

Non-Intervention as a Challenge to Advocacy Networks: A Case Study of Transnational Crime in the ASEAN Region

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International Relation

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ABSTRACT

The rise of transnational crimes such as human trafficking, narcotics smuggling, and labor exploitation in online fraud schemes in Southeast Asia presents a serious ongoing challenge, especially due to the strong principle of non-intervention upheld by ASEAN member states. This research places the issue in the context of regional security and the role of civil society through transnational advocacy networks (TANs). Using a qualitative descriptive approach and referring to official reports and data from civil society organizations, this study analyzes how the principle of non-intervention and the weakness of regional law enforcement mechanisms are the main obstacles. The results show that although advocacy networks such as Amnesty International can drive information, symbolism, and leverage politics, they are still limited in creating political accountability in Southeast Asia. The "**boomerang pattern**" put forward by Keck and Sikkink often fails due to the limited access of domestic actors to formal channels and the absence of coercive mechanisms in the ASEAN structure. This article emphasizes the need for normative reforms in regional organizations to make the response to transnational crime more effective.

Keywords: *transnational crime, ASEAN; non-intervention, transnational advocacy networks, Southeast Asia.*

INTRODUCTION

The Assembly of Southeast Asian Nations or Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is a regional organization established on August 8, 1967. ASEAN was formed as a forum for regional, bilateral, and multilateral cooperation among Southeast Asian countries. Born in the midst of the geopolitical tensions of the Cold War between Western and Eastern blocs, the establishment of ASEAN was based on the political and economic interests of countries in the region to maintain stability and build regional solidarity (Rizki Dwi Adji Prananda et al. 2024). Quoting from the official ASEAN website (ASEAN n.d.), there are a number of basic principles that are the foundation of the relationship between members. These principles include: mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, and national identity of all nations; recognition of the right of every state to conduct its national life free from external interference, subversion, or coercion; not interfering in each other's internal affairs (non-interference); the settlement of differences or disputes through peaceful means; rejection of threats or use of violence; and a commitment to effective cooperation among member states.

Furthermore, of the four main principles of ASEAN, there is one principle that is often considered problematic, namely the principle of non-intervention, or not interfering in each other's internal affairs. This principle is considered contradictory to the spirit of

cooperation to create peace, which is also the main goal of ASEAN. In the contemporary global context, the principle of non-intervention is actually an obstacle to collective responses to various regional issues, especially those related to transnational crimes and human rights violations. Instead of being a stabilization mechanism, the principle of non-intervention in practice often creates a paradox, where ASEAN is passive to the internal dynamics of member states that have cross-border impacts. The Southeast Asian region is also considered to be still very rigid in responding to these problems, both diplomatically and institutionally. One of the most prominent examples comes from Cambodia, where human trafficking practices and rampant illegal online gambling and online fraud involve cross-border networks, but have not received a firm regional response from ASEAN.

The principle of non-intervention developed in the Charter of the United Nations and the international legal system is a challenge for ASEAN member states and cross-border non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in advancing the agenda of peace and human rights in the Southeast Asian region. In the perspective of international law, state sovereignty is considered a fundamental principle inherent in the entity of a sovereign state and is the main foothold for the continuation of the global legal system. This concept also reflects a universal attitude towards the principle of non-intervention which is reflected in international practices and customs, and is made one of the main principles in the UN Charter, Prananda (2024) in his research, confirming that ASEAN's approach to this principle still tends to be rigid, thus limiting the effectiveness of regional advocacy, especially in humanitarian issues and transnational crimes that occur in the Southeast Asian region.

The political and social escalation of the contemporary era has expanded the dynamics of crime that are of urgent concern to international actors. Transnational crime not only impacts the economic and social sectors, but also often threatens the sovereignty of a country. In many cases, state actors have difficulty responding appropriately because these crimes involve multiple jurisdictions and cross-border actors. According to Obokata, organized crime is no longer limited to individuals in conventional hierarchical organizations. Instead, he emphasized that these forms of crime are often facilitated by a complex mix of actors, in which transnational criminal organizations play a significant role although they are not the only perpetrators. This shows that the complexity of transnational crime is getting higher and cannot be addressed by a one-dimensional approach alone (Tom Obokata 2010). Meanwhile, Hamdi explained that transnational crime is a criminal act that is deliberately composed and carried out across national borders, with the aim of entering the jurisdiction of another country without legal authorization (Muhammad Arief Hamdi 2018). This definition asserts that this type of crime is systematic and organized, and deliberately exploits loopholes between states to evade law enforcement.

On the other hand, Cryer et al. describe the concept of international crime from the perspective of international criminal law. In his book *An Introduction to International Criminal Law and Procedure*, he explains that international crimes are acts of concern to the international community as a whole, or violations of fundamental interests

protected by international law (ROBERT CRYER, DARRYL ROBINSON, and SERGEY VASILIEV 2019). This is in line with the explanation on the Hukumonline website, which states that international crimes are acts that cause unrest for the international community at large or violate the fundamental principles of international law (Hukum.Online 2023). This definition expands the scope of international crime as something that is not only local, but also has a global impact, so that its handling also demands a collective approach.

Transnational crime is a crime that goes beyond the boundaries of a country's jurisdiction and is generally structured and organized, this phenomenon often occurs in developing countries in the Southeast Asian region. One clear example is the Bali Bombing incident in October 2002, which became a form of cross-border terrorism. The incident not only caused huge losses in terms of security and economy, especially the tourism sector, but also tarnished Indonesia's image in the eyes of the world. Based on a news report by Tempo Indonesia, this attack killed at least 202 people and injured 209 others (Tempo Indonesia 2022). Acts of terrorism that occur in Indonesia are not the only transnational crimes that need more attention in the era of globalization. As previously explained, transnational crime is an act of organized crime. Transnational crime itself is divided into several criminal acts, including; Human Trafficking, Drug Trafficking, Illegal Arms Trafficking, and various other criminal acts.

Collective approaches and cooperation between international actors, including ASEAN and its member states, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the United Nations (UN), to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the United Nations on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), need to be developed in a more serious and egalitarian manner. In the context of transnational crimes, if states and international organizations are less responsive to their handling, the role of civil society becomes very crucial. The presence of civil society and NGOs can be an emphasis on policies that are absolute, while also offering a cosmopolitan approach that emphasizes the value of equality without distinction of identity, culture, and political background. Especially in the Global South region such as Southeast Asia, the involvement of civil society is a strategic step to strengthen democratic control and encourage accountability of governments and regional organizations in dealing with transnational crimes. In other words, synergy between states, international institutions, and civil society must be built in an inclusive manner to create a fairer and more sustainable protection mechanism and to set aside the principle of "**non-intervention**".

In this study, the researcher assesses the relevance between the barriers to transnational crime prevention in the Southeast Asian region, and the concept of transnational advocacy networks by activists and NGOs introduced by Keck and Sikkink. The reason is that transnational advocacy networks by non-governmental organizations have become one of the alternative ways for civil society to participate in monitoring the country's political actions, and being involved in suppressing the policies of a country that is perceived to lack regard for state sovereignty and human rights. As Keck and Sikkink explain in their book "**Activist Beyond Borders**". This research focuses on how transnational civil society advocacy networks in Southeast Asia build cross-border

solidarity in the face of transnational crime, as well as challenge the limitations of ASEAN's principle of non-intervention, which is often a barrier to regional coordination. In this study, literature studies also play an important role as a conceptual foundation that enriches the understanding of the phenomenon studied. Previous studies have made significant contributions to expanding the scientific space and helping researchers formulate contexts, identify problems, and approach relevant analysis. The author refers to various credible and relevant sources, such as scientific journals, reliable news articles, as well as official data and reports, to strengthen the arguments and validity of the findings in this study. Furthermore, the first literature study, by Erika and Dewa Gede Sudika Mangku from the journal *Perspektif* entitled "Observing the Principle of Non-Intervention That Is Still Circular in Asean" Year 2014. This research highlights how the principle of Asean non-intervention still overshadows the framework of ASEAN's work in handling cases of human rights problems. The method used in this study is a descriptive qualitative method, by gathering several credible sources from magazines, journal articles and others that are related to the object of research.

For the second literature study, the scientific work written by Muh. Irfansyah Hasan with the title "*Transnational Crime and the Implementation of Indonesian Criminal Law*" Year 2018. Overall, the research that was written describes several indications of transnational crime in Indonesia such as drug sales and drug trafficking. This study highlights how ASEAN member countries in the Southeast Asian region are less responsive to the existence of transnational crime. This study also highlights how Indonesia's geographical location as one of the ASEAN member countries has a great influence on the spread of transnational crime. Based on the literature review that has been described, the researcher found a conceptual gap in the relationship between transnational crime, the ASEAN principle of non-intervention, and the role of civil society movements in forming transnational advocacy networks. These three elements are interrelated and show complex dynamics in efforts to handle transnational crime in the Southeast Asian region.

This research aims to criticize how the principle of "**Non-intervention**" in fact, it is a significant obstacle for ASEAN member states and non-state actors (Erika and Dewa Gede Sudika Mangku 2014), such as transnational advocacy networks, in dealing with the problem of transnational crime. In this context, transnational advocacy networks are present as an alternative avenue as well as a reflection on ASEAN's weak response to crucial issues involving human rights and regional security. Therefore, this study emphasizes the importance of civil society involvement as a key actor in filling the policy gap, as well as encouraging the renewal of a more inclusive and collaborative approach, by setting aside the provisions of the non-intervention principle that has dominated the ASEAN approach.

METHODS

This study uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive analysis method, which aims to understand the relationship between transnational crimes, ASEAN non-intervention principles, and the role of civil society in forming cross-border advocacy networks. As stated by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, the qualitative method not only emphasizes the meanings that individuals construct of the social world, but also looks

at how power relations work within complex social structures (Denzin & Lincoln 2005). Therefore, this approach is relevant in examining issues involving state and non-state actors in the international context. This methodology also utilizes the principle of situated knowledge as put forward by Donna Haraway (1988), who rejects the claim of absolute objectivity in the social sciences, and recognizes that any knowledge produced is always partial and influenced by the social and political position of the researcher. Thus, this method is designed not only to answer research questions, but also to open up space for critical reflection on the power structures that surround relations between states and the role of civil society in the international system.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Dilemma of ASEAN's Non-Intervention Principle in Dealing with Transnational Crime

This section describes the results found by the researcher in the case of the dilemma between the ASEAN principle of non-intervention in dealing with transnational crimes in the region. Although the principle of non-intervention ASEAN is often considered to be a principle that brings peace to its member states, because it requires its members not to interfere and be involved in its domestic affairs (Non-Intervention). He said, this principle is a crucial obstacle. In the context of transnational crime, there are a number of criminal acts that go beyond the limits of state jurisdiction, such as narcotics smuggling, human trafficking, arms smuggling, and online fraud. These crimes become increasingly complex when they are associated with the Southeast Asian region, particularly in the border region between Myanmar, Laos, and Thailand known as Golden Triangle (Britannica 2025). The region has long been one of the centers of illegal cross-border activities that is difficult to eradicate due to weak border controls, weak coordination between countries, and the strong principle of non-intervention adopted by ASEAN countries.

The border area between Myanmar, Laos, and Thailand, known as the Golden Triangle, has long been the center of narcotics smuggling activities in Southeast Asia. The term Golden Triangle was first introduced by the Assistant Secretary of State of the United States, Marshall Green, in 1971, to refer to the region that became one of the largest opium producers in the world (U.S.DEPARTMENT OF STATE n.d.). The use of opium itself has increased since the World War II era, when the substance was widely used as an analgesic to treat war wounds. According to a UN News, United Nations on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) report in 2023, heroin and opium production in Myanmar has significant economic value, estimated at 1,080 metric tons, up 36 percent from 2022 estimates (UN NEWS). The phenomenon of rampant production as well as drug market that occurs in the Southeast Asian region has triggered cross-border criminal acts. One of the most complex and crucial forms of transnational crime in the Southeast Asian region is human trafficking, particularly those linked to modern slavery practices through online job fraud.

This phenomenon often occurs in countries such as Cambodia, where the legalization of online gambling has triggered an increase in cross-border criminal networks. Based on a report by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported from the Tempo

Indonesia news page, from 2020 to March 2024, as many as 1,914 Indonesian citizens (WNI) became victims of job vacancy fraud and were sent to Cambodia (Tempo Indonesia 2024). In addition, similar victims were also found in other Southeast Asian countries, namely 680 people in the Philippines, 364 in Thailand, 332 in Myanmar, 305 in Laos, 68 in Malaysia, 36 in Vietnam, and 4 in the United Arab Emirates. Although not all of these cases are categorized as Trafficking in Persons (TPPO), the Ministry noted that about 40 percent of the total 3,703 cases reported are real forms of trafficking. Throughout 2023 alone, there were 760 cases of trafficking involving Indonesian citizens abroad.

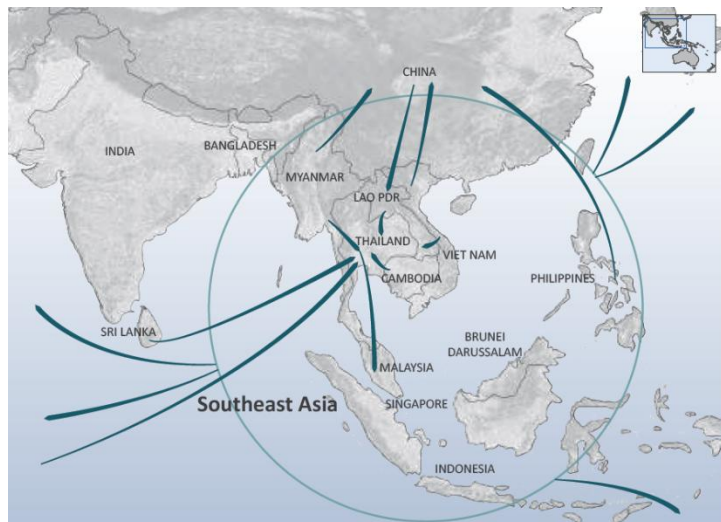


Figure 1. Primary flows of trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation affecting Southeast Asia
Source: UNODC elaboration of national data.

Furthermore, according to the United Nations report on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), the map above illustrates the flow of transnational crime movements in the Southeast Asian region, particularly related to human trafficking. Based on the mapping, it can be seen that countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines are the countries of origin of migrants or job seekers who then move to destination countries such as Cambodia. Cambodia is becoming one of the main destination countries, which not only offers jobs, but also becomes a center for labor exploitation and human trafficking. Not a few citizens from countries of origin are actually victims of job vacancy fraud, which leads to modern slavery practices, digital exploitation, to extreme cases such as the sale of human organs (MARGARET E. KECK and KATHRYN SIKKINK 1998).

This phenomenon suggests that the high rate of labour migration from developing countries, mainly due to economic stimulus and the expectation of higher incomes, has been exploited by cross-border crime syndicates to carry out the mode of human trafficking. The map also clarifies the pattern of paths traveled and the relationship between countries in the context of these transnational crimes. In the midst of this complexity, the principle of non-intervention upheld by ASEAN is one of the main barriers in effectively handling cases of trafficking and cross-border exploitation. Member states are often reluctant to intervene or exert pressure on other countries that are the main locations of this illegal practice, including Cambodia.

The legality of gambling in Cambodia has become an example of transnational crime and threatens the security of the country's people in the Southeast Asian region. The reason is that many mafias from other countries have established illegal businesses such as gambling in the country, which is a major challenge for ASEAN, which does not have rights in the domestic affairs of its members. As a result, the space for transnational civil society advocacy networks has become limited. They must work under regional policy pressures that prioritize stability and sovereignty, rather than a collective response to transnational human rights violations. It is in this context that the handling of transnational crime becomes not only a matter of law or security, but also a regional political issue that has not fully sided with the interests of victim protection.

Transnational Civil Advocacy as a New Social Capital in Fighting Impunity.

Transnational crime, in the contemporary era, is a complex problem in Southeast Asia. Various criminal acts, ranging from human trafficking, organ trafficking, drug smuggling and others. In the context, the principle of ASEAN non-intervention, the space for intervention from other countries becomes impossible, especially to deal with security and human rights issues in the region. The principle of non-intervention in ASEAN has blocked loopholes for other member states as well as transnational advocacy networks by civil society, in dealing with transnational crime and human rights issues. This gap then encourages the emergence of the role of transnational advocacy networks as alternative actors in encouraging accountability and victim protection. On the other hand, according to ancient Greeks, civil society or "societas civilis" is a society that obeys the laws and norms that apply. And civil society or civil society is often involved in every decision-making and economy. Meanwhile, John Locke (1632-1704) interpreted civil society as a community that developed to protect human rights as well as property rights. Gramsci (1831-1937), on the other hand, considered civil society and civil society to be ideological battlegrounds. Between the ruling class, workers and civil society. Gramsci also believed that civil society could be a tool for social change and build political awareness.

In the era of globalization, civil society has undergone a significant transformation. If previously the role of civil society tended to be limited in the domestic scope and moved individually, now they have developed into actors capable of crossing national borders. This development is marked by the birth of the transnational advocacy network, a form of cross-border cooperation between civil society organizations, NGOs, activists, and independent media that unites voices to fight for global issues such as human rights, social justice, and transnational crime prevention. This network leverages communication technology and global information flows to mobilize support, pressure state policies, and shape international public opinion. In the context of a region such as Southeast Asia that is still bound by the principle of non-intervention, transnational advocacy networks play an important role as a bridge between local interests and global demands for the protection of rights and justice.

According to Keck and Sikkink, transnational advocacy networks are a collection of civil society actors that actively encourage global engagement, especially on environmental and human rights issues. These activists use the media as a symbolic tool and campaign

to voice their concerns, as well as strategically frame issues so that they are easily understood by the public and policy-makers. Its main goal is to influence the behavior of countries and international organizations through moral, political, and symbolic pressure. These advocacy networks often act as a liaison between affected communities and global institutions, aligning local issues with international contexts to drive structural change. Keck and Sikkink also introduced the concept of the boomerang pattern, a pattern in which communication channels between domestic NGOs and national governments are hampered, so the NGOs seek international support to pressure their home countries from outside. This pattern has proven effective in human rights issues and is often used in global advocacy networks. However, in the context of Southeast Asia, the effectiveness of the boomerang pattern has been hampered by the principle of non-intervention embraced by ASEAN.

This principle limits the direct involvement of member states in the internal affairs of other members, even in cases of human rights violations or transnational crimes such as human trafficking and narcotics smuggling. As a result, pressure from transnational advocacy networks often does not receive an adequate response from the target country, thus hindering the formation of collective solutions that are inclusive and based on civil society participation.

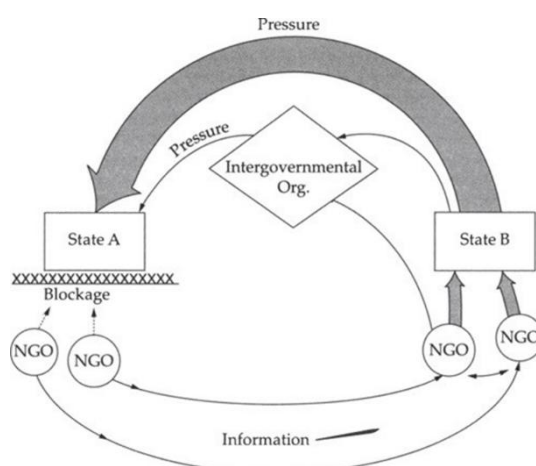


Figure 2. Boomerang Pattern

Source: *Activists beyond Borders* 1998, By Margaret E. Keck And Kathryn Sikkink

The image above illustrates the boomerang pattern as proposed by Keck and Sikkink. In this pattern, civil society organizations or NGOs from a country (Country A) that experience communication barriers with its government, shift their advocacy efforts abroad. They disseminate information, build symbols of resistance, and form strategic alliances with foreign NGOs and other transnational actors in Country B. Through this network, the issue can be passed on to the intergovernmental organization, which then exerts political or moral pressure on the government of Country A to respond and resolve the violations that occur. However, within the ASEAN scope, this pattern is often hampered by the principle of non-intervention that limits external pressure on member states, thereby reducing the effectiveness of transnational advocacy networks in addressing transnational crime as a whole.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In this section, the researcher invites readers to examine and analyze in more depth the findings in the research, especially related to the role of ASEAN as an international organization that aims to create peace and respect the sovereignty of countries in the Southeast Asian region. So far, ASEAN has indeed made a number of efforts in dealing with transnational crimes. One step worth noting is the establishment of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) in response to various human rights violations, including the rampant practice of human trafficking in the region. The commission was formally established on November 23, 2009 at the 15th ASEAN Summit in Cha-Am, Hua Hin, Thailand. The presence of the AICHR reflects ASEAN's commitment to human rights issues and is one of the regional instruments that shows concern for transnational crimes (Chika Monika Sitinjak, Shafa Maulana Dewi Kurniawan, and Sagaralange Paramahita 2022). However, the effectiveness of these institutions in providing protection and law enforcement is still a matter of debate, mainly because of the principle of non-intervention firmly held by ASEAN member states.

In the context of international relations, international organizations have a crucial role as non-state actors that function to regulate cooperation between countries, respond to global issues, and become a medium for multilateral diplomacy. According to Keohane (1984), international organizations are formed as a result of the common interests of states to create order in the anarchic international system. The existence of these organizations allows the birth of collective norms, rules, and mechanisms to deal with cross-border issues, including transnational crime. Meanwhile, according to **Clive Archer**, international organizations are a very important tool. According to him, international organizations play a role in reaching an agreement, suppressing the intensity of conflict, and harmonizing all actions. In the context of transnational crimes, ASEAN as an international organization should be a forum and forum for its member states to take part in resolving and reaching a common agreement to deal with cross-border crimes and human rights issues.

Furthermore, societies and civil societies in the Global South, particularly in the Southeast Asian region, play an important role in filling the gap in state responsibility in dealing with cross-border crime. In many cases, when formal state mechanisms clash with the principle of non-intervention or weak political commitment, civil society networks present as alternative forces through transnational campaigns, global solidarity, and moral urges. This civil movement forms a transnational network of advocacy that crosses borders, involving NGOs, independent media, academics, and human rights activists who collectively urge state accountability. In the context of ASEAN, this civil society engagement is important to drive internal reform and strengthen protection for victims of transnational crimes, although it is often limited by state policies that are closed to public participation.

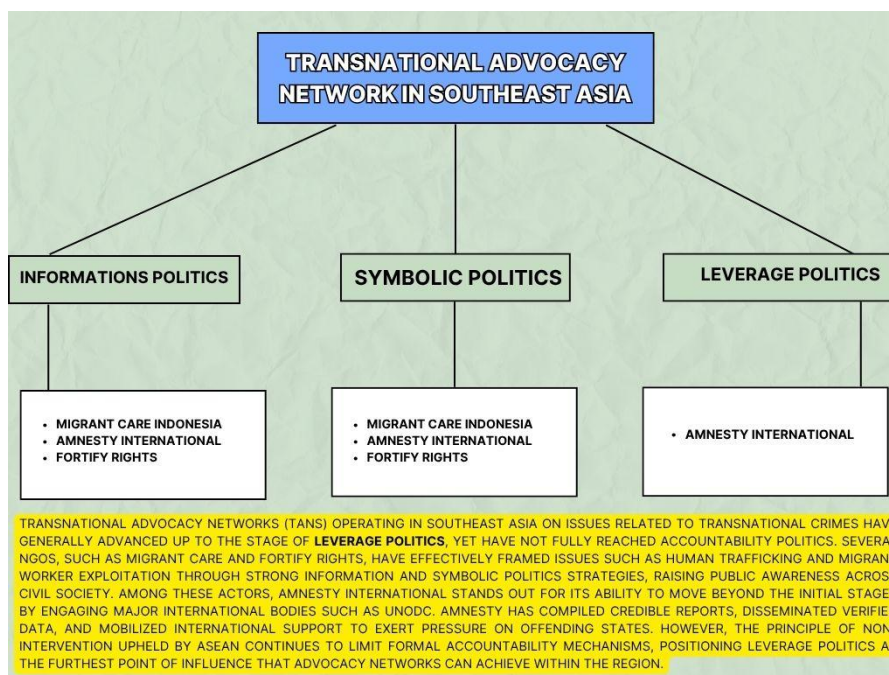


Figure 3. Diagram of NGO Limitations in Addressing State-Driven Transnational Crimes in Southeast Asia
 Source: Created by the author, based on the conceptual framework of Transnational Advocacy Networks (TAN) developed by Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink

According to Keck and Sikkink, transnational *advocacy networks* (TANs) have four main forms of political influence that they can operate, namely: **information politics**, **symbolic politics**, **leverage politics**, and **accountability politics**. These four dimensions are indicators of how TAN functions as a global civil force that transcends national borders, with the main goal of driving change in the policies and behavior of countries and other international actors towards global humanitarian and justice issues. *Information politics* refers to TAN's ability to quickly generate, disseminate, and circulate credible and relevant information to the international public. *Symbolic politics* refers to the use of symbols, stories, or actions that create emotional resonance to attract attention. *Leverage politics* is the ability of networks to engage stronger actors to support their cause. Meanwhile, *accountability politics* refers to efforts to hold states accountable for the commitments they have made publicly, including international agreements and domestic policies.

In the context of Southeast Asia, particularly in the issue of transnational crimes such as human trafficking, narcotics, and smuggling, only a portion of these indicators appear to be predominantly run by advocacy networks. Organizations such as **Amnesty International** have played a significant role in voicing human rights abuses through *leverage politics* (See Figure 3) by engaging international media, global NGOs, and even state actors outside the ASEAN region to put pressure on offending countries. However, this influence is still limited. In the reality of ASEAN politics that strongly upholds the principle of *non-intervention*, *accountability politics* is very difficult to do. Member states tend to resist external pressure, even from civil society itself, if it is considered to interfere in domestic affairs.

Further, in the framework of *Leverage politics*, there are two important aspects that can be used to analyze the effectiveness of TANs: **Leverage Material** and **Moral leverage**. *Leverage material* is a condition in which powerful actors (such as donor countries or multilateral organizations) use their economic or political power to exert pressure on the target country. While *Moral leverage* is a form of pressure that is reputational—making the country feel that its image is deteriorating in the eyes of the international community, so it is encouraged to respond positively. In the context of Southeast Asia, moral leverage is more prominent, as the spotlight on human rights violations often creates international image pressure for the offending country. However, without significant leverage material involvement, the impact is often short-term and symbolic (MICHAEL JUNANDA LUDONG, ADI SURYADI CULLA, and PUSPARIDA SYAHDAN 2019). In closing, it is important to emphasize that the existence of the principle *Non-intervention* in ASEAN not only limits the capacity of the organization itself to act progressively, but also weakens the effectiveness of transnational advocacy networks in enforcing *Accountability Politics*.

As Jan Aart Scholte points out, civil society organizations have an important role to play in driving global governance accountability through four main ways. First, by increasing **public transparency** of the operations and policies of global institutions, civil society opens up a wider space for public participation in global power surveillance. Second, they carry out the **function of monitoring and evaluating** global policies, so that various irregularities and abuses of authority can be recognized early. Third, civil society organizations also play a role in **facilitate access to justice** through efforts to seek compensation for losses caused by the policies or practices of global regulatory agencies. And fourth, they encourage the formation of **Formal accountability mechanisms** at the global level to ensure that these institutions are held legally, politically, and morally accountable for their actions (Jan Aart Scholte 2004). However, in the context of Southeast Asia, these four mechanisms still face major obstacles due to the strong principle of non-intervention embraced by ASEAN. As a result, transnational advocacy networks struggle to demand accountability from member states, even when human rights violations or transnational crimes occur on a massive scale. Therefore, the presence of global civil society remains important, but it needs to be accompanied by reform of principles and strengthening regional mechanisms so that accountability is not only a discourse, but also a real practice at the regional level.

CONCLUSION

This study shows a gap between the complexity of transnational crime in Southeast Asia and the efforts to address it by regional institutions. Although ASEAN has established frameworks such as the AICHR and declarations related to human trafficking, its effectiveness is severely limited by the principle of non-intervention that hinders accountability between countries. Transnational advocacy networks (TANs), such as Amnesty International, are only able to reach out to information, symbolic, and leverage political aspects, but have not been able to penetrate the realm of political accountability due to the weak coercion of the violating state. The "boomerang" pattern that was supposed to be the strength of TAN, was hampered by closed access and loose regional organizational structures. Going forward, there needs to be encouragement

from civil society and international organizations so that ASEAN is more open to structural reform and accountability. This research is expected to encourage further studies that examine in more depth the strategic pathways and institutional approaches that enable transformation in security and human rights governance in the region.

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