is an independent joint agency consisting of 11 ministries tasked to protect migrant workers. According to US report, this institution's roles are overlapping with existing Manpower Ministry which is sometimes hampering its effectiveness (Department of State US, 2010).

The network among institutions concerning on human trafficking is also beneficial to provide equal services to victims and vulnerable people. Social development approach conducted by both government and non-government institutions mostly concentrated on Java Island. Moreover, the system developed by Indonesian government restricts and limit the access to program services. One of the requirements to access central government program on human trafficking program is the need to establish trafficking task force in district or municipality level. Block Grant for Tackling Child Trafficking program is an example where the establishment of the local task force is mandatory to access the program. The grant is given to Trafficking Task Force at the district level to prevent and eliminate trafficking provided to a maximum of 30 task forces (Irwanto, 2011). This condition is exacerbated by the fact that only 33 task forces have been established from 530 districts and municipalities in Indonesia (Gugus Tugas Trafficking, 2013, Kemendagri, 2013) even though all provinces are considered as sources and destination areas according to United States report

(Department of State US, 2010). Based on this situation, there is a need to establish powerful networks among institutions to provide equal services to all people.

E. Conclusion

Human trafficking is undoubtedly a problem in Indonesia even though Indonesia has enacted and published many National Plan of Actions and established Task Forces to stop it. This crime has a substantial relation to development because the poverty, lack of education and employment are the underlying causes of human trafficking. However, human trafficking is universal where the victims of human trafficking are not always coming from less developed regions in Indonesia. Unequal development, culture and exposure to globalisation increase the vulnerability of human trafficking for people in more developed areas. The practice of human trafficking involves international criminal networks. Brokers play a significant role in recruiting migrant workers. They are often a respectful person in their community since trust is pivotal in the recruitment process. There are many social development programs implemented by both government and non-government institutions. However, the incidence of human trafficking is remaining high. Participation from all stakeholders through systematic approach and networking is a must in combating human trafficking. Adequate coordination and strong leadership is a must to establish systematic networking. Ignoring these recommendations might lead to program ineffectiveness and a higher number of victims.

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