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## **HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND HUMAN SECURITY: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE**

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### **Abstract**

One may come across various approaches such as illegal migration, organized crime, prostitution/sex work and human rights violation to examine the human trafficking issue. Of these, there is much debate about which approach can best explain this problem. The root causes of, and violence associated with, human trafficking are yet to be adequately addressed. A study of human security from a gender perspective can significantly address human trafficking, particularly, trafficking in women and children. This paper argues that different dimensions of violence, which are gendered, are produced and reproduced through a violence triangle of direct, structural and cultural violence. These are the drivers of human insecurities and hence human trafficking. How, why and by whom violence occurs and how people become vulnerable to trafficking are some questions that this paper addresses. Some argue that gendered violence is a biological construction in that men are physically stronger and more prone to violence than women. In contrast, others, particularly feminists, claim that it is a social construction. This paper considers gendered violence as social construction and argues that a gendered perspective of violence can offer suggestions for how better human security can be achieved through negation of the violence triangle.

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Human trafficking is a contemporary form of slave trade which exists in almost every region of the world. It has been estimated that around 800,000 people, the majority of whom are women and children, are trafficked every year across the globe.<sup>1</sup> Such a huge number of human trafficking impedes socio-economic development, threatens national, regional and international security,

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<sup>1</sup> *Trafficking in Persons Report, 2008*, U.S. State Department, available at <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2008/105376.htm>, accessed on 5 July, 2009.

promotes gender based violence and most importantly poses severe threats to people's security.<sup>2</sup> According to the Human Security Report, 2005, "Human trafficking is so widespread and damaging to its victims that it has become a cause of human insecurity on a global scale."<sup>3</sup> Trafficking causes human insecurities, which results from a violence triangle<sup>4</sup> that has three dimensions: direct, indirect (structural) and cultural violence. It is a gendered issue which is organized through unequal and binary power relations (gender hierarchy) posited in this triangular configuration of violence.

Recently although there is a growing concern against human trafficking, it is not a new phenomenon. The origin of trafficking dates back to the first Convention on White Slave Trade in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century where white women were the victims of sexual slavery.<sup>5</sup> Thus having started in early decades, a series of international instruments against trafficking was adopted over the twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> Finally, in 2000, as an outcome of previous international legal efforts, for the first time widely and internationally the UN Trafficking Protocol on *Suppression of Trafficking in Women and Children* was formed and many states have signed and ratified that protocol.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The term 'people' or 'human' has also led huge debate considering who are these people or human. The holistic meaning of human security addresses all human beings to be secured which is undoubtedly a difficult task. Hereby, I suggest beginning with securing people who are vulnerable, powerless and insecure. Therefore, by 'people', here I mean women, children and men who do not have access to power and resources.

<sup>3</sup> "The Human Security Report, 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century", *Human Security Center*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 86, available at [http://www.humansecurityreport.info/HSR2005\\_PDF/Part2.pdf](http://www.humansecurityreport.info/HSR2005_PDF/Part2.pdf), accessed on 1 December, 2008.

<sup>4</sup> The term was first coined by Johan Galtung in 1990. See, Johan Galtung "Cultural Violence", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 1990, pp. 291-305.

<sup>5</sup> The first international legal instrument on trafficking: *The International Agreement for the Suppression of White Slave Traffic* was formed during 1904-1910.

<sup>6</sup> The series of international agreements on trafficking includes Convention for the Suppression of the Trafficking in Women in Full Age, 1933; Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, 1949; Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 1979; The Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC), 1989 etc.

<sup>7</sup> See, United Nations, "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime", 2000, available at [http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final\\_documents\\_2/convention\\_%20traff\\_eng.pdf](http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final_documents_2/convention_%20traff_eng.pdf), accessed on 8 December 2008. To date, more than 110 states have ratified the protocol, available at <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/press/releases/2007-03-26.html>, accessed on 6 December 2008.

The issue of human trafficking has always been a subject of fierce debate. This debate centres on how the definition of trafficking relates to some other complicated issues such as prostitution, migration, organized crime and human rights. Trafficking is often equated with prostitution and this view considers that the only purpose of trafficking is prostitution. The trafficking-migration nexus focuses on the irregular movement of people across borders where receiving countries often treat trafficking as an illegal migration problem and therefore, prosecute trafficked victims instead of providing protection. These circumstances raise the issues of human rights abuse of the trafficked persons. Besides all these debates, trafficking has also been a growing concern of feminists since the beginning of the twentieth century. Much of the feminist campaign against trafficking was based on prostitution.<sup>8</sup> Gender-specific insecurities (e.g., domestic violence, forced marriage) as underlying causes of trafficking have been the central focus of the feminist discourse in these movements.<sup>9</sup>

However, an issue that has received scanty attention in the trafficking discourse is the security of individuals or human security.<sup>10</sup> Human insecurities make people vulnerable to be trafficked.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, human trafficking also causes human insecurities. As addressed by the Human Security Report of 2005 mentioned above, human trafficking has become a cause of human insecurity in a global scale because it is so pervasive and destructive to its victims.

Why has trafficking become so pervasive? Why are women more frequently trafficked than men? Human insecurities are associated with trafficking but what are the dimensions of these insecurities? It could be argued that these dimensions are gendered. Although several other issues such as class and race are also present in the trafficking continuum, gendered insecurities which result from gender-specific violence<sup>12</sup> can be seen as root causes of trafficking. Hence, this paper specifically seeks to explore human trafficking as a human security problem which is produced through the gendered dimensions of violence. Before analyzing trafficking as a human security concern from a gendered perspective, understanding on these key concepts — human security, human trafficking, violence, gender and feminism — requires further consideration.

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<sup>8</sup> As Sullivan suggests, feminists influenced the creation of a series of international agreements against trafficking for prostitution from 1903 to 1949. See, Barbara Sullivan “Trafficking in Women: Feminism and International Law,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2003, p. 68.

<sup>9</sup> For further details, see Section Five (Feminist Discourse of Trafficking).

<sup>10</sup> Here, I intend to focus on human (in) security both as cause and result of trafficking.

<sup>11</sup> Zarina Othman, “Human (In)security, Human Trafficking and Security in Malaysia,” in Karen Beeks and Delia Amir, eds., *Trafficking and the Global Sex Industry*, New York: Lexington Books, 2006. p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> For example, sexual violence against women, forced prostitution or other forms of gender discrimination.

This paper consists of seven sections including introduction and conclusion. *Section Two* deals with a brief and contemporary analysis of security considering how human security came to the security discourse and focuses on the current debate. *Section Three* focuses on the interrelation between Galtung's violence theory and human security. *Section Four* explores the feminist/gender approach to security. *Section Five* discusses about human trafficking and human security particularly addressing the contemporary debate on trafficking. *Section Six* explores how trafficking becomes a problem of human (in) security. *Section Seven* provides concluding remarks.

## **2. EMERGENCE OF HUMAN SECURITY IN THE SECURITY DISCOURSE**

The idea of human security is a contemporary concept of security in security studies. As a result of changing notion of security with regard to changing nature of threats, the 1990s witnessed the emergence of human security through referring people rather than state at the centre as primary referent in the security discourse. Concurrently, in order to challenge the traditional/realist security concept many scholars have tried to provide alternative ideas of security among which Copenhagen School (CoS), Critical Security Studies (CSS) and Feminism are some of the worth mentioning schools of thought. This section examines the construction of human security based on the discourse followed by the ideas of security given by these schools, particularly after the end of the Cold War.

### **2.1 Meaning of Security**

This part analyses the current debate on security especially how the idea of security has been constituted over the last decades. There have been perhaps huge amounts of literature regarding how to explain security since the inception of the concept. Therefore the purpose of this paper is not to bring all the issues regarding how the idea of security was contested and debated. Hence, focus on the meaning of security here would be limited to some recent and important schools of security studies. Steve Smith in his recent writing *The Contested Concept of Security* tries to explore the ideas of different types of security thinkers associated with different schools. He shows how the notion of security has been changed after the end of the Cold War through broadening and deepening the realist notion of security. Starting with CoS's founder Barry Buzan's famous book *People, State and Fear*, he tries to give some insightful thoughts for thinking about security. He points out that in order to broaden the meaning of security, Buzan focuses on five categories of security: military, political, economic, societal and ecological security.<sup>13</sup> For Buzan, individual

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<sup>13</sup> Steve Smith, "The Contested Concept of Security", in Ken Booth. ed., *Critical Security Studies and the World Politics*, Boulders: Lynne Rienner, 2005, p. 32.

should not be the referent object of the security rather it should be the state. But, for Steve Smith and Ken Booth, individual should be the primary referent of security.<sup>14</sup> One of the important contributions of CoS was Ole Waever's (another scholar of CoS) 'securitization.' The idea of securitization refers to labeling something as security issue and legitimizing special measures outside the usual political process to deal with it.<sup>15</sup> In the process of securitization, a securitizing actor (e.g., state, political elite, military etc.) articulates an issue as an existential threat to a referent object (e.g., state, groups, national sovereignty etc.) and takes extraordinary measures in response to that threat.<sup>16</sup> The event of 9/11, Iraq War or Australian asylum seekers incident could be some given examples.<sup>17</sup> Many scholars have criticized the idea of CoS's widening security and securitization. Bill McSweeney argues that there is a discontinuity in Buzan and Weaver's work in terms of explaining societal and state security. According to McSweeney, Buzan focuses on strong states where society is presumably subordinate to the state but Weaver prioritizes society as independent variable which is no longer subordinate to the state.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, it seems that there is a contradiction within the work of CoS which undermines Buzan's original thesis.<sup>19</sup> Johan Erikson argues that security is a social construct. According to him CoS is acting as much as politician (as securitizer) as analysts.<sup>20</sup> Jef Huysmans, on the other hand, argues that the idea of CoS is cultural specific, especially Euro-centric.<sup>21</sup>

Feminist thinkers like Lene Hansen find lack of voice of women in the process of CoS, in particular in the decision making of securitization process. She points out that there is an absence of gender-based security in the work of CoS. As she argues that gender-based security issues are almost excluded from qualifying in the securitization process as they do not fit within any definition of referent object given by CoS.<sup>22</sup> Smith also argues that traditional security literature is gender-blind and not gender-neutral.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* p. 34.

<sup>16</sup> Ralf Emmers, "Securitization" in Allan Collins, ed., *Contemporary Security Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 111.

<sup>17</sup> For details see, *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119. In this book, it was explained that how asylum issues became the main feature of national election in Australia through the process of securitization. The act of delivering speech is the crucial method of securitization process, through which, for example, speaking about the threat of WMD, Bush went attacking Iraq, letting Americans understand that it was a security threat for them and tried to securitize the event.

<sup>18</sup> Cited by Bill McSweeney in Steve Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

CSS scholar Ken Booth emphasizes on the idea of *emancipation* as the key point of security as he claims that security cannot be achieved without emancipation.<sup>24</sup> He notes that emancipation and security are the two sides of the same coin and theoretically emancipation is security.<sup>25</sup>

The above discussion was a very brief idea of different scholar's way of thinking that how they view contemporary meaning of security. It should be noted that, apart from CoS, the definition of security by CSS, Feminism and other security studies put emphasis on the individual as the referent object rather than the state. Based on this emphasis on individual, the latter scene, as we know after the cold war, has set for a more holistic approach that is generally known as human security which focuses on mainly the individual's rights and security where no longer the state will be the primary referent object. But again various scholars, governments and practitioners raised questions particularly which individual should be the main focus. Is it only individual or collective? However, having its definitional limitation it has been the dominating concept in security studies since 1990s specifically combined with the idea of development and security basically pioneered by the Human Development Report by UNDP in 1994.

## 2.2 The Concept of Human Security

As mentioned earlier, the concept of human security was pioneered by the UNDP's 'Human Development Report' 1994. The report addresses human security as *freedom from want and freedom from fear*, although its focus remains basically on the first one.<sup>26</sup> The UNDP report was widely criticized by many scholars claiming that it is very ambiguous.<sup>27</sup> Nonetheless, the report has remained as the cornerstone of the idea of human security.

10 years after the UNDP Report, the term was revisited by the Human Security Commission. According to Commission's report human security means, "To protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhances human freedoms and human fulfillment. It means protecting fundamental freedoms that are the essence of life. Human security means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations."<sup>28</sup> The report

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<sup>24</sup> For details see, *Ibid*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*. p. 43.

<sup>26</sup> P.R. Chari and Sonika Gupta, eds., *Human Security in South Asia*, New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2003, p. 39.

<sup>27</sup> UNDP Report was said as too much broad and vague for policy making and hence it lacks significance but it was also recognized that it provided with the initial idea of human security.

<sup>28</sup> "Human Security Now", *Commission on Human Security*, New York: CHS, 2003, p. 4.

considers many socio-economic and political issues such as protecting people from violent conflict, terrorism, illegal migration and trafficking as the important elements of achieving human security.<sup>29</sup> But still its focus on human security remains too broad.

Academics have tried to define human security between the two aspects: *freedom from fear* and *freedom from want*. King and Murray define human security by focusing on the issues associated with the *freedom from want*. As they address human security that is intended to include only 'essential' elements, the elements that are "Important enough for human beings to fight over or to put their lives or property at great risk."<sup>30</sup> Bajpai offers a *human security audit* where he argues that 'bodily safety' and 'personal freedom' should be the most important elements of human security which represents the issues of freedom from fear.<sup>31</sup> While criticizing King and Murray and Bajpai, Paris argues that King and Murray do not focus on any issues of deadly violence (or direct violence) whereas Bajpai, in his analysis, leaves out the essence of basic needs, for example, education. Paris defines human security as a broad category of research in terms of military and non-military threats to societies, groups and individuals.<sup>32</sup>

After UNDP's crucial focus on *freedom from want*, Canada came out with its own definition of human security through giving more importance on the issues of *freedom from fear*. *Freedom from fear* category refers to threats from conflicts and the protection of the people during the war whereas *freedom from want* refers to sustainable development, socio-economic inequality and lack of social justice. It has been said that *freedom from fear* is more feasible and narrower proposition than *freedom from want* that helps policy makers to enhance the ideology of the human security. Hence, Schittecatte correctly asserts that *freedom from want* aspects of human security are given less priority than those of related to *freedom from fear*. Given the revolutionary shift away from the security of the states the

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Garry King and Christopher J.L. Murray "Rethinking Human Security," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 116, No. 4, Winter 2001-2002, p. 593. Here, for example, authors refer to freedom from poverty as essential or important element to achieve human security.

<sup>31</sup> Kanti Bajpai "Human Security: Concept and Measurement," *Kroc Institute Occasional Paper* 19, 2000, p. 53.

<sup>32</sup> Roland Paris, "Meaning of Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2. 2001, pp. 94-100. By focusing on (non) military threats, Paris argues the threats to human security narrowly from both fear and want perspectives whereas Bajpai and King & Murray emphasize on the threats from fear and want respectively.

concept of human security represents, it might be understandable that the *freedom from fear* aspects of human security has achieved much more support.<sup>33</sup>

Considering the above explanations of human security, some one can argue too much broadening and ambiguity raise the question what aspect of security could be excluded from the label of human security. Later the emphasis was given to *freedom from fear* in order to narrow and to create more meaningful implications of the concept. But both aspects of human security are equally important for ensuring the security of individuals. *Freedom from fear* would be meaningless if *freedom from want* is not ensured. Simultaneously, ensuring the latter is impossible without achieving the former.

In order to get a coherent meaning of human security, one of the possible directions could be to link up both *freedom from want* and *freedom from fear* focusing on the concept of violence. Emphasis should be given on different categories of violence that cause human insecurity. In most definitions of human security, especially on the *freedom from fear* side, direct or physical violence was emphasized rather than structural violence. As Franceschet argues, “The dominant interpretations of human security have focused not on structural violence but rather civil wars, physical safety, and violation of individual dignity.”<sup>34</sup> Concurrently, those interpretations do not address the notion of cultural violence. Focus on structural violence is important but addressing the issues of cultural violence is indispensable since it legitimizes both direct and structural violence.<sup>35</sup> Hence, it could be proposed that, human security can be best described as freedom from direct, structural and particularly from cultural violence. I shall argue that main components of human security: *freedom from fear* and *freedom from want* correspond these three types of violence. In so doing, I take the theory of violence by Johan Galtung who introduced these three types of violence as a point of departure. It should be noted here that these three types of violence are interrelated. This interrelationship further indicates the correlation between the notions of *want* and *fear*. Next section will try to focus on these three types of violence and how they correlate with human security.

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<sup>33</sup>Catherine Schittecatte, “Toward a More Inclusive Global Governance and Enhanced Human Security”, in Sandra J. Maclean, David R. Black and Timothy M. Shaw eds., *A Decade of Human Security: Global Governance and New Multilateralisms*, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006, p. 133. It has been argued that *freedom from fear* perspective provides with a more coherent and short term policy action than *freedom from want* which is too much inclusive and seek for long term policies. Moreover, *freedom from fear* is closer to the notion of state security. Therefore, *freedom from fear* has achieved much more support.

<sup>34</sup>Antonio Franceschet, “Global Legalism and Human Security,” in Sandra J. Maclean and others, *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>35</sup>Galtung, *op. cit.*, p. 292.



### 3. GALTUNG'S THEORY OF VIOLENCE AND HUMAN SECURITY

According to Galtung, "Violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations."<sup>36</sup> Galtung refers to the violence as everything which prevents the full realization of innate somatic and mental human potentials. To put it in different way, violence is anything which produces a gap between the physical and mental potentials of human beings and their actual conditions.<sup>37</sup> For example, as Masatsugu notes, "When the life expectancy was thirty years in Paleolithic age, it may not have been due to violence. But in our world such a low life expectancy is a clear indication of the existence of violence."<sup>38</sup> In this way, poverty, underdevelopment, oppression afflicting many people in the developing countries can be seen as a manifestation of violence. As it was mentioned earlier, the three types of violence will be discussed below.

#### 3.1 Direct Violence

Galtung refers to the type of violence as direct where there is an actor that commits the violence, and structural or indirect violence where no such actors are present. Direct and indirect violence are interrelated. For example, when a war is fought there is direct violence since killing or hurting a person certainly puts his 'actual somatic realization' below his 'potential somatic realization'. But there is also indirect violence insofar as resources are channeled away from constructive efforts to bring the actual closer to the potential.

#### 3.2. Structural Violence

In structural violence, violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances.<sup>39</sup> It is the unequal distribution of resources and the uneven distribution of power to decide over the distribution that give rise to structural violence.<sup>40</sup> In this interpretation, resources

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<sup>36</sup> Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6(3), 1969, p. 168. Galtung defines potential level of realization as the realization which is possible with a given level of insight and resources. If insight and/or resources are monopolized by a group or class or are used for other purposes, then the actual level falls below the potential level, and violence is present in the system. Thus, he argues that when the potential is higher than the actual and when it is avoidable, then violence exists. When the actual is unavoidable, then violence is not present even if the actual is at a very low level.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Galtung cited in Masatsugu. See, Masatsugu Matsuo, *Peace and Conflict Studies: A Theoretical Introduction*, Hiroshima: Keisuisha Co. Ltd., 2005, p. 26.

<sup>39</sup> Galtung, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

are not only seen as material or economic but also nonmaterial such as education, health care etc. Structural violence is impersonal to the extent that the violence is inherent to the structure of the society regardless of the existence of any actors.<sup>41</sup>

### 3.3 Cultural Violence

The third category of violence which Galtung refers to as cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right or at least not wrong.<sup>42</sup> According to him, “Cultural violence highlights the way in which the act of direct violence and the fact of structural violence are legitimized and thus rendered acceptable in the society.”<sup>43</sup> He notes that cultural violence can be contained in all areas of social life (religion, ideology, language, science etc.). Cultural violence serves as a legitimizing factor for direct and structural violence. All these three types of violence remain in the three corners of a violence triangle and breed each other in many ways. Cultural violence occurs in the nonmaterial spheres which cannot be seen but reinforce direct and indirect violence. Thus, nationalism, racism or patriarchy as cultural violence produce and reproduce the vicious violence triangle.

### 3.4 Interrelation among Violence and Human Security

Now turning to the discussion of human security, let us have a look at how *freedom from fear* corresponds with freedom from direct violence. In so doing, I shall follow the recent argument on human security provided by Macfarlane and Khong. They define human security in terms of organized violence. They argue that humans are insecure insofar as they are on danger of being injured, maimed, or killed by those who harm them.<sup>44</sup> They further go on arguing that those who organize to harm are always individuals or groups of individuals (for example, states as groups of individuals cause violence to people or citizen, as they claim). So, for them, the source of violence is a perpetrator or individual who causes physical harm to other individuals.

According to Macfarlane and Khong, “The graver the physical harm and the larger the number of people who are affected, the greater the human insecurity.”<sup>45</sup> These individuals are, in fact, the actors who commit the violence to other ‘humans’ or ‘individuals’, as they claim in their argument. This is a form of direct violence where individuals or groups of individuals (actors) are causing harm (violence) to other individuals. MacFarlane and Khong provide a list of

<sup>41</sup> Catia C, Confortini “Galtung, Violence, and Gender: The Case for a Peace Studies/Feminism Alliance,” *Peace and Change*, Vol. 31(3), 2006, p. 336.

<sup>42</sup> Johan Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, London: Sage Publication, 1996, p. 196.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> S. Neil MacFarlane and Yuen Foong Khong, *Human Security and the UN: A Critical History*, Bloomington: Indiana University, 2006, p. 245.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

threats to human security which consists of genocide, civil wars, terrorist attacks, interstate wars, ethnic cleansing, organized mass rape, torture and so on.<sup>46</sup> They acknowledge that the list is exhaustive but they argue what is common to all these cases, is the existence of an actor or actors (e.g., states, ethnic or religious groups) who organize to inflict physical harm to other individuals.<sup>47</sup> Macfarlane and Khong's notion of organized violence, which I have argued as direct violence, is explicitly related to the *freedom from fear* part of human security.

Macfarlane and Khong, like others,<sup>48</sup> are dubious about broader aspects of insecurity such as poverty, underdevelopment or deadly disease like HIV/AIDS. These are the issues which represent the *freedom from want* part of human security. It can be argued that absence of structural violence helps ensure *freedom from want*. Inequalities in social structure and unequal distribution of the resources cause uneven development which leads to poverty and injustice. Here the violence occurs in the structure of the society. This type of violence is structural because in most of the cases, poverty, starvation, discrimination, human rights violation and so forth are all manifestation of violence embedded in the structure of domestic or international societies.<sup>49</sup> Structural violence is produced in the social structure without any specific human agency, but is damaging the human potential in the forms of poverty and discrimination.<sup>50</sup>

Thomas argues that human insecurities result directly from existing power structures.<sup>51</sup> According to her, "Emancipation from oppressive power structures, be they global, national or local in origin and scope, is necessary for human security."<sup>52</sup> This oppressive power structure, in fact, is a result of structural violence that undermines individual security. As Galtung points out that the topdogs (who hold the power) suppress the rights of the underdogs (the poor and neglected in the society).<sup>53</sup> Having the control over power and resources in the social structure, the topdogs, who remain at the top, create potential threats to the security of the underdogs who remain at the bottom of the structure, through structural violence.

Cultural violence as a form of nationalism, religion, racism, or imperialism serves to keep the oppressive violent structure intact and thus validates direct/indirect violence. Finally, through the legitimatization of direct and structural violence, cultural violence further reinforces human insecurity. Hence,

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

<sup>47</sup> Cited, *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> For example, Bajpai's explanation of the Canadian concept of human security.

<sup>49</sup> Masatsugu, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>51</sup> Caroline Thomas, *Global Governance and Human security*, London: Pluto Press, 2000, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>53</sup> Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research", *op. cit.*, p. 177.

freedom from cultural violence corresponds both freedom from *fear* and *want*. A few questions may be asked here such as how these three types of violence are interrelated. How do they breed each other? How are other two legitimized by cultural violence? How are they interlinked in terms of both *fear* and *want*? The following table (Figure 1) provides a way to look at the interrelations among these three types of violence.

**Figure 1: Correlation between Violence and Human (in) Security<sup>54</sup>**

Types of violence	Human (in) Security	
	Freedom from fear	Freedom from want
Direct Violence	Conflict, war, genocide, ethnic cleansing, homicide, rape, etc.	Causes poverty and underdevelopment through damaging socio-economic infrastructure
Structural Violence	Poverty and discrimination leads to displacement, isolation, marginalization, conflict	Poverty, discrimination, underdevelopment, illiteracy, unemployment, starvation, etc.
Cultural Violence	Patriarchy, religion, nationalism, racism, imperialism create fear for particular groups	Discrimination and marginalization limit access to power

The above table illustrates the relation of violence with *freedom from fear* and *freedom from want*. War/conflict produces direct violence which destroys socio-economic infrastructure that eventually causes poverty and underdevelopment which links to *freedom from want*. Simultaneously, structural violence such as poverty or discrimination may lead to conflict, displacement or isolation which may create a large amount of fear. Finally, cultural violence legitimizing direct and structural violence through patriarchy, racism, religion or nationalism may lead to conflict, discrimination and marginalization. However, it should be noted that in all these situations, these three types of violence overlap, and are produced, reproduced and generate a certain amount of human insecurities.

We have seen that all these kinds of violence cause a threat to human security. Two important questions can be raised here: First, who are the most vulnerable or who are to be secured? The second one is what is the nature of violence? It was stated previously that human security refers to the individual but the term individual remains contested itself. Generally speaking, most of the security literature reflects the ideas of men. Women were largely ignored in the security discourse. Hence, the following section focuses on the gendered nature of violence and the idea of human security from a feminist perspective.

<sup>54</sup> This table is compiled by the author.

#### 4. GENDER, VIOLENCE AND HUMAN SECURITY: A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

Martha Nussbaum argued that “Women in much of the world lack support for fundamental functions of the life. They are less well nourished than men, less healthy, more vulnerable to physical violence and abuse.”<sup>55</sup> The above statement by Nussbaum tells us the nature of women’s insecure position in the society. Women remain more insecure than men in their social, economic and political life. As Nussbaum notes that women in general have lower literacy, lower income and less political representation than that of men. Peterson also argues that no society treats its women as well as its men.<sup>56</sup> Here the question arises as to why women are more vulnerable or insecure than men, or how security issues are associated at the individual (men/women) level. Feminists have argued that women are not visible in the notion of state security where the perception of security is masculine. As Tickner argues, “The provision of national security has been and continues to be a male domain.”<sup>57</sup> Feminist critique of realist/military security explores the way to think about women’s security.<sup>58</sup> The dimension of gendered power relations, especially in terms of violence, gives us valuable insight for rethinking human security, as the following discussion will show.

##### 4.1 Gender and Violence: Feminism vs. Galtung’s Theory

Tickner points out, “When we consider security from the perspective of the individual, we find that new thinking is beginning to provide us with definitions of security that are less militaristic.”<sup>59</sup> She continues to address the fact that little attention has been paid either to gender issues or to women’s particular needs with respect to their security.<sup>60</sup> According to feminists, focusing on gender helps understanding the dimension of security. Even though different feminists have different stands, almost all of them are motivated by the goal of explaining the sources of gender inequality, and hence women’s suppression, and to look for the strategies to end them.<sup>61</sup> Gender inequality derives from women’s oppression in

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<sup>55</sup> Martha Nussbaum, “Women’s Capabilities and Social Justice,” in Maxine Molyneux and Shahra Razavi, eds., *Gender Justice, Development and Rights*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 45.

<sup>56</sup> V. Spike Peterson and Ann Sisson Runyan, *Global Gender Issues*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1999, p. 5.

<sup>57</sup> J. Ann Tickner cited in Jill Steans, *Gender and International Relations*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998, p. 109.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 110-112. Here, for example, Steans argues how military budget impacts women’s daily life. She addresses that too much military spending hinders women’s economic opportunity.

<sup>59</sup> J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relation*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1992, p. 53.

<sup>60</sup> Cited, *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

the society which is organized through violence. In this subsection, I will attempt to explore the relation between gender and violence focusing on how gender is socially constructed and thus involved in the production and reproduction of violence. In doing so, it is important to define the term gender at first.

According to Peterson and Runyan, "Gender refers to socially learned behavior and expectations that distinguish between masculinity and femininity....Whereas biological sex identities are determined by reference to genetics, socially learned gender is an acquired identity gained through performing prescribed gender roles."<sup>62</sup> Steans also argues, "Gender refers not to what men and women are biologically but to the ideological and material relationship which exists between them....Historically, women possessed certain gender traits, for example they are more passive, emotional and sensitive than men, and that men by contrast, were aggressive, objective and logical, had been used to justify female subordination."<sup>63</sup>

Gender is thus a social construct based on a binary (masculine/feminine)<sup>64</sup> and hierarchical (men in relation to women) power relation. Violence is produced and reproduced through this power relation in the social strata. Confortini provides some insights in the relation between gender and violence. She suggests that Galtung's theory of violence could be better understood in terms of gender relations.<sup>65</sup> It could be argued, along with Confortini, that Galtung considers gender in order to understand the notion of violence but he vaguely leaves the discussion focusing on gender as a biological (sex) rather than social construction. My point here is to find the important correlation between gender and violence in the premise of social construction of power which is useful to understand feminist thinking of human security. Galtung refers to gender as two distinct categories of people: men and women. Gender, for him, is an individual property and a space where violence happens.<sup>66</sup> Galtung sees the term gender as synonymous for sex, he asserts a causal link between male sexuality and male aggressiveness. He also refers to 'Biologism' as cultural violence against women where men legitimize male dominance through muscular strength.<sup>67</sup> But feminist scholars, as Confortini argues, suggest that gender is only marginally related to

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<sup>62</sup> Peterson and Runyan, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>63</sup> See, Steans, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11, 14.

<sup>64</sup> Feminists have argued that there is a binary construction of gender such as subject/object, public/private, active/passive and masculine/ feminine in which the former of each construction is always associated with men while the later is associated with women. These binary constructions allow men to have greater access to power and resources than women and thus show socially oppressed and powerless position of women.

<sup>65</sup> Catia C. Confortini, "Galtung, Violence, and Gender: The case for a Peace Studies/ Feminist Alliance," *Peace and Change*, Vol. 31, No.3, 2006, p. 333.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 341.

<sup>67</sup> Galtung, "Peace by Peaceful Means", *op. cit.*, p. 41.

biological sex and it is instead a social construct. Echoing Peterson, she further argues gender as “socially learned behavior and expectations that distinguish between masculinity and femininity.”<sup>68</sup> Gender can be seen as analytical category in terms of power as a set of mutually exclusive aspects in relationship of super/subordination of one to another.

According to Galtung, patriarchy is an institutionalization of male dominance which is situated in a vertical structure with a high correlation between position and gender, legitimized by culture and often emerging as cultural violence with male as subject and female as object.<sup>69</sup> Galtung identifies that men tend to be more violent and women tend to be more peaceful. With gender understood as sex, he identifies the male sex with aggressiveness and locates the source of violence in male sexuality and socialization. Thus he claims that patriarchy as a violent social formation of men’s sexuality and aggressiveness combines direct, structural and cultural violence in a violence triangle.<sup>70</sup>

Although Galtung recognizes that all these three types of violence are mutually reinforcing, feminists have further shown that direct violence is a method for the social control of both men and women, in particular, for specific categories of human beings (oppressed men and women). Direct violence, for example, domestic violence is an instrument for the social control of women. It occurs through a socially constructed (gender) relation where abusive men use direct violence to control and/or prevent women’s access to education, work and social relations and thus direct violence is a tool, as Confortini argues, to build and reproduce structural violence.<sup>71</sup>

The gender order attempts to make violence legitimate and violence acts as a constitutive element of the gender order. Feminists see gender order as constituted by and dependent on a power hierarchy of masculinities and femininities, at the top of which stands the idea of hegemonic masculinities. Violence is seen as implicated in the construction of hegemonic masculinities. These hegemonic masculinities remain at the top of the patriarchy which, in fact, is the source of the violence triangle.<sup>72</sup> Since gender is a practice, produced and reproduced through social relations, violence can be seen as a method for the

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<sup>68</sup> Confortini, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

<sup>69</sup> Galtung, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Confortini, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

<sup>72</sup> Here I try to argue that feminist notion of hegemonic masculinity, associated with patriarchy and with a socially constructed hierarchical power, is the source of violence triangle. Galtung refers this masculinity or patriarchy as ‘biological’ construction. It is worth noting that Galtung claims this biological construction is natural and men are thus predisposed to violence which maintains a status quo on women’s subordination (*Ibid.*, p. 344). Feminists have argued that this status quo can be changed through socialization of men by focusing on not biological but the social construction of gender.

reproduction of the gender order. Violence is both made possible by the existence of power/gender relations, and power/gender relations rely on violence for their reproduction. Hence, Confortini correctly argues that gender and violence are mutually constructed.<sup>73</sup>

#### 4.2 Violence and Human Security: A Gender Perspective

Much of the security debate in the last century was focused on war. Realists take their position to define security in terms of defending the state during war. Therefore, they prioritize exercising military power for the state survival. As Steans argues, in traditional realist thought state security was thought to depend ultimately upon military power, because national security denotes all purposes of defense.<sup>74</sup> But realist paradigm of state/military security has been under attack after the end of the Cold War. Feminist international relations scholars were the first to demonstrate how the national security policies have often led to the intensification of structural violence and harm to human beings and that underpinning national security was mainly masculine ontology. The purpose of national security has rarely been to make all citizens secure but instead to maintain the power of ruling elites, and militarization itself has become one of the greatest threats to human security, particularly to the security of women and children.<sup>75</sup>

Feminist theories criticize national security and seek for more comprehensive meanings of security based on the inclusion of women. Feminist theories can be categorized according to the ways in which they view the causes of women's oppression.<sup>76</sup> Liberal feminists stress commitment to political liberty, self-development and personal fulfillment. In the liberal feminist view, all men and women have equal rights and equal opportunity to access them. Marxist feminists believe that capitalism is the main source of the women's oppression. Radical feminists believe that women are oppressed by the patriarchal system. Patriarchy is institutionalized through social and cultural institutions. Psychoanalytic feminism looks for the source of women's oppression in gender relationships into which humans are socialized from birth. Socialist feminists are concerned with the gender oppression in terms of both capitalism and patriarchy. Postmodern feminism, apart from others, deals with the difference among women themselves.

While there are important differences in each of these kinds of feminism, all share a commitment to gender equality and advocate political strategies to achieve emancipation, although they differ as to what this means and how it is to

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<sup>73</sup> Confortini, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

<sup>74</sup> Steans, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>75</sup> Colleen O'Manique "The Securitization of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Critical Feminist Lens," in Sandra J. MacLean and others, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>76</sup> For a thorough analysis on different feminist thoughts, see Tickner, Steans, Peterson and Runyan's works.



be achieved.<sup>77</sup> However, at this point, we must ask from what feminists seek emancipation. The immediate answer could be that they seek an end to women's subordination or oppression. If we look deeply into the reasons for oppression, we may see that various factors are associated with this mechanism which further links to the notion of violence. It can be argued that in most cases women's oppression is the outcome of direct and structural violence.

According to Peterson and Runyan, "Gender inequality is maintained through various means ranging from direct violence (rape, domestic battering) and structural inequalities (inadequate health)."<sup>78</sup> They note that violence is gendered and stress that structural violence arises from socio-economic and political structures that extend the vulnerability of particular groups (e.g., infant mortality among poor women).<sup>79</sup> Direct violence is related to war whereas indirect violence is related to structural inequalities in society. Peterson and Runyan further argue, "Direct violence and structural violence are not separate but interdependent....The inequalities of the latter shape the expression of the former."<sup>80</sup>

To understand violence and human security through a feminist lens, we must look at how violence causes or contributes to gendered insecurity. The essence of human security is the absence of violence, whether sexual, military, environmental or economic, whether it originates from individual relationships within the household, or from the global political economy.<sup>81</sup> The idea of human security that has emerged from the feminist critique of realist security puts the individuals at the center of the concept of human security, proposing an emancipatory notion of security which would free people and communities from social, economic and political constraints that prevent them from their free choice.<sup>82</sup> Feminists have argued that in most cases the people or the individuals are the women whose free choices are often hindered by gender discrimination and other types of violence. Hence, Gupta argues that gender discrimination encompasses aspects of economic deprivation, violation of human rights and political exclusion. She suggests that the protection of women's rights and formulation of gender equal society is integral to human security.<sup>83</sup>

Perhaps the most vulnerable and suffering women are those who try to escape from both extreme *fear* and *want* but become caught up in the violent intersection of direct and structural violence. Cultural violence legitimizes this violent intersection and creates a vicious triangle of violence where mostly

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<sup>77</sup> Steans, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>78</sup> Peterson and Runyan, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>81</sup> O'Manique, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>82</sup> Cited, *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

women are the victims of the violence continuum. If it is to be implemented effectively, the idea of human security needs to readdress this vicious cycle of violence in order to achieve itself. Hence, in order to achieve human security it is essential to consider the security of women. Therefore, Haq argues that women's security is the precondition for human security.<sup>84</sup> Finally, we see that there are important relationships among violence, gender and human security from above discussion. The next section will further explore this relationship in terms of human trafficking.

## 5. HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND HUMAN SECURITY

We have seen in the previous sections how gender, violence and human security are interrelated. In this section we will look at how gender/feminist discourse helps us to understand the nature of human trafficking as well as the implications of human security for trafficking. Trafficking results from gendered violence that is causing human insecurity and vice versa. In order to understand trafficking in this context, it is necessary to look at different approaches to trafficking and their shortcomings and then the scope of a potential human security approach. The concept of trafficking has remained contested itself. It was stated in the beginning of this paper that there are various approaches to deal with this issue. The dominant trafficking paradigms have rested upon an absence of the distinction between trafficking and migration on the one hand, and trafficking and prostitution on the other. It also rested upon crime control and human rights approach. Few works have focused on the problem from a gender perspective. According to Piper, human insecurities such as gender inequality make people vulnerable to trafficking. Hence she claims a gender specific human security approach is necessary to define the problem.<sup>85</sup> However, it is important here to look at how the trafficking discourse has been developed over the past and the pitfalls with the approaches.

### 5.1 The Concept of Human Trafficking

As stated earlier, the new UN Trafficking Protocol was adopted in the year of 2000. The United Nations International Convention against Transnational Organized Crime was agreed upon in Palermo, Italy. It has been signed by 147 countries and came into force in 2003.<sup>86</sup> It is supplemented by three optional

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<sup>84</sup> Khadiza Haq "Human Security for Women," in Majid Tehranian, ed., *Worlds Apart: Human Security and Global Governance*, New York: IB Tauris Publishers, 1999, p. 95.

<sup>85</sup> Nicola Piper, "A Problem by a Different Name? A Review of Research on Trafficking in Southeast Asia and Oceania", *International Migration*, Vol. 43 (1/2), 2005, p. 227.

<sup>86</sup> Kamala Kempadoo "From Moral Panic to Global Justice: Changing Perspectives on Trafficking," in Kamala Kempadoo, Jyoti Sanghera and Bandana Pattanaik, eds., *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work, and Human Rights*, Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2005, p. xiii.

Protocols. Two of these three Protocols are ‘Smuggling in Migrants Protocol’ and ‘Trafficking Protocol’ that is known as “Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children.” Article 3 of the Trafficking Protocol defines trafficking as:<sup>87</sup>

Trafficking in persons shall mean 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 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. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other form of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

Although the above definition is internationally recognized today, it has led to considerable debate on the meaning of the terms like sexual exploitation, prostitution and consent etc. These terms remain vague and unexplained in the definition. Accordingly, the concept of trafficking has produced a widespread debate over the years. It is not to focus here all the debates surrounding trafficking, rather the purpose here to acknowledge important and contemporary concerns regarding it. Below is a review of the most common approaches with regard to trafficking.

### 5.1.1 Trafficking and Prostitution

This has been the dominant paradigm in trafficking discourse. As Sanghera claims, there has been a continued persistence among anti-trafficking players within the prevailing discourse to conflate trafficking with prostitution.<sup>88</sup> Addressing sex work as a criminal act, many states outlaw prostitution and thus anti-trafficking strategies advocate the prohibition of prostitution and rescue of young girls and women from cross border sex work.<sup>89</sup> Trafficking for sex work as well as the abolition of prostitution to stop the crime is a nineteenth and early twentieth century phenomenon. This abolitionist view is reflected not only in the early discourse on trafficking but also in many recent radical feminist perspectives and anti-prostitution policy adopted by states. These policies have rendered great harm to the existence of sex workers through the denial of their rights to work.<sup>90</sup> There has been a gendered concern behind the abolitionist view as some radical feminists claim the patriarchal institution of prostitution

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<sup>87</sup> UN Trafficking Protocol, Article 3, United Nation, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>88</sup> Jyoti Sanghera, “Unpacking the Trafficking Discourse” in Kempadoo, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>89</sup> Kempadoo, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi-xxii.

<sup>90</sup> Melissa Dittmore cited in Kempadoo, *Ibid.*, p. xxvi. The rights of sex workers include right to work in destination countries, right to have protection from harassment and have proper access to health care.

undermines women's agency and dignity and therefore it should be abolished in order to empower women. However, recent efforts have been made to shift focusing exclusively on prostitution to include other types of slavery-like practices and forced labor. Nevertheless, at the state level the dominant anti-trafficking strategies have been associated with prostitution on the one hand and controlling irregular migration on the other.

### 5.1.2 Trafficking and Migration

Human trafficking has been conceptually associated with migration. Some actors, particularly states emphasize this aspect and treat trafficking as an irregular migration problem. Historically, people have migrated and crossed the border for a better livelihood. While migrating, some of them being coerced or deceived and thus fall prey to trafficking. Trafficking occurs in the stream of migration. Both trafficking and migration involve movement of persons, therefore the physical site of migration and trafficking can be the same but the difference lies in the elements of choice, coercion and exploitation. Hence, all acts of trafficking involve migration but not all acts of migration involve trafficking.<sup>91</sup> Thus, migration is the key dynamic in the trafficking cycles. Some people recommend curbing migration (stopping migration of the vulnerable, especially women and girls) in order to prevent trafficking. Others suggest that this effort will not stop trafficking rather will reinforce a gender bias that women and girls need constant male or state protection.<sup>92</sup> Hence, a careful analysis is crucial to address the need of female migration from a gender perspective. Gendered aspects of female migration in terms of both supply and demand need to be focused on the trafficking discourse.

### 5.1.3 Trafficking and Organized Crime

Another important aspect of trafficking is its linkage with organized crime. The involvement of organized criminal groups<sup>93</sup> in trafficking has become more apparent in recent times. Because of the high profits and low risk, these criminal groups are frequently engaged in people trafficking. Linking trafficking and organized crime, Schloenhardt illustrates that trafficking is a major source of income for organized criminal groups.<sup>94</sup> There is a high demand for trafficked people in the destination countries in domestic work, construction or sex industry. Organized criminal groups fulfill this demand by supplying those trafficked

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<sup>91</sup> *Status and Dimensions of Trafficking Within Nepalese Context*, IIDS & UNIFEM, Katmandu: IIDS, 2004, p. 5.

<sup>92</sup> Kempadoo, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>93</sup> For example, Chinese Snake Head or Japanese Yakuza are said to be organized criminal gangs.

<sup>94</sup> Tom Obokata, *Trafficking of Human Beings from a Human Rights Perspective: Toward Holistic Approach*, Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2006, p. 31.

people. However, the linkage between organized crime and trafficking does not provide the whole picture of the trafficking itself since it also occurs by those other than criminal groups such as family, friends or acquaintances who work locally in groups and sometimes individually.

#### **5.1.4 Trafficking and Human Rights**

Trafficking is a gross violation of human rights. It has widely been accepted in modern times that trafficking entails a human rights dimension. What exactly is a human rights framework for trafficking? There are two dimensions of this framework. First, applying human rights framework means exploring and identifying relevant human rights norms and principles in relation to trafficking in human beings. This includes the rights to life, work, health as well as prohibition of torture and slavery. Secondly, a human rights framework is framework of action. It emphasizes on the legal obligations of the State to eliminate trafficking, prosecute traffickers and protection of the victims. A human rights framework therefore can put more pressure on states to address human rights issue associated with trafficking. Furthermore, a human rights approach, according to Obokata, is important for some additional reasons.<sup>95</sup> First, it can facilitate the understanding of the problems experienced by those who are trafficked. Rather than addressing them as criminals, the approach focuses on the abuse of the human rights of the victim. Secondly, a human rights approach addresses not only the process of trafficking but also the causes and consequences of it. Poverty and other humanitarian crises causing trafficking raise human rights concerns. Also there are human rights issues associated with forced labor and slavery like practices in destination countries.

#### **5.2 Feminist Discourse of Trafficking**

Feminist debate about trafficking has had a significant impact on the making of the international legal framework on trafficking since the last century. Most of the debates have focused on the issues of prostitution. On the one hand, some argue that prostitution is the source of women's oppression by male sexual violence and hence all prostitution should be abolished. On the other hand, prostitution is seen as work, and it should be sustained as a profession for sex workers. These two polarized views, one radical and other liberal, have dominated anti-trafficking discourse over the decades. Nevertheless, both of them explore a gendered construction of trafficking.

In 1980s and 1990s, a group of feminists began their campaign against trafficking. This campaign grew out of a radical feminist ideology. Led by Kathleen Barry, prostitution was treated as men's sexual violence against

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

women.<sup>96</sup> She suggests that sexuality, as a power over all women, has been used worldwide to dominate and oppress them. For her, sexual exploitation is the foundation of women's subordination and the base where discrimination against women is constructed. She claims prostitution is the cornerstone of sexual exploitation. Women's consent to prostitution is disregarded as she argues that any consent or choice is not possible under male domination. Thus, prostitution always involves a violation of the human being, particularly women. As a harmful and exploitative institution, prostitution was argued to damage all women. All prostitution across borders is defined as trafficking and no distinction is made between voluntary migration of sex worker and the forced migration for prostitution.<sup>97</sup> However, in order to stop trafficking, she urges prostitution should be criminalized and hence eliminated. This view is echoed by the feminist NGO called Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW), one of the leading anti-trafficking alliances.<sup>98</sup>

The above approach, usually known as abolitionism, has been severely criticized by another group of feminists who embrace the ideology of a liberal sex worker perspective. This type of feminist group came up with the dominant idea of 'prostitution as sex work' in the early 1990s. They formed an alliance group known as Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW), another influential NGO working against trafficking.<sup>99</sup> The main argument of this group is that prostitution should be regarded as sex work and therefore trafficking should not be conflated with prostitution only. They demand a distinction between forced and voluntary prostitution.<sup>100</sup> The critique from this stance implies that focusing on elimination of prostitution diminishes the importance of sex worker's rights. From this perspective, Kempadoo argues that the radical feminist approach is flawed by its lack of attention to sex workers, particularly from the third world.<sup>101</sup> It does not give any room to recognize the voice of all those women who work in the commercial sex sector.<sup>102</sup> Most remarkably, as Sullivan argues, this approach denies the possibility of women's agency in relation to prostitution.<sup>103</sup>

While there is a considerable debate on trafficking regarding prostitution and other contemporary approaches, it could be argued that there is a gendered

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<sup>96</sup> Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72, also Heli Askola, *Legal Responses to Trafficking in Women for Sexual Exploitation in European Union*, Oxford: Hart publishing, 2007, pp. 33-336; Tom Obokata, *op. cit.*, Boston: Martinaz Nijhoff Publishers, 2006, p. 28; Kempadoo, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

<sup>99</sup> Cited, *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> Cited, *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>102</sup> Askola, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>103</sup> Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

discourse underlying the debate. Trafficking is a gendered construction. It is mostly women who are trafficked since they are considered to be easily deceived to sex work, while the smuggled are mostly men.<sup>104</sup> Feminists have provided a meaningful understanding of this construction. Focusing on the issues of female migration, prostitution, sexual exploitation and/or sex work, feminists show us how a complex web of gendered power relations set out all these stages starting from decision making, consent, choice, coercion and exploitation. Women are often more at risk of exploitation, because they are, by reason of complex socio-economic factors, in a less advantageous position to negotiate the conditions under which they cross international borders.<sup>105</sup> Structural violence remains as underlying factor in deepening of this exploitation.

However, apart from the debate about prostitution, there is also a need to address the fact that people are trafficked not only for sexual exploitation but also for other exploitative work such as bondage labor in sweatshops, begging, organ selling and camel jockeying as well as the fact that trafficked persons become victims of extreme violence. Focusing on prostitution/sex work too much (as the contemporary debate does) may hinder shedding light on the whole picture of trafficking in terms of the demand side. Hence, it is important to readdress the characteristics of violence that underlie not only the persistent problem of prostitution but also the root causes that lead to trafficking for other kinds of exploitation. These characteristics (be they direct, structural or cultural) are inherently associated with human insecurities as was argued in the previous section.

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<sup>104</sup> Askola, *op. cit.*, p. 37. It is generally believed that women are more easily coerced than men and end up in sexual slavery; therefore they are trafficked whereas men willingly get smuggled for better (illegal) opportunities. There is also a huge debate regarding the difference between trafficking and smuggling. Both involve the movement of people but differ in terms of consent, coercion, exploitation and transnationality. In the case of trafficking, there are deception and abusive situation and it could occur within the state or internationally whereas in the case of smuggling, which is always transnational, a person willingly consents to be smuggled knowing the danger but may become victim of trafficking through deception and forced engagement in exploitative work afterwards. For this reason, it often becomes difficult to distinguish trafficking and smuggling for their overlapping nature. For more details, see *UNODC Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons*, New York: United Nation, 2006, pp. xiii-xv. Besides, it is also worth noting that women usually have or they seek more opportunities than men in the sex industries. Hence, many women may migrate in order to work in sex sectors but become victim of inhuman exploitative situation which fits with the definition of trafficking. Thus, a gendered nature of choice and exploitation can be seen in the trafficking continuum.

<sup>105</sup> Askola, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

## 6. HUMAN TRAFFICKING AS A PROBLEM OF HUMAN SECURITY

Human trafficking is a multifaceted challenge to human security.<sup>106</sup> It is associated with both aspects of human security. Firstly, as Othman argues, human insecurity factors, such as poverty, lack of education and insecure environment contribute to trafficking which addresses the linkage of *freedom from want*.<sup>107</sup> Secondly, protection of victim's rights in the destination countries represents the *freedom from fear* issue. Friman and Rich argue that the 2002 UN Trafficking Protocol focuses on the linkage between trafficking and *freedom from want* through prevention measures by calling for socio-economic initiatives that emphasize on the factors that make people vulnerable to trafficking, for example underdevelopment, poverty and lack of equal opportunities.<sup>108</sup> They also show that victim protection measures such as 'full respect of their human rights' in the receiving states illustrate the linkage between trafficking and achieving *freedom from fear*.

Broadly speaking, economic and social insecurities (hence structural violence) are the underlying causes of human trafficking that eventually increase insecurity of individuals. *Freedom from want* refers to the basic needs that an individual should obtain in order for his/her own security or safety. People are trafficked because they look toward fulfilling these needs and crossing borders seeking for a better life, knowingly or unknowingly. After being trafficked through deception, coercion or other kinds of force by traffickers, victims (if trafficked) find themselves deprived of the ability to meet these basic needs. Hence, *freedom from want* or freedom from basic needs is interlinked with human trafficking both at the beginning and at the end of the process which shows trafficking as a human security dimension.

Simultaneously, the rights of the trafficked person, particularly women and children, are severely violated through direct/physical violence such as slavery-like practices, forced working conditions, sale of their organs and by inhuman torture. This situation calls for the protection of victims in the destination countries that represent the issue of *freedom from fear*. In addition, it should be noted that the human rights of the potential victims are also violated in the country of origin as a form of discrimination or deprivation of basic needs. Thus, we may see that both direct and structural violence, with its gendered nature, lead women towards vulnerable conditions for trafficking. Therefore, considering violence against trafficked persons before and afterwards, trafficking is a great threat to their individual existence, and hence, human security. As Othman has argued that by looking at the root causes of trafficking, it is apparent that it

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<sup>106</sup> H. Richard Friman and Simon Reich, *Human Trafficking, Human Security, and the Balkans*, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2007, p. 142.

<sup>107</sup> Zarina Othman, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>108</sup> Friman and Reich, *op. cit.*, p. 142.



contributes to widespread human insecurities.<sup>109</sup> Concurrently, the focus on cultural violence sheds the light on the invisible nature of violence that causes, breeds and legitimizes direct and structural violence and hence generates human insecurity.

The debate on trafficking has focused mainly on illegal migration (hence border control and law enforcement) and forced/voluntary prostitution (sexual exploitation). Pipers suggests that this debate can only be moved forward in a meaningful manner if it concentrates on addressing the root causes of trafficking something which has largely been neglected.<sup>110</sup> She goes on arguing that in order to address the root causes, it is necessary to focus on gendered aspects.<sup>111</sup> She further claims that in the specific context of human trafficking, the concept of human security should best focus on the aspect of insecurity. Human insecurities as the root cause leads to migration. The dimension of these insecurities can be traced from a gender perspective. Gender-specific economic, social, and cultural insecurities explain the motives of migration. Thus, she suggests human security as a normative framework that could shape future research on trafficking, conceptually and empirically.<sup>112</sup>

The diagram below shows a human security framework which focuses on gendered violence as the underlying cause of trafficking. On the left side of the diagram, it focuses on the aspects of direct violence, such as slavery like practices and prosecution which require the protection of victims in order to be free from *fear*. On the right side, it addresses the issue of structural violence and thereby the root causes of trafficking which is associated with *freedom from want*. Structural violence and direct violence breed each other and hence reinforce *fear* and *want*. Cultural violence creates both *fear* and *want* through operating direct and structural violence. The negation of all these kinds of violence may help stop trafficking and thus uphold human security.

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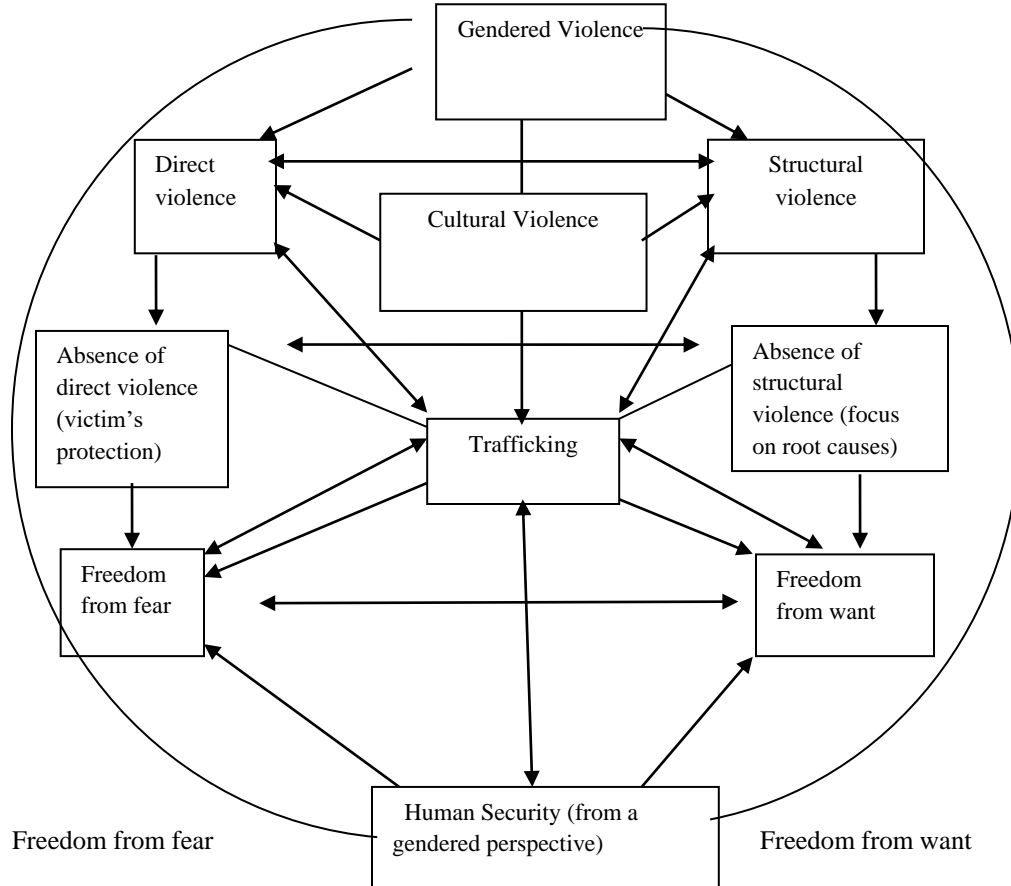
<sup>109</sup> Othman, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>110</sup> Nicola Piper, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

<sup>111</sup> Cited, *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> Cited, *Ibid.*

**Figure 2: Interrelationship among Gendered Violence, Human Trafficking and Human Security<sup>113</sup>**



## 7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

All the issues discussed in this paper have been reflected in many international and regional legal initiatives such as the UN Trafficking Protocol, 2000 and the SAARC Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution, 2002. Under the auspices of the SAARC Convention, most of the South Asian countries are still concentrating on the issue of prostitution in trafficking. Trafficking for purposes other than prostitution has been given little or no attention and the underlying causes of trafficking are inadequately addressed.

<sup>113</sup> This diagram is a modified version of Galtung's model. See, Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research", *op. cit.*, p.183.

The approaches to trafficking have remained contested. This contestation has given rise to a range of diverse policies and research without providing a coherent framework to deal with the problem. It has also led to widespread disagreement among actors involved and the academics. Indeed, there is a need for a more holistic approach that may focus on underlying factors as well as the issues of human rights violations. A human security approach holds out a potential path to address human trafficking without necessarily being paralyzed by the debate on prostitution or migration. As Friman and Rich have argued that regardless of whether one sees prostitution as a choice or as immoral exploitation, a human security approach reveals that progress is still possible through taking steps to ease *freedom from want* and *freedom from fear*.<sup>114</sup> Others like Othman and Piper have also suggested a normative approach like human security can provide more comprehensive understanding of trafficking. To date, however, the potential of the human security approach remains unrealized.

A gender perspective of human security may offer a path to the realization of this potential. A feminist lens offers a way to understand the gendered notion of human (in) security. This gendered notion, which underlies various forms of violence (direct, structural and cultural) against women, makes them insecure and vulnerable. Gender discourse sheds light on women's (in) security. Therefore, a gendered analysis in relation to both men and women focusing on social power relations resulting from violence may provide better understanding of human trafficking.

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<sup>114</sup> Friman and Reich, *op. cit.*, p. 153.