

Human Trafficking in Conflict Areas: Social Intelligence Analysis of Indonesian Citizens in Myanmar and Cambodia

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Abstract

The increasing trend of human trafficking crimes involving Indonesian citizens (WNI) in Southeast Asia, particularly in Myanmar and Cambodia, reveals an increasingly complex and organized form of transnational crime. Many TPPO operations now occur in conflict zones such as Myawaddy, Myanmar, which has become a hub for global digital crime networks. This article examines TPPO as a form of man-made social disaster as defined by Law Number 24 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management. The study focuses on analyzing the role of social intelligence in the stages of early detection, early warning, forecasting, and problem solving to en ly prevent and address cross-border human trafficking. This research employs a descriptive qualitative approach, drawing on secondary data from government documents, international organization reports, and media coverage between 2020 and 2025. The findings reveal weaknesses in Indonesia's social intelligence system, including poor early detection mechanisms, the absence of integrated early warning systems, limited predictive capabilities, and a reactive response pattern. Fragmented data, lack of inter-agency coordination, and limited community involvement exacerbate these gaps. Therefore, a more integrated, preventive, and community-based social intelligence system is urgently needed as part of the national strategy to address TPPO as a

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crossborder threat and a contemporary social disaster.

Keywords: Human trafficking, social intelligence, social disaster, early detection, conflict

INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking in armed conflict zones across Southeast Asia has emerged as a critical non-traditional security threat for Indonesia. In recent years, this humanitarian crisis has gained increasing visibility as the number of trafficking cases involving Indonesian citizens in the region continues to rise. This trend reflects a systematic, organized, and increasingly complex transnational crime that is difficult to control. Throughout 2025, the Indonesian government repatriated at least 554 citizens who were victims of human trafficking from Myanmar. The majority of these victims were exploited as forced laborers within an online scamming syndicate network (Kemensekneg, 2025). Many victims were subjected to physical abuse, confinement, confiscation of personal documents, and threats of organ removal if they failed to meet imposed targets. The primary modus operandi involved offering lucrative job opportunities, which subsequently became exploitation traps. A similar pattern was also observed in Cambodia.

In the first quarter of 2025, the Indonesian Embassy in Phnom Penh recorded 1,301 trafficking cases involving Indonesian nationals, with 1,112 cases (85%) linked to online fraud and human trafficking for the purpose of exploitation (TPPO). This figure represents a dramatic 263% increase compared to the previous year (Planasari, 2025). Victims were typically recruited through deceptive job advertisements on social media, promising high salaries and luxurious living conditions. Upon arrival, they were forced to work in the online gambling and digital fraud industries under inhumane conditions, including long working hours, strict surveillance, physical violence, communication restrictions, and denial of access to the outside world. This issue is further complicated by the prevalence of trafficking-related crimes in conflict-affected areas, particularly in Myawaddy, Myanmar. The absence of effective state authority in this region has turned it into a safe haven for transnational criminal syndicates. This situation underscores the direct link between regional instability and the proliferation of cross-border trafficking networks. Addressing this threat requires the strategic use of social intelligence to detect and respond to evolving threat dynamics.

The urgency of this issue became evident in early 2025 when two viral videos emerged, featuring faint voices of dozens of Indonesian victims pleading for help from captivity in Myawaddy (Wardah, 2024). This incident confirmed that human trafficking for exploitation is not



only a transnational crime but also closely intertwined with the impacts of armed conflict and regional insecurity. Consequently, TPPO should be understood as a social disaster with profound implications for human security, regional stability, and the effectiveness of Indonesia's social intelligence capabilities in preventing and countering transnational threats. Data from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicate that between 2020 and March 2024, at least 3,703 Indonesian citizens were victims of online scamming crimes, with approximately 40% identified as TPPO victims. Meanwhile, the Indonesian National Police (Polri) recorded 1,061 TPPO cases out of a total of 3,363 trafficking cases throughout 2023 (Kemenkopmk, 2025). Under Law No. 24 of 2007 on Disaster Management, TPPO can be categorized as a man-made social disaster. Article 1 of this law classifies disasters into three categories: natural, non-natural, and social disasters. Social disasters are defined as disasters caused by human actions, including riots and social conflicts. Although TPPO is not explicitly mentioned, its characteristics as a transnational organized crime with severe humanitarian impacts make it relevant to be categorized as a social disaster. As a form of systematic exploitation, TPPO generates multidimensional suffering for victims—ranging from physical, psychological, and economic harm to broader social and national security impacts. Therefore, TPPO must be recognized as a real form of social disaster that necessitates an integrated and strategic response, as mandated by Law No. 24 of 2007. In legal terms, TPPO refers to the process of recruiting and exploiting individuals through threats, violence, or deception for the purpose of exploitation, making it a highly structured and challenging crime to combat.

In the context of mitigating social disasters such as human trafficking, social intelligence plays a crucial and strategic role. Social intelligence is responsible for collecting, analyzing, and disseminating relevant information to better understand social dynamics and potential threats emerging within society (Sayuti, 2024). Through this process, social intelligence facilitates the early detection of symptoms of social vulnerability, including TPPO recruitment patterns, the movement of perpetrator groups, and social transformations that have the potential to trigger crisis conditions. Unlike conventional intelligence, which is oriented toward military threats or national security issues, social intelligence focuses on identifying social changes and the dynamics of community vulnerability. This article aims to analyze the effectiveness and weaknesses of the social intelligence system in responding to cases of trafficking in persons involving Indonesian citizens in Myanmar and Cambodia over the past five years. The scope of this study includes an analysis of the syndicate's modus operandi, an evaluation of the government's response based on the stages of *early detection*, *early warning*, *forecasting*, and *problem solving*, as well as recommendations for institutional strengthening and inter-country collaboration in efforts to



prevent and combat TPPO.

METHODOLOGY

This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach to examine the dynamics and complexity of human trafficking as a form of man-made social disaster. This approach was chosen because it enables researchers to explore the underlying meanings, patterns, and social relations embedded in TPPO events involving Indonesian citizens in Myanmar and Cambodia during the period 2020–2025. The primary focus of this study is to assess the effectiveness of social intelligence in detecting, issuing early warnings, and responding to such events, as well as to evaluate the Indonesian government's policy response to the situation over the past five years.

The data sources for this study consist of secondary data obtained from official documents and media reports published between 2020 and 2025. The primary data in this study were derived from a range of previous research and media reports on human trafficking cases involving Indonesian citizens in Myanmar and Cambodia over the last five years, with particular emphasis on the widely publicized case in 2025. Additional secondary data were also obtained from reports previously analyzed in other studies, including those from state institutions and international organizations, to enhance the contextual depth and strengthen the validity of the analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The modus operandi of human trafficking against Indonesian citizens in Myanmar and Cambodia in 2025 shows a pattern of organized and complex transnational crime. The recruitment scheme is carried out systematically through digital platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Telegram, and TikTok, which are used to disseminate fake high-paying job vacancies (around 9-15 million rupiah per month), with positions that appear legal such as customer service, e-commerce admin, or casino workers (Cnnindonesia, 2025). Recruiters often pose as tax agents, HR representatives of multinational companies, or representatives of technology start-ups to build trust. The use of tourist visas and fake round-trip tickets is also a strategy to avoid detection by immigration authorities, accompanied by the falsification of employment contracts and assignment letters to make them appear legal (Yanggolo et al., 2025). Syndicates exploit gaps in cross-border surveillance, including the use of tourist visas, false documents, and local recruitment networks in vulnerable areas. In fact, former victims are often forced to recruit new victims as a form of "compensation" to reduce their workload or the threat of punishment (Indarto, 2023) . In conflict zones such as Myawaddy, this pattern is exacerbated by weak state



authority and the existence of parallel power structures, creating a safe haven for criminal syndicates. The Myawaddy region of Myanmar is a hotspot for internal conflict controlled by non-state armed groups and has a parallel power structure. This situation is exploited by TPPO networks to operate freely without intervention from security forces. They are then detained and exploited in digital crime networks such as investment fraud and online scamming, working 12–16 hours per day, accompanied by threats of violence, beatings, and even organ harvesting if they fail to meet their targets (Sayuti, 2024) . This situation reflects the direct relationship between armed conflict and the expansion of transnational crime networks. In Cambodia, a similar pattern occurs, with victims forced to work in online fraud and digital gambling companies under strict supervision and systematic violence. The syndicates collaborate with immigration mafias, corrupt officials, and casino owners who provide protection for these illegal operations (Indarto, 2023). In this context, TPPO represents a new form of modern slavery that is digital-based and spread through transnational networks.

Response From The Indonesian Government

The Indonesian government has undertaken a series of measures to address human trafficking involving its citizens, with a primary focus on the evacuation and repatriation of victims. In March 2025, the government successfully repatriated 554 Indonesian citizens from Myawaddy, Myanmar, in two phases through inter-ministerial and inter-agency coordination, supported by diplomatic collaboration with the governments of Thailand and Myanmar (Kemensetneg, 2025). Given that the confinement sites were located in an active conflict zone, the operation was complex and high-risk, requiring sensitive negotiations with multiple armed actors. Victims who were successfully rescued were temporarily placed in designated shelters, where they received basic services including logistical assistance, medical examinations, and psychosocial support. Similar procedures were implemented by the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Phnom Penh to handle TPPO cases in Cambodia. In addition, the government conducted assessment processes to determine the legal status of each victim, distinguishing between those who were purely trafficking victims and those who might have been involved in digital criminal networks, prior to either repatriation or prosecution (Planasari, 2025). The Myawaddy region represents one of Myanmar's key internal conflict hotspots, characterized by control from non-state armed groups and the presence of parallel power structures. Human trafficking syndicates exploit this fragile security environment to evade intervention by state security forces. Consequently, the evacuation of TPPO victims by the Indonesian government is not solely a humanitarian mission but also



involves complex diplomatic and security negotiations with multiple armed actors across conflict lines.

Analysis Of The Role Of Social Intelligence In Crimes Of Human Trafficking

In the context of national security and public policy, intelligence functions as a system designed to collect, analyze, and distribute strategic information to support decision-making processes, prevention, and handling of threats (Sayuti, 2024). One of its branches is social intelligence, which Social intelligence emphasizes close collaboration between state officials and the community in detecting social changes early on (community-based intelligence). This approach not only monitors internal social phenomena, but also reads external dynamics that have implications for domestic security. This is in line with the view of the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB, 2025), that social disaster mitigation requires social intelligence capabilities to recognize early signs of vulnerability at the community level. In the context of conflict areas such as Myanmar and Cambodia, social intelligence serves as a bridge between geopolitical dynamics and domestic social risks, particularly the increase in human trafficking of Indonesian citizens exploited by transnational syndicates. focuses on the detection, analysis, and understanding of social dynamics in society. According to Sayuti (2024) , social intelligence plays a role in identifying symptoms of social vulnerability, collective behavior, and potential conflicts that could lead to social crises or man-made disasters.

a) Early Detection

In the context of disaster intelligence, early detection refers to the capacity to identify potential social threats, including human trafficking activities, before they escalate into larger crises. Early detection is a vital component of social intelligence because it enables authorities to intervene in a timely manner, mitigate risks, and protect vulnerable groups before they fall victim to criminal networks (Sayuti, 2024). However, in the case of human trafficking crimes (TPPO) in Indonesia, early detection mechanisms remain significantly weak, particularly in source and border areas. For instance, in 2025, authorities in Batam successfully prevented the illegal departure of 2,040 Indonesian migrant workers (PMI). Nevertheless, the actual number of victims who managed to escape detection is believed to be much higher due to weak inter-agency coordination at ports and inadequate cross-sectoral monitoring (Antaranews.com, 2025). Human smuggling activities in Batam are also latent and difficult to detect because perpetrators receive social protection from local communities who are either involved in or



deliberately conceal the syndicate's operations. This crime operates within a hidden and layered structure (Putra, 2022), which means it cannot be effectively eradicated through legal operations alone but requires the implementation of community-based detection strategies and the strengthening of local intelligence capacities.

A study by Silalahi (2020) found that border control systems in regions such as Medan face similar challenges. The existing Border Control Management (BCM) framework has not been supported by a nationally integrated early warning system. Immigration data remains fragmented across multiple agencies, lacking consolidation and interoperability, thereby creating loopholes that allow human trafficking perpetrators to move between departure routes without detection (Silalahi, 2020). In addition, low levels of legal and migration literacy among rural communities, particularly among junior high school and high school graduates as well as unemployed individuals make them highly vulnerable to trafficking schemes. Syndicates often exploit this vulnerability through social media platforms, offering fake overseas employment opportunities (Naitboho et al., 2025). This analysis reveals that Indonesia's current social intelligence system is still sectoral and reactive, rather than proactive and integrative. The absence of community intelligence-based approaches, insufficient training for local officials, and the lack of integrated migration and cross-regional law violation databases remain critical obstacles. Early detection efforts cannot rely solely on the capacity of law enforcement agencies. Instead, they must involve a multi-layered strategy that synergizes technological innovation, public education, and the active participation of grassroots actors such as religious leaders, village heads, and former migrants.

b) Early Warning

The early warning stage is a follow-up process after early detection that serves to quickly and accurately communicate potential threats to relevant stakeholders, both at the central and regional levels (Putra, 2022). The early warning system enables anticipation of social disasters, including human trafficking, through rapid decision-making and response. However, in the context of non-procedural migration leading to TPPO, the early warning mechanism in Indonesia has not been running effectively and in an integrated manner. This is reflected in the slow response of the government to the case of 1,301 Indonesian citizens in trouble in Cambodia in early 2025, 85% of whom were directly related to TPPO. This data was not directly monitored by the national system due to



disconnections between the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI), the Directorate General of Immigration, and local governments (Qolby et al., 2025). The absence of a real-time warning system made it difficult to quickly consolidate information from the field, hampering evacuation and protection efforts for victims. Delayed responses were also evident in the handling of reports from victims who managed to escape. In some cases, the evacuation process took weeks due to bureaucratic procedures and inter-agency coordination. In fact, the majority of victims were recruited through social media such as Facebook and Telegram, platforms that have digital traces and can be used as intelligence tools to monitor recruitment patterns in real time. This fact shows that there is a huge gap between the available technological capabilities and the implementation of migrant protection policies.

The failure to establish an effective early warning system reflects the state's limited cross-sectoral intelligence awareness in dealing with the evolving dynamics of modern digital crimes. While human trafficking syndicates operate swiftly and adaptively through online platforms, the state's response remains constrained by manual bureaucratic processes and limited inter-agency coordination. The absence of a centralized digital dashboard or joint reporting system accessible to BP2MI, Immigration, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and local governments further slows down the escalation of critical information and disrupts timely interventions. To build a responsive and adaptive early warning system, several strategic steps are required. First, digital technology must be integrated into intelligence and migration protection systems through the utilization of big data and artificial intelligence (AI) to detect suspicious recruitment signals. Second, field operators should be trained to identify early signs of human trafficking patterns, both online and offline. Third, in the context of conflict-prone or transnational areas, early warning should also incorporate cross-border coordination and security diplomacy to address syndicates operating across jurisdictions. Finally, early warning systems must not rely solely on vertical coordination between central and regional authorities. A horizontal, cross-agency and cross-border approach is equally critical to ensure that syndicate movements are monitored in real time and responded to with agility. An integrated, technology-driven, and intelligence-based early warning framework would significantly enhance Indonesia's capacity to prevent and respond to human trafficking crimes effectively.



c) Forecasting

Forecasting refers to the analytical process of projecting potential future social threats based on historical data trends, socioeconomic conditions, and evolving behavioral dynamics. It constitutes a critical component in mitigating man-made disasters such as human trafficking, as it provides the foundation for strategic planning, preventive policy formulation, and resource allocation (Sayuti, 2024). By identifying patterns and anticipating risks, forecasting enables governments to shift from reactive crisis management to proactive threat prevention. However, in the Indonesian context, forecasting capabilities in addressing human trafficking crimes (TPPO) remain significantly underdeveloped. The absence of an integrated national database connecting the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Police, and the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI) hinders the state's ability to conduct comprehensive analyses of recruitment patterns and trafficking networks. These institutions often operate sectorally, leading to fragmented data that fails to produce accurate predictions regarding high-risk areas, critical time periods, and vulnerable population groups (Qolby et al., 2025).

Moreover, the TPPO networks involving Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos have not been systematically mapped. There is no structured analysis of logistical routes, recruiter connectivity, syndicate operational typologies, or victim profiles. This lack of systematic mapping indicates the absence of a predictive intelligence architecture capable of anticipating shifts in the form, scale, and direction of trafficking threats. As a result, state interventions often occur after the fact, rather than in anticipation of emerging risks. Addressing this gap requires the development of a predictive intelligence system that moves beyond recording past incidents to dynamically and measurably reading early risk signals. This involves the integration of big data analytics from relevant institutions, the use of artificial intelligence (AI)-based prediction algorithms, and the active participation of researchers and social analysts in designing forecasting models. Such models should not only track migration and crime trends but also incorporate broader structural factors, including regional conflict dynamics, economic shifts, and digital behavioral patterns.

Importantly, forecasting human trafficking trends cannot be separated from the geopolitical context. The escalation of armed conflicts is often followed by increased activities of transnational criminal syndicates, as conflict zones provide operational advantages for traffickers. Therefore, forecasting must also involve security cooperation, conflict diplomacy, and responsive cross-border mechanisms to address threats that



transcend national jurisdictions. Building robust forecasting capabilities requires governments to invest in a comprehensive predictive intelligence framework, supported by big data, network analysis of trafficking syndicates, and the integration of international conflict variables as key analytical inputs. By institutionalizing forecasting within its national security and migration governance architecture, Indonesia can move from a reactive to an anticipatory posture, thereby preventing human trafficking cases before they escalate into full-scale humanitarian and security crises.

d) Problem Solving

In intelligence systems, problem solving represents the final stage of the intelligence cycle, focusing on the development and implementation of intelligence-based solutions to address threats comprehensively and sustainably (Sayuti, 2024). This stage goes beyond detection and forecasting by translating strategic intelligence into practical interventions that reduce vulnerabilities, dismantle criminal networks, and build long-term resilience at the community and institutional levels. In the context of human trafficking crimes (TPPO), problem solving includes policy formulation, institutional strengthening, and the establishment of an integrated and adaptive response system to protect victims, disrupt perpetrator networks, and prevent new recruitment. However, the current practice of TPPO handling in Indonesia still reflects a heavy reliance on curative measures rather than preventive strategies. Government efforts tend to prioritize evacuation operations, repatriation, and post-incident actions, while the preventive and community-based intelligence dimensions remain underdeveloped.

At the regional level, for example, the TPPO Task Force lacks sufficient authority and operational capacity to consolidate and manage data across relevant agencies, such as Immigration, BP2MI, and the Manpower Office. This institutional limitation leads to slow and fragmented coordination, weakening the state's ability to build a coherent, long-term, and sustainable response system (Asari, 2024; Qolby et al., 2025). While international cooperation has been initiated such as through diplomatic notes, evacuation coordination, and cross-border collaboration these interventions largely address the symptoms of trafficking, not its structural root causes, particularly the weakness of the social intelligence-based prevention architecture. Moreover, there is still no specific strategy to empower vulnerable communities at the grassroots level as part of the broader social defense system. In reality, local leaders, civil society organizations, and former



victims possess unique access to early information that can serve as the first line of defense against recruitment. Their involvement can form community intelligence networks capable of detecting suspicious activities before they escalate into trafficking cases. Unfortunately, these actors are often excluded from formal policy frameworks, reducing the overall effectiveness of prevention.

In the context of conflict-affected areas such as Myanmar and Cambodia, problem solving must be inseparable from intelligence diplomacy and cross-border cooperation. Trafficking syndicates operate transnationally, requiring not only bilateral or multilateral agreements but also operational collaboration between intelligence agencies, law enforcement, and humanitarian actors. Strengthening problem-solving strategies thus requires a multi-layered approach:

1. Institutional strengthening to enhance inter-agency coordination and data integration.
2. Empowerment of grassroots actors including local leaders, NGOs, and former victims to expand community-based intelligence networks.
3. International security and intelligence diplomacy to address trafficking networks operating across borders.

This integrated approach will enable Indonesia to move from fragmented, reactive interventions to systemic, preventive, and intelligence-driven strategies. By combining state capacity with societal participation, Indonesia can build a resilient social intelligence ecosystem capable of reducing vulnerabilities and protecting at-risk communities before they are targeted by trafficking syndicates.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the data analysis, cases of human trafficking involving Indonesian citizens in Myanmar and Cambodia demonstrate a structured and transnational pattern of exploitation, facilitated through digital platforms and organized syndicate networks. Victims are lured by promises of high-paying jobs, only to be physically and psychologically exploited in online fraud operations. This phenomenon can be categorized as a social disaster, as it results in mass suffering caused by human actions and has direct implications for social stability and national security.

Within the framework of social disaster management, Indonesia's social intelligence system plays a central role through the four key stages: early detection, early warning, forecasting,



and problem solving. However, the findings indicate that these functions are not yet operating optimally. Early detection and early warning mechanisms are constrained by weak inter-agency coordination and technological limitations in data collection and dissemination. The forecasting process has not yet been able to accurately map risk patterns due to the absence of an integrated national database and a lack of predictive intelligence capacity. Meanwhile, at the problem-solving stage, government policies remain predominantly curative, focusing on evacuation and repatriation efforts rather than preventive strategies at the grassroots level.

Although the government has made commendable efforts—such as repatriating victims, engaging in diplomatic coordination, and conducting legal assessments—a long-term, intelligence-driven prevention strategy has not yet been fully optimized. The analysis of the four stages of the social intelligence system highlights Indonesia's core structural weakness: the inability to integrate domestic social dynamics with the escalation of regional conflicts in Myanmar and Cambodia. Early detection and early warning remain sectoral and fragmented, forecasting capabilities do not incorporate geopolitical variables, and problem solving is still confined to post-crisis interventions.

To enhance national resilience against transnational organized crime, Indonesia must develop a more adaptive and integrated intelligence architecture. This includes linking social intelligence with geopolitical intelligence, strengthening cross-border early detection and warning systems, developing conflict-based data forecasting mechanisms, and integrating problem solving with security diplomacy and community empowerment strategies. Such an approach would not only bolster the protection of Indonesian citizens abroad, but also enhance the state's strategic capacity to anticipate and respond to increasingly complex transnational threats in a proactive and sustainable manner.

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