



Human trafficking crimes in Cambodia and Indonesia: A comparison of legal frameworks and victim protection efforts

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Abstract

Human trafficking is a pervasive transnational crime in Southeast Asia, with Indonesia and Cambodia remaining vulnerable both as source and destination countries. The prevalence of cases and the complexity of modus operandi require effective legal measures and adequate victim protection. This study aims to compare the legal frameworks of Indonesia and Cambodia in combating human trafficking and to assess the implementation of victim protection mechanisms. Employing normative legal research with a comparative law approach, the study relies on primary legal sources, including national legislation and international instruments, as well as secondary sources such as academic literature and official reports. The findings indicate that Indonesia has established a more comprehensive framework through Law No. 21 of 2007 in line with the Palermo Protocol, while Cambodia, despite adopting international principles under its 2008 Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation, still faces challenges in law enforcement capacity and institutional coordination. Both countries provide victim protection measures; however, limitations persist in funding and inter-agency collaboration. The study concludes that stronger bilateral and multilateral cooperation, enhanced institutional capacity, and sustainable victim protection are essential to reinforcing anti-trafficking efforts.

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Introduction

Human trafficking is one of the most serious and pressing crimes in the world, particularly in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia and Cambodia. Both countries serve as source and destination countries for human trafficking practices, which involve various forms of exploitation, such as forced labor and sexual exploitation. According to a US Department of State report, Cambodia is highly vulnerable to human trafficking due to its economic factors and weak legal system. Indonesia, on the other hand, faces similar challenges, as many of its citizens become victims while seeking employment abroad (Yanggolo et al., 2024).

Socioeconomic conditions such as poverty, low education, and high unemployment are the main causes of high human trafficking rates in both countries. In Cambodia, economic instability and a lack of information drive people to seek work through illegal channels. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, many victims are trapped in human trafficking networks by fictitious job offers with the promise of high salaries.

Legally, Indonesia and Cambodia have regulations to eradicate human trafficking. Indonesia has passed Law No. 21 of 2007, while Cambodia relies on the Law on Human Trafficking. Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation (2008). However, the implementation of the law remains a major obstacle. In Cambodia, law enforcement is often hampered by corruption and weak political will (Ramadhani, 2024). In Indonesia, there is a gap between regulations and practices on the ground.

Victim protection is a key focus of this research. In both Indonesia and Cambodia, many victims still lack optimal rehabilitation services, legal aid, and social reintegration. Indonesia, for example, still faces challenges in repatriating victims from abroad. Cambodia, on the other hand, lacks protection facilities and frequently neglects victims' rights.

Given the complexity of these issues, this study aims to compare the legal frameworks and protection efforts for victims of human trafficking in Indonesia and Cambodia. It is hoped that the results will contribute to the formulation of more effective, equitable, and humanitarian strategies, as well as encourage bilateral collaboration in combating human trafficking in Southeast Asia (Alfian 2015).

Method

This research uses a normative legal method with a comparative legal approach, which focuses on the analysis of Indonesian and Cambodian laws and regulations related to the crime of human trafficking and their compliance with international instruments such as the Palermo Protocol. The data used are sourced from secondary data, including primary legal materials in the form of laws, international conventions, and related regulations, as well as secondary legal materials such as books, journals, and scientific articles. Data collection was carried out through literature studies, while data analysis was directed at comparing the legal substance and forms of victim protection in each legal system.

Results and Discussion

Comparison of the legal framework in Indonesia and Cambodia in efforts to eradicate the crime of human trafficking

Indonesia has Law No. 21 of 2007, which specifically regulates the eradication of human trafficking, including prosecution of perpetrators, prevention, victim protection, and inter-agency cooperation. Cambodia also has a legal framework through the Law on Human Trafficking. Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation in 2008, but implementation remains weak due to limited resources and high reliance on nongovernmental organizations. A comparison between the two countries will be further elaborated through the following points:

- Indonesia's 2007 Anti-Trafficking Law regulates the prosecution of human trafficking, as well as protection and prevention, covering the recruitment, transportation, and transfer of victims across regions and countries, and guarantees victims' rights such as restitution, rehabilitation, and legal assistance with the participation of the community and related institutions. Meanwhile, Cambodia's 2008 TSE Law places more emphasis on prosecution of sexual exploitation and human trafficking, but victim protection remains limited and relies heavily on the role of NGOs (Sriwulan Sumaya, 2024). This difference indicates that Indonesia has a more comprehensive legal framework to address transnational human trafficking, although implementation challenges remain in both countries.
- Victim protection mechanisms in law Indonesia's 2007 Anti-Trafficking Law provides a comprehensive victim protection mechanism, encompassing restitution, rehabilitation, legal and psychological assistance, and repatriation, enabling victims to access government-facilitated support services. Meanwhile, Cambodia's 2008 Anti-Trafficking Law (TSE) only mentions the obligation to provide assistance without a detailed legal mechanism, leaving victim protection largely dependent on NGOs and limited coordination with the government (Yanggolo et al. 2024). The Cambodian government has established several victim support centers, but transparency and capacity remain minimal, and follow-up support after leaving the shelter is suboptimal. Some shelters have begun developing long-term support programs to build victims' independence, but limited funding and state support make the sustainability of these programs vulnerable and require further intervention.
- 3. Provisions of sanctions
 Indonesia's 2007 Human Trafficking Law stipulates a prison sentence of 3–15 years and a fine of Rp 120–600 million, with increased penalties for child victims or those who commit organized crime. This provision demonstrates Indonesia's commitment to protecting vulnerable groups and upholding justice. Meanwhile, Cambodia's 2008 TSE Law also stipulates prison sentences, but its implementation

is hampered by corruption, weak judicial systems, and limited resources. As a result, many perpetrators escape punishment, and victim protection remains suboptimal.

Inter-state follow-up arrangements (international cooperation)
Indonesia actively engages in bilateral, regional, and international cooperation through forums such as ASEAN, ACTIP, ASEANAPOL, and UNODC, encompassing joint operations, intelligence coordination, officer training, and the development of victim reporting and protection systems, thus establishing a mature and coordinated cross-border handling mechanism (Solim, 2019). Cambodia, through its 2008 TSE Law, only regulates general international cooperation without a clear institutional mechanism, resulting in weak coordination and response to cross-border cases, dependent on NGOs, and less than optimal. In contrast, Indonesia is better prepared and structured in utilizing international cooperation to eradicate human trafficking. This difference emphasizes the need for Cambodia to strengthen its institutional mechanisms and resources so that the handling of transnational cases can be more effective and sustainable.

5. Supervision and monitoring

In Indonesia, supervision and monitoring of the implementation of the 2007 Anti-Trafficking Law is carried out periodically by agencies such as the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection and the Anti-Trafficking Task Force through annual reports, field monitoring, and coordination between agencies, including the role of Immigration with the Integrated Border Control system. Management (IBCM) to detect the movement of people potentially linked to human trafficking (Veda, Directorate of Terrorism and Transnational Crimes, and Counter-Trafficking and Labor Migration Unit IOM 2021). Human trafficking surveillance in Indonesia involves local governments and communities through local reporting and coordination, such as cooperation between the Manpower and Transmigration Agency (Sudinakertrans) with sub-districts, villages, and neighborhood associations (RT/RW), although hampered by authority and resources. In contrast, Cambodia lacks a clear formal oversight mechanism, resulting in slow monitoring and limited inter-agency coordination. As a result, NGOs are the primary actors in reporting and advocating for victims, but without strong government support, these efforts are difficult to integrate nationally.

Table 1 present the comparison between Indonesia and Cambodia anti-trafficking regulation.

Table 1. The comparison between Indonesia and Cambodia anti-trafficking regulation

Aspect Comparison	Indonesia (Law No. 21 of 2007)	Cambodia (Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation, 2008)
Objectives and Scope Constitution	Aim Not only take action, but also protect victims and prevent crime, with coverage national and cross- country	Objective main is stop exploitation sexual and human trafficking, but its coverage more limited and not yet comprehensive

Aspect Comparison	Indonesia (Law No. 21 of 2007)	Cambodia (Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation, 2008)
Mechanism Victim	Arrange restitution,	
Protection	rehabilitation, assistance legal and psychological, as well as repatriation of victims clear	Only mention obligation to " give " help", without mechanism law detailed, implementation more many by NGOs
Provision	There are arrangement	
Sanctions	sanctions weighting if the victim	
	is a child or done in a way organized	There is a punishment prison, but often No executed in a way maximum in practice
Arrangement Action Carry on Between countries	Article 43 contains Work bilateral, regional and international, active in ASEAN and UNODC	Mentioning Work The same international in a way general, but not yet effective in a way institutional and its implementation weak
Supervision and Monitoring	There is an obligation reporting and monitoring periodically by state agencies (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and	
	Child Protection, TPPO Task Force)	No there is mechanism formal supervision in the law
Effectiveness	Implementation Enough active,	
	but still face challenge	Many reports state implementation weak,
	coordination areas and limitations budget	lack transparency, and vulnerable corruption

Indonesia has a more comprehensive anti-trafficking structure, supported by a National Action Plan, cross-sectoral task forces, institutional coordination, and civil society involvement, although it still faces challenges in training its officers. Its legal framework aligns with international standards. Meanwhile, Cambodia has regulations and an action plan, but implementation is weak, impunity is high, reliance on foreign NGOs, and victim protection does not meet international standards. Indonesia has an advantage in terms of institutions and legal implementation, but both institutions need to strengthen institutional integration and human rights-based victim protection.

Overview of the legal structure and law enforcement officers in handling TPPO in Indonesia and Cambodia

Legal system

Indonesia and Cambodia both adhere to the civil system Although the focus and depth of the regulations differ, Indonesia has more comprehensive and structured regulations on human trafficking (TPPO), supporting coordination between law enforcement agencies and victim protection. In Cambodia, despite a similar system, the regulation of human trafficking (TPPO) remains limited and influenced by customary law, thus facing obstacles in its implementation (Kurniawatie, 2025). Adaptation of the civil system Laws in both countries operate according to their respective contexts, but Indonesia is more legally prepared to handle TPPO.

Police officers

In Indonesia, the Criminal Investigation Agency's (Bareskrim Polri) Anti-Human Trafficking Directorate handles investigations, victim protection, cross-regional

coordination, and international cooperation. This unit also develops integrated strategies and enhances investigator capacity through training. In Cambodia, the Anti-Human Trafficking and Juvenile The Protection Department handles human trafficking and child protection, collaborating with UNICEF and the Ministry of Social Affairs (Adellia, Vianda Sonia; Albayumi, Fuat; Sunarko 2022) . However, Cambodia faces coordination challenges, limited resources, and corruption, which hamper effective law enforcement.

3. Prosecutor's Office

The Indonesian Prosecutor's Office is constitutionally independent, carrying out its prosecutorial functions without intervention, although the potential for political interference remains. In Cambodia, the Prosecutor's Office has a similar structure but is less free from political pressure, affecting the effectiveness of prosecutions and legal protections. Prosecutorial independence is crucial to ensuring fair and professional law enforcement. Institutional reforms and constitutional safeguards are needed for both countries to optimally enforce anti-trafficking laws.

4. Court

Indonesian courts protect victims' rights, including legal aid, security, and assistance during trials, in accordance with Law No. 31 of 2014 (Baehaki and Hadis, 2023). Victims can present witnesses or expert witnesses and access information on ongoing cases. In Cambodia, provincial courts handle human trafficking cases, but victim protection remains weak due to a lack of regulations and supporting facilities. Capacity building of judicial officials and supporting regulations are needed to optimally protect victims' rights.

5. Supporting institutions

In Indonesia, institutions such as the LPSK (Lembaga Penitaan Perempuan/Lembaga Perempuan), the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kemen PPPA), the BP2MI (Indonesian Agency for the Protection of Women and Children), and the Anti-Trafficking Task Force (Gugus Tidung TIPPO) play a crucial role in the protection, coordination, and rehabilitation of victims. They provide legal and psychological services, support for migrant workers' repatriation, and coordinate the prevention and handling of TIPs in an integrated manner. In Cambodia, the NCCT serves as the primary national agency coordinating ministries, agencies, and international NGOs. Support from NGOs like UNICEF is crucial to strengthening victim protection and rehabilitation, given the government's limited resources.

Table 2 summarized the legal structure and law enforcement officers in handling TPPO in Indonesia and Cambodia.

Table 2. Comparison between Indonesia and Cambodia regarding the legal structure and law enforcement officers in handling TPPO

Aspect	Indonesia	Cambodia
Legal System	Civil law with a special law on human trafficking which is comprehensive	Civil law with Constitution specifically for TPPO
Apparatus Police	Directorate of Human Trafficking, Criminal Investigation Agency Police, coordination with Interpol	Anti-Human Trafficking and Juvenile Protection Department under the National Police
Prosecutor's Office		It's in civil law structure but independence influenced political
Court	District Court with obligation consider victim's rights	Provincial/Municipal Court, victim protection in court Still weak
Supporting Institutions	LPSK, Ministry of PPPA, BP2MI, Task Force TPPO Tasks	National Committee for Counter Trafficking (NCCT), assisted by international NGOs

Indonesia has a structured anti-trafficking law enforcement system from the central to the regional levels with a clear division of roles, cross-ministerial coordination, and support from legal regulations. specialists, although still constrained by resources and regional coordination. In Cambodia, law enforcement relies more on NGOs, with limited coordination between authorities, incomplete regulations, and minimal training and resources. Overall, Indonesia has a superior institutional and coordination capacity, while Cambodia requires strengthening regulations, coordination, and legal reform to improve enforcement effectiveness and victim protection.

Efforts by Indonesia and Cambodia to provide protection for victims of criminal acts of human trafficking

In 2022, Indonesian police uncovered a human trafficking case in Batam, where several Indonesian women were trafficked to Cambodia for forced labor in cyber-scamming. The victims were promised high-paying jobs, but their passports and identification were confiscated, they were imprisoned and forced to create fake accounts to deceive foreigners. They were even subjected to physical violence if they did not meet targets. The government, through the National Police and the Indonesian Migrant Workers Association (BP2MI), immediately evacuated the victims and provided repatriation, rehabilitation, and legal and psychological support. The perpetrators were tried under the 2007 Human Trafficking Law, which carries a sentence of 3–4 years in prison and is required to pay restitution to the victims. The government is collaborating with the destination country for extradition and repatriation (International Justice Mission (IJM), 2025).

In Cambodia, a similar case occurred in 2021 in Sihanoukville, where a hidden complex "scam centers" held thousands of victims, including children, for online fraud and physical abuse. The Cambodian government and police released the victims, but the role of NGOs like Minrat Care, Chab Dai, and Agape International Missions are dominant in providing initial protection, shelter, and rehabilitation. Limited resources and interagency coordination make the government reactive, making NGO support key to rapid access to medical care, counseling, and reintegration programs for victims (McPherson, 2025). The efforts by Indonesia and Cambodia to provide protection for victims of criminal acts of human trafficking presented in Table 3.

Table 3. The efforts comparison by Indonesia and Cambodia to provide protection for victims of criminal acts of human trafficking

Aspect	Indonesia	Cambodia
Sample case	Batam 2022 Human Trafficking Case: recruitment of women for sexual exploitation abroad.	Sihanoukville case 2021: victims forced to work in online fraud centers, including Indonesian citizens.
The Role of Government Institutions	The Indonesian National Police, BP2MI, KemenPPPA, Kemenlu, cooperate in law protection and enforcement.	The police and the Ministry of Social Affairs play a role but are limited to law enforcement and coordination.
The role of NGOs	There are, but they are of a supporting nature (e.g. LPSK, Safe House).	Very dominant: Minrat Care, Chab Dai, Agape International Missions provide full services.
Victim Recovery Efforts	Medical, psychological rehabilitation, social reintegration, legal aid.	Victim recovery is mostly carried out by NGOs, including safe havens, counseling, and training.

The main difference between Indonesia and Cambodia in handling human trafficking cases lies in the involvement of actors and coordination of victim care. Indonesia has a more structured system with direct government involvement in rescue, recovery, and law enforcement. Meanwhile, Cambodia relies heavily on NGOs like Minrat. Care, Chab Dai, and Agape International Missions to provide protection and recovery services. This suggests that Indonesia tends to rely on state power, while Cambodia prioritizes partnerships with civil society organizations in addressing victims.

1. Protection efforts in Indonesia

Efforts to protect victims of human trafficking in Indonesia are regulated comprehensively through a national policy framework and strong legal regulations, such as Law No. 21 of 2007 concerning the Eradication of TPPO and Presidential Decree No. Law No. 19 of 2023 concerning the National Action Plan for Combating Human Trafficking. The National Action Plan for Combating Human Trafficking serves as a strategic guideline that regulates systematic activities for the prevention and handling of human trafficking, including victim protection, and ensures coordination between ministries and institutions so that human trafficking eradication efforts are carried out in an integrated manner. With this legal framework, victims are not only objects of law enforcement but also receive

ongoing recovery and protection (Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2025).

The implementation of protection involves various institutions with specific roles. The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA) serves as the coordinator of protection programs, forming task forces, and integrating cross-sectoral efforts for holistic victim services. The Witness and Victim Protection Agency (LPSK) provides legal protection, assistance, restitution facilitation, and emergency services for victims and witnesses of human trafficking, including assistance in international cases (Witness and Victim Protection Agency, 2025). The BP2MI (Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency) focuses on the protection of migrant workers who are victims of human trafficking, including repatriation and reintegration, as well as education for prospective migrant workers to prevent exploitation. At the regional level, the Social Service and Technical Implementation Units (UPTD) provide medical, psychological, social, and reintegration services through shelters, although the quality of services varies across regions.

Protection for victims of human trafficking includes psychological, medical, and social recovery through rehabilitation at shelters and trauma centers, with counseling, group therapy, education, and legal assistance. The LPSK (Lembaga Penida Indonesia) and the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture facilitate restitution, physical protection, legal assistance, and strengthening data and cross-agency collaboration. NGOs such as Migrant Care and the Sanggar Swara Foundation provide psychosocial services, legal advocacy, education, and economic empowerment. These efforts reach vulnerable groups such as undocumented migrant workers, youth, and gender-based groups.

Safe houses provide temporary protection for victims of human trafficking, providing basic needs, healthcare, psychological support, and social reintegration services. The repatriation of victims from abroad is coordinated by the government, diplomatic missions, and NGOs to ensure security and psychosocial support. During the judicial process, the Witness and Victim Protection Agency (LPSK) provides physical protection, psychological support, restitution, and legal assistance. All these efforts are strengthened by cross-sector and community collaboration, utilizing a holistic, sustainable, and human rights-based approach.

2. Protection efforts in Cambodia

Protection of victims of human trafficking in Cambodia is regulated in the 2008 TSE Law, which emphasizes the prevention, prosecution, and protection of women and children in accordance with the UN Protocol. Although it has a strong legal basis, the focus is more on law enforcement, so aspects of rehabilitation, restitution, and legal assistance are not yet comprehensive. Handling of human trafficking is coordinated by the NCCT, which involves ministries, government agencies, NGOs, the private sector, and international partners. However, the implementation of victim protection remains limited and not optimally integrated. The Ministry of

Social Affairs and the Ministry of Women's Affairs are responsible for social and psychosocial services, but budget and capacity limitations have limited their effectiveness. Therefore, NGOs such as IOM, World Vision, and the Chab Dai Coalition play a crucial role in providing shelter, counseling, skills training, and legal assistance (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011).

Concrete forms of protection for victims include shelters or temporary accommodation centers, psychological counseling services, and skills training to support social and economic rehabilitation. Shelters provide time for victims to physically and mentally stabilize before reintegration or repatriation, but the duration of stay is limited and their management still faces challenges between protection and victims' freedom (Times, 2025). Counseling and skills training services provided by NGOs help victims recover from trauma and build financial independence, although their coverage is limited and not yet integrated nationally. Social reintegration of victims is also still sporadic, facing stigma and economic hardship, and lack of coordination between institutions, so the sustainability of protection remains suboptimal.

Cambodia lacks a detailed restitution mechanism, making it difficult for victims to obtain compensation. Legal assistance is minimal, while weak law enforcement and inter-agency coordination slow down the litigation process and risk intimidation for victims. This situation leaves NGOs as the primary actors in victim protection, with a limited government role. The biggest challenges include limited resources, infrastructure, and legal mechanisms, resulting in a lack of systematic and sustainable victim protection.

Indonesia has established a comprehensive legal and policy framework for the protection of victims of human trafficking, primarily through the 2007 Human Trafficking Law and the regularly updated National Action Plan for the Eradication of Human Trafficking (RAN TPPO). Its implementation is carried out through crossinstitutional coordination, including the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA), the LPSK (Lembaga Perlindungan Saksi dan Korban Indonesia), and the BP2MI (Indonesian Migrant Workers Association), as well as support from NGOs such as Migrant. Care and the Sanggar Swara Foundation. The Trauma Center Protection House (RPTC) and safe houses in the regions serve as the primary means of victim recovery. Services include psychological rehabilitation, legal assistance, social reintegration, and economic empowerment to ensure victims regain social and financial independence.

Despite strong regulations, the implementation of protection in Indonesia faces challenges such as disparities in service delivery between regions, limited budgets, and suboptimal restitution mechanisms. The government is working to address these issues through a cross-sectoral task force to identify victims and ensure their rights are met. From an international legal perspective, Indonesia has demonstrated

compliance with the Palermo Protocol, guaranteeing the principle of non-penalization for victims, and establishing international cooperation for the repatriation of victims and the prosecution of transnational perpetrators.

Meanwhile, Cambodia has the 2008 TSE Law and the NCCT for handling human trafficking, but victim protection still relies heavily on NGOs such as IOM, World Vision, Caritas, and the Chab Dai Coalition. The system for rehabilitation, social reintegration, and restitution of victims is not standardized and lacks sustainability, so protection is more temporary. Limited resources, budgets, and the capacity of government institutions limit the role of the state, so strengthening national mechanisms and coordination between the government, NGOs, and communities is key to making the protection of human trafficking victims in Cambodia more effective and sustainable.

Conclusion

A comparison of legal frameworks shows that Indonesia has more comprehensive regulations through Law No. 21 of 2007, which is integrated with international law such as the Palermo Protocol. Indonesian regulations detail the elements of criminal acts, victim protection, and inter-agency coordination. Cambodia has the TSE Law 2008, but it is weak in harmonizing implementing regulations and law enforcement capacity. Indonesia also has a Human Trafficking Task Force, while Cambodia relies solely on poorly coordinated police units and ministries. It also relies on the role of NGOs such as Agape International Missions (IOM), World Vision, and the Chab Dai Coalition as the main pillars of victim protection. As a result, the effectiveness of law enforcement in Indonesia is better than in Cambodia.

Indonesia has implemented various efforts to protect victims of human trafficking through rehabilitation, social reintegration, free legal aid, and international cooperation. Cambodia has also implemented similar efforts, including providing shelter, rehabilitation, and capacity building for law enforcement agencies, although challenges in funding and coordination between law enforcement agencies remain significant. Bilateral and regional cooperation between the two countries, as well as support from international organizations, are important steps to improve victim protection. However, the quality of implementation in Cambodia lags Indonesia due to limited resources and supporting regulations.

The Cambodian government needs to strengthen victim protection by revising the 2008 TSE Law and adding technical guidelines in line with international law. Indonesia needs to ensure consistent implementation of Law No. 21 of 2007 across all regions and strengthen communication between law enforcement agencies. Both countries should increase information exchange on human trafficking law enforcement. Furthermore, the capacity of law enforcement agencies needs to be strengthened through ongoing training to ensure more effective case handling.

Cambodia needs to increase its budget for victim rehabilitation and reintegration and expand its shelter network. Indonesia needs to optimize legal and psychological support to maximize victim recovery. Cross-border cooperation should focus on the rapid and secure exchange of data on victims and perpetrators. Both countries also need to involve more NGOs and local communities to support sustainable recovery.

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