

4. Smuggling of migrants in South-East Asia

4.1 Overview

In South-East Asia, high levels of irregular migration take place within the region, particularly from the countries of the Mekong subregion to Thailand and Malaysia and also from Indonesia to Malaysia. These movements are, to a significant extent, facilitated by smugglers. Migrant smuggling out of South-East Asia is only reported for migrants leaving Viet Nam, mainly for Europe and to a lesser extent for North America, and for migrants from Myanmar leaving mainly for destinations in South-West and South Asia. Migrant smuggling from other regions to South-East Asia is only significant with regard to the smuggling of Bangladeshi migrants to Malaysia.

Evidence on migrant smuggling and other irregular migration into or out of Brunei Darussalam is limited. Between 2002 and 2006, the Government instigated 665 investigations relating to allegations of irregular stay or work. Over the same period, 3,822 charges involving immigration offences were filed against migrants who overstayed their visa.¹

Cambodia is predominantly a source country for irregular migrants who move independently or with the aid of smugglers to Thailand or Malaysia. Reportedly, 124,761 Cambodian nationals entered Thailand irregularly in 2009.² A 2011 publication noted that between 120,000 and 180,000 Cambodian migrants were working in Thailand irregularly that year.³ In 2013, UNODC estimated that 55,000 Cambodian migrants were smuggled into Thailand each year.⁴ Information received from Thai authorities supports these findings, as shown in Table 34.⁵

Indonesia is a source country of irregular migrants who move to neighbouring Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong (China). Estimates in 2011 suggested that there were 9 million Indonesian migrant workers abroad, and many were thought to be irregular migrants.⁶ Labour migration from Indonesia to Malaysia occurs within a spectrum of legality and illegality, which can make it

difficult to clearly label certain movements as regular or irregular. According to a 2012 UNODC report, Malaysia is a main destination country for Indonesian irregular migrants.⁷ There is evidence that smugglers have an important role in facilitating irregular migration from Indonesia to Malaysia.⁸ More recent and more accurate figures on irregular migration and the extent of the smuggling of Indonesian migrants are not available.

Lao PDR is a source country for irregular migrants who mainly move to Thailand. Available sources suggest that irregular migration, including the smuggling of migrants, from Lao PDR into Thailand occurs on a significant scale and that irregular movements may outnumber legal migration.⁹ In 2009, reportedly 110,854 irregular Lao migrants were working in Thailand.¹⁰ As shown in Table 34, between 34,000 and 38,000 Lao nationals were detected by Thai authorities attempting to enter illegally in 2011 and again in 2012; that figure increased to more than 40,000 in 2013. In 2013, UNODC estimated that around 80 per cent of the irregular movements — in total figures, around 44,000 migrants — were facilitated by smugglers.¹¹

Malaysia is a principal destination country for both regular and irregular labour migrants from Bangladesh, Indonesia and, to a lesser extent, from other parts of South and South-East Asia, such as Cambodia, Lao PDR, Nepal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Viet Nam.¹² The available estimates on irregular migration vary greatly.¹³ A 2010 report noted that an estimated 1.9 million undocumented migrants were working in Malaysia.¹⁴ Other sources place the number of undocumented migrant workers in Malaysia anywhere between 3 million and 5 million.¹⁵ Although irregular migrants entering Malaysia use the services of smugglers, there is no reliable data on the extent to which irregular migration to Malaysia is facilitated by smugglers.¹⁶

Myanmar is predominantly a source country for irregular migrants who travel to Thailand or Malaysia, which are two prominent destination

countries (with Thailand being the most popular).¹⁷ Other migrants leave Myanmar for destination countries outside South-East Asia. A 2010 publication reported that an estimated 200,000 irregular migrants from Myanmar were living in Bangladesh.¹⁸ A 2013 UNODC report highlighted that anywhere between 30,000 and 50,000 Myanmar migrants were living irregularly in north-eastern India,¹⁹ and about 100,000 irregular migrants from Myanmar were living in Pakistan.²⁰ Rohingyas, a minority ethnic group in Myanmar, are the most common ethnicity from Myanmar to be smuggled to destinations in South-East Asia, such as Thailand and Malaysia, and beyond South-East Asia, such as to Bangladesh, China, India and Pakistan.²¹ According to Thai authorities, between 75,000 and 118,000 migrants from Myanmar attempting to enter Thailand illegally have been apprehended since 2008 (Table 34). The available literature suggests that most irregular migration from Myanmar, regardless of destination, involves smugglers.²² In 2013, UNODC estimated that approximately 83 per cent of irregular Myanmar migrants entering Thailand do so with the services of smugglers.²³

The Philippines is primarily a source country for irregular migration to other South-East and East Asian countries or territories, such as Hong Kong (China), Macau (China), Malaysia and Singapore,²⁴ to countries in Europe, particularly to the United Kingdom²⁵ and to the Gulf region (more specifically to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates).²⁶ Reliable data on the number of irregular migrants is scarce; however a 2011 publication indicated that irregular migrants made up an estimated 10 per cent of the overseas Filipino population.²⁷ In 2013, it was further reported that as many as 447,590 irregular Filipino migrants were living in Malaysia.²⁸ It was also estimated that in 2011 some 49,400 Filipinos were in an “irregular migrant situation” in Singapore.²⁹ Some 270,000 Filipino nationals were estimated to be residing irregularly in the United States in January 2011.³⁰ Annex Table A4.13 shows that Japanese authorities detected 7,847 Filipino nationals in a situation of illegal residence in 2008, which decreased to 2,972 in 2012. Information on the extent of migrant smuggling from the Philippines is limited.³¹ US authorities have detected smuggling from the Philippines to the United States.³²

Singapore is also a destination for migrants seeking temporary employment, often irregularly. Although the evidence is limited, there is evidence of irregular migration and migrant smuggling primarily from Indonesia and the Philippines and, to a lesser extent, from Malaysia and Myanmar to Singapore.³³ According to Singaporean authorities, the number of irregular migrants apprehended in Singapore decreased from 1,800 in 2009 to 930 in 2011 and 690 in 2012.³⁴ Arrests of persons found to be facilitating the irregular migration, stay or employment of others decreased over the same period. Singaporean authorities arrested a total of 130 persons harbouring or employing irregular migrants in 2009, 103 in 2010 and 63 in 2011.³⁵

Thailand is a main destination for irregular migrants from countries in the Mekong subregion. Between 2.5 million and 3 million migrants from Cambodia, Myanmar and Lao PDR are estimated to be living in Thailand, and the majority of them are likely irregular migrants.³⁶ In 2013, UNODC estimated that more than 660,000 irregular migrants enter Thailand each year from these countries and that more than 80 per cent of them use the assistance of smugglers.³⁷ There are a few reports of Thai nationals migrating irregularly to Europe, Hong Kong (China) or North America,³⁸ while others have been found living irregularly in Japan and the Republic of Korea; however, the use of smugglers has not been established and the numbers are small.³⁹

Information on the smuggling of migrants into, from and through Timor-Leste is scarce. There appears to be some irregular migration across the border to Indonesia, although there is no evidence of any smuggling of migrants at this point.

Viet Nam is a source country for migrants who are smuggled to Europe, with Western and Northern Europe the primary destinations; more specifically, France, Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom and, to a lesser extent, the Czech Republic are the most prevalent countries to which migrants are smuggled.⁴⁰ To a lesser extent, Vietnamese migrants are also smuggled into the United States. In 2013, UNODC estimated that up to 1,000 Vietnamese migrants are smuggled from Viet Nam to the United States each year⁴¹ and that between 5,000 and 8,600 irregular Vietnamese

Table 34. Illegal entries detected into Thailand, by nationality

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Cambodia	114 000	75 109	93 735	93 145	97 983	60 543
China	604	620	336	271		384
DPR Korea	798					
India		715	336	527	669	1 247
Lao PDR	8 635	14 059	21 122	33 574	37 745	42 249
Myanmar	112 384	113 894	117 681	118 100	75 546	84 543
Viet Nam					302	
Total (above nationalities)	236 421	204 397	233 210	245 617	212 245	188 966
Total (all entries)	237 400	205 575	234 763	246 510	213 562	190 144

Source: The information in this table is based on responses from Thailand's national authorities to a questionnaire that UNODC distributed in late 2013 on the smuggling of migrants in Asia.

migrants are detected in the European Union each year, an estimate that corresponds with an estimated total flow of 18,000 irregular migrants from Viet Nam per year.⁴² Reports of migrants detected attempting to enter Europe illegally revealed Germany and the United Kingdom as the most prominent destinations; the most recent figures, for 2012, showed that 770 Vietnamese irregular migrants were detected trying to enter

the United Kingdom, which was a decrease from the 1,830 detected in 2009.

Viet Nam is also a source for migrants who move irregularly to neighbouring countries, particularly Cambodia,⁴³ and to a lesser extent, China and Lao PDR.⁴⁴ There are no recent estimates on the incidence of these movements, however, and it is unclear to what degree such movements are facilitated by smugglers.

Table 35. Vietnamese nationals detected attempting illegal entry into selected reporting countries

		2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	1 Jan.– 30 June 2013
Czech Republic	Total	60	104	47	27	23	8
	By land	59	91	37	24	22	8
	By air	1	13	10	3	1	
France	Total	64	80	43	25	73	50
Germany	Total	839	1129	737	445	494	
United Kingdom	Total	630	1830	1120	510	770	

Source: The information in this table is based on responses from national authorities in the countries listed to a questionnaire that UNODC distributed in late 2013 on the smuggling of migrants in Asia.

Table 36. Vietnamese nationals detected in a situation of illegal residence within selected reporting countries

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	1 Jan.– 30 June 2013
Czech Republic	316	389	310	341	380	160
France	1 538	4 614	2 752	1 200	997	295
Germany	2 170	2 147	2 046	1 543	1 255	
Japan	1 708	1 373	887	717	592	
United Kingdom	670	1 070	760	530	480	220

Source: The information in this table is based on responses from national authorities in the countries listed to a questionnaire that UNODC distributed in late 2013 on the smuggling of migrants in Asia.

4.2 Push and pull factors in South-East Asia related to the smuggling of migrants and other irregular migration

Irregular migration in South-East Asia is largely driven by economic factors, such as poverty and lack of employment opportunities. These factors combine with significant disparities between neighbouring countries, leading to large-scale irregular labour migration to the more economically developed countries in the region. In some cases, political factors contribute to these flows.

Thailand's economic growth and relative prosperity make the country a main destination for irregular migrants from the Mekong subregion, in particular from Cambodia, Lao PDR and, most heavily, from Myanmar.⁴⁵ The borders between these countries are porous, and there is considerable demand for cheap labour in Thailand.⁴⁶ Further contributing to the 'pull' of migrants from neighbouring countries to Thailand is the existence of well-established social networks. Remittances sent to their relatives and friends and 'success stories' of migrants' lives and employment in Thailand provide many would-be migrants further incentives to migrate.⁴⁷

Table 37. Economic data for Thailand and South-East Asia, 2012

	Total population	GDP per capita (PPP) in US\$	Unemployment	Labour force participation
Brunei Darussalam	412 238	52 482	2.6% ^{**}	64%
Cambodia	14 864 646	2 454	0.2%	83%
Indonesia	246 864 191	4 876	6.6%	68%
Lao PDR	6 645 827	2 879	1.3%	78%
Malaysia	29 239 927	16 919	3.0%	59%
Myanmar	52 797 319	1 405 [*]	4.0% ^{**}	84%
Philippines	96 706 764	4 339	7.0%	65%
Singapore	5 312 400	60 800	2.8%	68%
Thailand	66 785 001	9 660	0.7 %	72%
Timor-Leste	1 210 233	1 660	3.9%	38%
Viet Nam	88 775 500	3 787	1.8%	77%

Sources: Total population=World Bank, Population, total. Available from <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL> (accessed 6 April 2014); GDP=Unless stated otherwise, World Bank, GDP per capita, (PPP) (current international \$). Available from <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD> (accessed 6 April 2014); ^{*}=International Monetary Fund, *Report for Selected Countries and Subjects* (Washington, D.C., 2013); unemployment= Unless stated otherwise: World Bank, Unemployment, total (% of total labor force). Available from <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS> (accessed 6 April 2014); ^{**}= International Monetary Fund, *Report for Selected Countries and Subjects* (Washington, D.C., 2013); labour force=World Bank, Labor force participation. Available from <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.TOTL.IN> (accessed 6 April 2014).

Economic disparities within South-East Asia and demand for migrant labour and the prospects of better employment opportunities and higher wages chiefly explain irregular migration to Malaysia, in particular from Indonesia,⁴⁸ and to Singapore.⁴⁹ For the same reasons, Malaysia is also a destination for migrants from South and South-East Asia, such as from Bangladesh, Cambodia, Lao PDR, Nepal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Viet Nam.⁵⁰

Such economic factors and the co-existence of established regular labour migration also contribute towards explaining irregular migration from South-East Asia to countries or territories in

other regions. Hong Kong (China),⁵¹ Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates are particularly popular destinations for irregular migration from the Philippines,⁵² while Pakistan is a popular destination for irregular migration from Myanmar.⁵³ The Philippines has a long tradition of labour migration, both regular and irregular, to many countries around the world.

Much of the irregular migration within South-East Asia can be attributed to the costs and inefficiency of formal labour migration systems, which has led to the emergence of irregular structures and networks that facilitate labour recruitment and job placement. Irregular migration is perceived

as faster, cheaper and more efficient.⁵⁴ For example, regular migration to Thailand is said to cost Cambodian migrants approximately 20,000 baht (THB), while irregular avenues are available for THB2,500–THB3,000.⁵⁵ Similarly, in Indonesia, official migration schemes may involve large upfront payments and may require prospective migrants to negotiate bureaucratic obstacles and red tape.⁵⁶ The difficulties Myanmar nationals face in acquiring travel documents also explain why people migrate in an irregular way.⁵⁷

Similarities in culture, language and religion additionally influence the irregular migration flows. Cultural and religious ties between Cambodia's Cham Muslim minority and Muslims in Malaysia are said to constitute an additional

pull factor for migration to Malaysia.⁵⁸ A sense of religious affinity with Malaysia due to its majority Islamic population may act as a pull factor for Bangladeshi migrants.⁵⁹ Some employers in Thailand specifically turn to Lao workers who assimilate easily in Thailand because of similarities in culture, language and religion.⁶⁰

Insecurity and seeking asylum abroad are additional factors in motivating some of the irregular migration from Myanmar.⁶¹ Ethnic Arakanese from Myanmar migrate to neighbouring Bangladesh to seek protection.⁶² Refugees from Myanmar also continue to India.⁶³ Bangladesh, Malaysia and Thailand are a preferred destination for Rohingyas leaving Myanmar and seeking asylum abroad.⁶⁴

Table 38. Myanmar nationals in refugee or asylum-seeker status, by main host countries

	Refugees	Asylum seekers
Bangladesh	230 674	*
India	7 671	2 824
Japan	1 732	640
Malaysia	84 671	7 764
Thailand	83 317	13 460
United States	2 739	41

Note: * denotes where an exact number has been withheld in order to protect anonymity.

Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Population statistics refugees and asylum seekers worldwide by country of origin/country returned. Available from http://popstats.unhcr.org/PSQ_POC.aspx (accessed 6 April 2014).

The existence of established Vietnamese communities is a pull factor for irregular migration from Viet Nam to Europe. Germany in particular has a long-established Vietnamese community.⁶⁵ The expansion of the Schengen area to include formerly socialist counties, such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, provides a further pull factor for irregular Vietnamese migrants.⁶⁶ Similarly, established communities of Vietnamese nationals in Cambodia act as a pull factor for other Vietnamese irregular migrants attracted by specific employment opportunities.⁶⁷

4.3 Profile of smuggled and other irregular migrants from South-East Asia

Despite some variation among sources, most of the available data and research literature suggests that the smuggling of migrants from and within South-

East Asia involves young men. Irregular female migration is, however, significant, especially in the form of labour migration associated with work in the domestic service industry. For example, female migrants from Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar are said to constitute nearly 37 per cent of the total migrant population.⁶⁸

Irregular migrants from Myanmar are typically members of one of the many ethnic minorities. In general, Burmese and Shan migrate to Thailand,⁶⁹ Arakanese move to Bangladesh⁷⁰ and ethnic Kokang go to China.⁷¹ Rohingyas are mainly smuggled to Bangladesh, Malaysia and Thailand.⁷²

Cambodian migrants who travel regularly or irregularly to neighbouring countries in South-East Asia generally are 17–35 years old.⁷³ Although most of those who migrate irregularly

are male, the smuggling of female Cambodians also occurs.⁷⁴ Male Cambodian migrants are more likely to use the services of smugglers to reach Thailand than their female compatriots, who more likely migrate in a family group.⁷⁵ Among the Cambodian nationals who migrate irregularly to Malaysia are a considerable number of Cham Muslims. Many of the women who migrate to Malaysia do so to work in domestic service or to enter into a marriage with a Malaysian man.⁷⁶ The available information suggests that irregular migrants from Cambodia are generally from poor and rural backgrounds, have limited education and training and that it is their poverty and lack of employment that drives their desire to migrate.⁷⁷ There are also suggestions that migrants of poor backgrounds tend to leave irregularly because they are unable to pay the relatively high costs associated with regular channels of migration.⁷⁸

Research published in 2011 found that the majority of irregular migrants from Lao PDR living in Thailand are women, most of whom work as domestic helpers.⁷⁹ There are also reports of Lao children smuggled into Thailand.⁸⁰ Lao migrants in Thailand mostly have little education and originate from poor, rural areas. Many of them grew up in subsistence farming and sometimes experience difficulties in adjusting to the urban environments in which they find themselves once they reach Thailand.⁸¹

Irregular Vietnamese migrants in Europe are mostly aged between 18 and 40 years,⁸² though this appears to vary, depending on their intended destination country. According to German authorities, for instance, most smuggled Vietnamese migrants they have detected were males aged 45 years or older.⁸³ Smuggled Vietnamese migrants in the United Kingdom and Czech Republic are reportedly almost all male.⁸⁴ Irregular migration from Viet Nam appears to affect different parts of the country in different ways. It has been found that most migrants from Viet Nam, especially those seeking to migrate to Europe, come from the northern provinces of Nghệ An, Hải Phòng and Quảng Ninh.⁸⁵ Irregular migration from Viet Nam into Cambodia mostly involves Vietnamese nationals living in border regions, especially in An Giang Province.⁸⁶ Vietnamese women who migrate to Cambodia

often come from provinces in the Mekong Delta, including Kien Giang, An Giang and Soc Trang, and provinces in the Central Uplands, such as Tay Ninh.⁸⁷ The level of education of Vietnamese migrants travelling to Europe appears to vary, depending on their intended destination country. Those migrating to Germany tend to be wealthier and more highly educated than those who are smuggled into France and who possibly intend to transit there on the way to the United Kingdom.⁸⁸ Vietnamese migrants smuggled into China are generally unskilled, while those moving to Lao PDR often migrate there for business and have skills in their field.⁸⁹

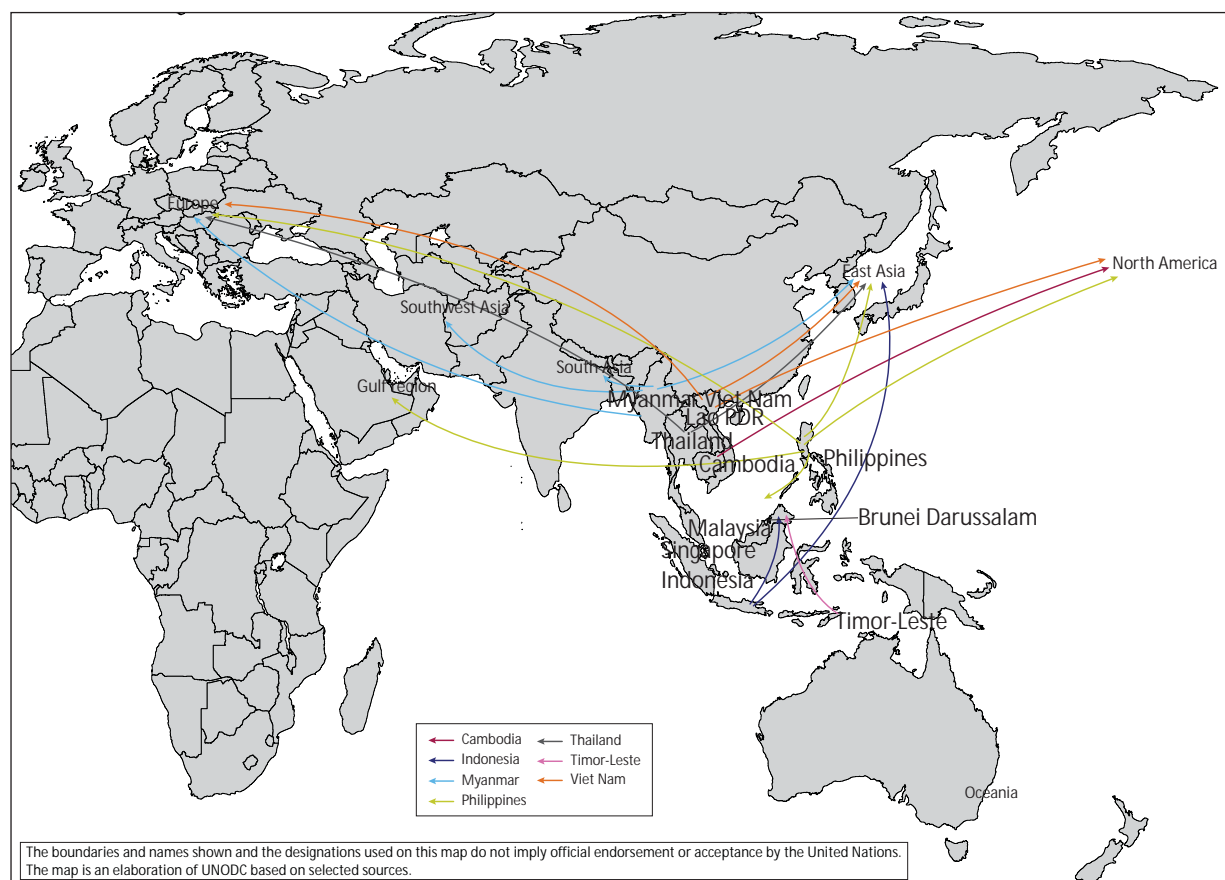
Available literature suggests that approximately 79 per cent of irregular labour migrants from Indonesia are male.⁹⁰ However, a large proportion of both regular and irregular Indonesian migrants attracted by the economic opportunities in places like Singapore and Hong Kong (China) are women seeking employment as domestic workers.⁹¹ For female migrants from Indonesia, poverty, limited job opportunities and lower average wage rates are push factors to seek work abroad.⁹²

4.4 Smuggling methods and routes

4.4.1 Smuggling of migrants to Thailand

The smuggling of migrants from Cambodia to Thailand is facilitated by a long and porous land border, with several established routes between the two countries. One common route leads from Prey Veng Province to the towns of Battambang and Poipet and then across the border to Aranyaprathet Province in Thailand. Other routes commonly used by Cambodians pass through Banteay Meanchey Province in Cambodia into Thailand or through Kampot Province to Koh Kong Province in Thailand.⁹³ In addition to established routes, irregular crossings are possible at many points along the Thailand–Cambodian border, through forests, rivers and unstaffed checkpoints. These crossings are generally attempted on foot, at night and in small groups to avoid patrols.⁹⁴ The services offered by smugglers to many Cambodian migrants extend beyond transportation; smugglers are often involved in securing work permits, documentation and employment in Thailand.⁹⁵

Figure 8. Destination regions for migrant smuggling out of South-East Asia



The smuggling of migrants from Lao PDR to Thailand occurs primarily over the Mekong River, which forms a considerable portion of the border between the two countries. Crossings over the land border are said to be more expensive and difficult than those involving boats or other floating devices.⁹⁶ Although irregular crossings at official border checkpoints likely occur, the methods used and the frequency with which it occurs are unclear.⁹⁷

The smuggling of migrants from Myanmar to Thailand occurs across the heavily forested border between the two countries.⁹⁸ For irregular migrants from Myanmar, the district of Mae Sot has been singled out as a frequent entry point into Thailand, which is used to smuggle migrants, traffic persons and smuggle narcotics, weapons and other contraband. Crossings also occur at Ranong, Tak or Kanchanaburi Provinces⁹⁹ by migrants who likely have engaged the services of a recruiting agency to reach Samut Sakhon Province in Thailand.¹⁰⁰

4.4.2 Smuggling of migrants to Malaysia

Two main routes are employed to smuggle Indonesian migrants to Malaysia. The Malay Peninsula is usually reached by boat across the Strait of Malacca, whereas Sabah and Sarawak States are entered overland from Kalimantan, which is the Indonesian part of Borneo.¹⁰¹ Smuggling by boat frequently involves stops in the Riau Islands Province of Indonesia, where migrants are housed before they continue to Malaysia.¹⁰² Regular passenger boats, fishing trawlers or containers on boats are used to transport migrants to Malaysia.¹⁰³

Labour migration from Indonesia to Malaysia occurs within a spectrum of legality and illegality, which can make it difficult to clearly label certain movements as regular or irregular. In many instances, some but not all aspects of the migration process involve irregular means or arrangements. Broadly speaking, four avenues of labour migration from Indonesia to Malaysia have been distinguished: (1) entry and job placement through

licensed recruitment agencies, (2) authorized entry and subsequent overstay of visas, (3) unauthorized and unassisted entry into Malaysia and (4) unauthorized entry and job placement with the assistance of an unlicensed recruitment agency or broker.¹⁰⁴ Available literature indicates that because local village recruiters may work for both official and unofficial agencies, migrants find it difficult to know whether they are migrating through a formal or informal channel.¹⁰⁵ Even with a single person, the migratory process can entail both authorized and unauthorized segments. Migrants may think they are migrating through legal channels, when, unknown to them, they were given fraudulent or inaccurate documents at some point in the process.¹⁰⁶ There are also reports of unlicensed agents who are facade operations, requiring upfront payments without delivering the promised services.¹⁰⁷

Along the journey from Indonesia to Malaysia, migrants are sometimes furnished with fraudulent identity documents by their smugglers. In some cases, smugglers have connections to immigration officials or other sources from which they obtain genuine documents by using illegal means.¹⁰⁸ Government officials also sometimes do not realize or intentionally ignore the fact that health certificates, family registration cards and identity cards have been forged.¹⁰⁹ According to a 2005 report, the forgery of birth and marriage certificates, identity cards and passports at that time had become a significant industry in Indonesia. Both licensed and unlicensed recruiters often falsify travel documents, documents of residence, identification cards, birth certificates and other items needed to meet eligibility requirements.¹¹⁰

The smuggling of migrants from Myanmar to Malaysia occurs on a smaller scale than the smuggling of migrants from Myanmar to Thailand. Ethnic Rohingyas use the services of smugglers to enter Thailand by sea, before travelling to Malaysia in search of work and shelter within established Rohingya communities in Kuala Lumpur and Penang.¹¹¹ Other Myanmar nationals use Malaysia as a transit country to Sumatra, Indonesia, ultimately attempting to reach Australia.¹¹²

The smuggling of Cambodian nationals to Malaysia usually involves overland travel across Thailand, a journey that is said to take approximately three days.¹¹³ Smugglers assist with the transportation and also with securing work permits and taking migrants to specific destinations and employers in Malaysia. In some cases, smuggled migrants may travel directly from Cambodia to Malaysia by air and then enter the country as tourists before they seek employment without a work permit.¹¹⁴

Many Bangladeshi workers enter Malaysia with the aid of smugglers.¹¹⁵ A 2013 study found five main routes used to smuggle Bangladeshi migrants into Malaysia. The first route leads from Bangladesh to Bangkok and Songkhla, Thailand. From there, migrants enter Malaysia by land, crossing the border with motor vehicles through the thick jungle and forest areas. The second route leads from Bangladesh to Hat Yai and Sungai Kolok towns in southern Thailand and then across the land border into Malaysia. A third route involves transit through Bangkok, Yala and Sungai Kolok before crossing into Malaysia by land using motor vehicles to drive through the forest and jungle areas. A fourth route involves migrants initially flying to Singapore and then entering Malaysia by land. Only a small number of smuggled migrants use a fifth method that involves travel directly by plane from Dhaka to Malaysia.¹¹⁶

4.4.3 Smuggling of migrants to Singapore

Irregular migrants have been apprehended attempting entry into Singapore using numerous methods. The majority of smuggled migrants are detected at land checkpoints at the border with Malaysia attempting to enter Singapore clandestinely, concealed in a compartment of a vehicle or cargo consignment. Other approaches involve the use of small wooden vessels or motorized boats. Some irregular migrants were found using a range of floating devices, such as trash bags and wooden planks, to swim to Singapore. More sophisticated methods of smuggling are also employed, with Singaporean authorities reporting that criminal organizations supply both genuine and fraudulent travel documents.¹¹⁷ There are reports on the smuggling of migrants from Myanmar to Singapore.¹¹⁸

4.4.4 Smuggling of migrants from South-East Asia to other parts of Asia

There are several reports relating to the smuggling of Thai migrants to destinations in East Asia. Thai nationals sometimes use Macau (China) as a transit point for irregular migration towards Hong Kong (China) or the Taiwan Province of China and onward to Europe or North America.¹¹⁹ There are also undetailed reports of Thai nationals residing in Japan and the Republic of Korea in irregular circumstances, although it is unknown whether this migration involved the use of smugglers.¹²⁰

According to Macau (China) authorities, some Filipino nationals are smuggled into the territory. Some remain there, while others transit en route to Europe or North America.¹²¹

Bangladesh is both a destination and transit point for irregular migrants, including smuggled migrants, from Myanmar.¹²² There are reports of Rohingyas from Rakhine State in Myanmar being smuggled into neighbouring Bangladesh.¹²³ The smuggling usually occurs by boat, especially between the months of November and April, when seas are calmer.¹²⁴ In some instances, international smuggling networks use Bangladesh as a transit point to move Rohingya migrants further on to Thailand and Malaysia.¹²⁵

Pakistan has been a destination for smuggled migrants from Myanmar for some time and, more recently, has been used as a transit point for smuggling into the Islamic Republic of Iran, Turkey and Europe.¹²⁶ According to Pakistani authorities, a number of land and air routes through the country are used by smuggled migrants, although it is not clear which of these are used specifically by smuggled migrants from Myanmar. Land routes out of Pakistan, for instance, usually lead into the Islamic Republic of Iran. From there, some smuggled migrants continue by boat to Oman and the United Arab Emirates. Others continue over land into Turkey and Greece and other parts of Europe.¹²⁷ For those Myanmar nationals for whom Pakistan is a destination country, most settle in the Karachi suburbs of Korangi, Orangi or Landhi. Significant numbers of Rohingyas also live in Bengali settlements in Pakistan.¹²⁸

The smuggling of Filipino nationals to the Gulf region often involve smugglers acting as irregular employment brokers in Mindanao Island, where many of the Muslim labour migrants from the Philippines originate. These brokers provide fraudulent travel and identity documentation to facilitate the entry of smuggled migrants into their destination country.¹²⁹ Transit countries for irregular movement into the Gulf region include Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Viet Nam.¹³⁰

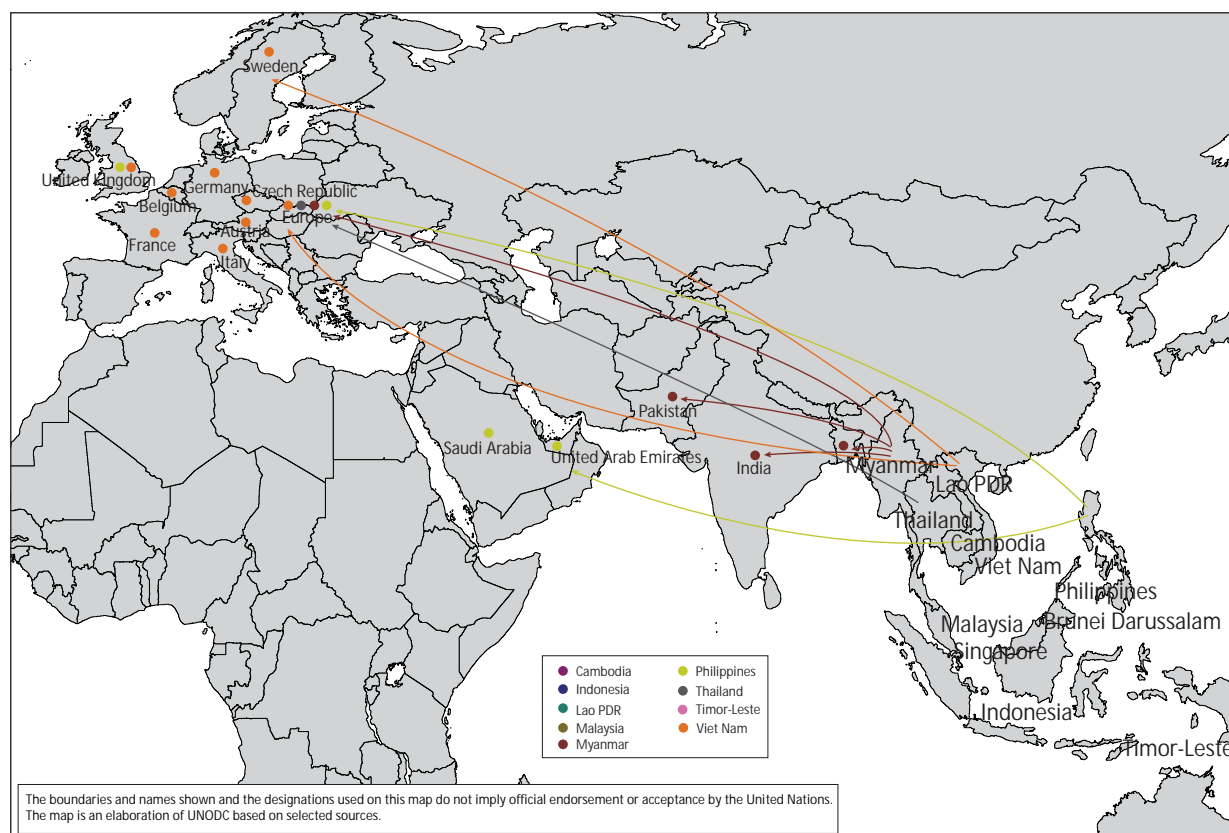
4.4.5 Smuggling from South-East Asia to Europe

Smuggling from Viet Nam to Europe

The smuggling of Vietnamese migrants to Europe involves a great variety of methods, means and routes, ranging from highly sophisticated operations involving fraudulent documents to less-complicated forms of smuggling, such as clandestine border crossings. The smuggling may involve a single, long-distance journey or may be broken up into multiple smuggling operations across short distances.¹³¹ Smugglers employ any combination of air, sea and land-based methods. Recent literature suggests that smuggled migrants from Viet Nam often travel on commercial flights to airports in some proximity to their final destinations, especially in countries that permit visa-free entry for Vietnamese nationals or where immigration requirements and controls are less stringent than elsewhere. From there, they are smuggled overland to their final destination, often using clandestine methods.¹³²

One main route, for instance, leads from Viet Nam to Moscow, Russia, then through the Baltic States or Ukraine, Slovakia and Poland before reaching the Czech Republic. Several sources highlight the importance of Moscow in Vietnamese smuggling routes by air, with some routes involving flights from Hanoi or Ho Chi Minh City to Moscow.¹³³ Estonia and its neighbouring Baltic States are primarily transit points for the smuggling of Vietnamese migrants. The crossing from Russia into Estonia mostly occurs in groups by foot in remote areas to avoid detection by border patrols.¹³⁴ Smuggled migrants reach Lithuania from Russia, Latvia or Belarus, where, travelling in groups of five to ten people, they are then taken by car to

Figure 9. Destination countries in Europe and South Asia for the smuggling of migrants from South-East Asia



the Lithuanian border. The crossing of the border is usually on foot at night time, with or without the assistance of smugglers. Other members of the smuggling network meet smuggled migrants on the Lithuanian side and then transport them in a private car or van across Lithuania to Poland.¹³⁵ Poland is considered an important transit country for the smuggling of Vietnamese migrants, and there appears to be links between smuggling networks and the Vietnamese community in Warsaw that foster irregular migration.¹³⁶

Another route starts with flights from Viet Nam to Romania or Bulgaria before travelling in a truck or car to the Czech Republic or Hungary.¹³⁷ In some instances, Vietnamese migrants may initially fly to Russia before they continue by plane to Romania, where they are accommodated in a safe house prior to being taken overland to Hungary.¹³⁸ According to Hungarian authorities, fraudulent travel or identity documents are frequently presented by Vietnamese nationals to obtain Schengen visas that are then used to gain entry

into Hungary. From there, smuggled migrants often travel by land across Austria to Germany, France or the United Kingdom.¹³⁹

Prior to the latest enlargement of the European Union, the Czech Republic was often the first point of entry into the European Union for smuggled migrants from Viet Nam. In other cases, it is one of several transit points in Eastern and Central Europe. Air arrivals of smuggled migrants from Viet Nam sometimes involve direct flights originating in Asia and at other times involve several transfers en route.¹⁴⁰

According to Czech authorities, various methods of document fraud and false representations are made in the applications for visas and travel documents for smuggling Vietnamese migrants into and through the country. Photo substitution in temporary Czech passports is one common method.¹⁴¹ In other cases, visas for travel to the Czech Republic are fraudulently obtained through the Czech Embassy in Hanoi.¹⁴² There have been

instances in which Vietnamese passports used to enter the Czech Republic were forgeries.¹⁴³ Likewise, in Slovakia, fraudulent documents are frequently used to facilitate irregular entry of Vietnamese migrants.¹⁴⁴

The smuggling of Vietnamese migrants into Germany is typically by air or overland and includes air arrivals on long-haul flights as well as flights from other transit points. Many Vietnamese migrants initially fly to an airport in Eastern Europe and then continue across the border to Germany by land. They arrive from a country in the Schengen area by bus, plane, train or private vehicle. The use of document fraud appears to be more common on routes from non-Schengen countries into Germany or on flights from Viet Nam to another country in Europe. According to German authorities, smuggled migrants generally cross into Germany from Poland, the Czech Republic, France or Austria by avoiding official border checkpoints.¹⁴⁵

France is both a transit point and destination for smuggled migrants from Viet Nam. Usually, smuggled migrants arrive by land from neighbouring countries after initially flying to Eastern Europe and then continuing westward by car, truck, bus or train.¹⁴⁶ France is also a common transit point for Vietnamese migrants wanting to continue to the United Kingdom.¹⁴⁷

Vietnamese migrants are smuggled into the United Kingdom by several different routes and methods. Many Vietnamese transit in France en route to the United Kingdom, usually after flying to an Eastern European airport and then continuing by land into Western Europe.¹⁴⁸ An alternative route involves travel from Turkey to Greece and then on through Central Europe or via Italy to France.¹⁴⁹ The crossing from France to the United Kingdom usually occurs by ferry from Calais to Dover; and migrants are likely concealed inside a van or large truck and the drivers are paid to take them across the English Channel.¹⁵⁰ There are reports in which similar methods were employed to smuggle Vietnamese migrants from Belgium into the United Kingdom.¹⁵¹ Europol reported in 2012 that Ireland was a transit point for smuggled migrants from Viet Nam who flew into Dublin, Cork or Shannon airports before continuing to the United Kingdom.¹⁵²

Smuggling from other parts of South-East Asia to Europe

The smuggling of migrants from the Philippines to the United Kingdom is said to largely involve document fraud as well as marriages of convenience to UK citizens. In other instances, flights are booked in which the United Kingdom is only a transit point, so that the connecting flight gives the appearance that any stay in the United Kingdom will be temporary. Migrants then remain in the United Kingdom without boarding their connecting flight. According to British authorities, document and identity fraud involving Philippine nationals is becoming less common.¹⁵³

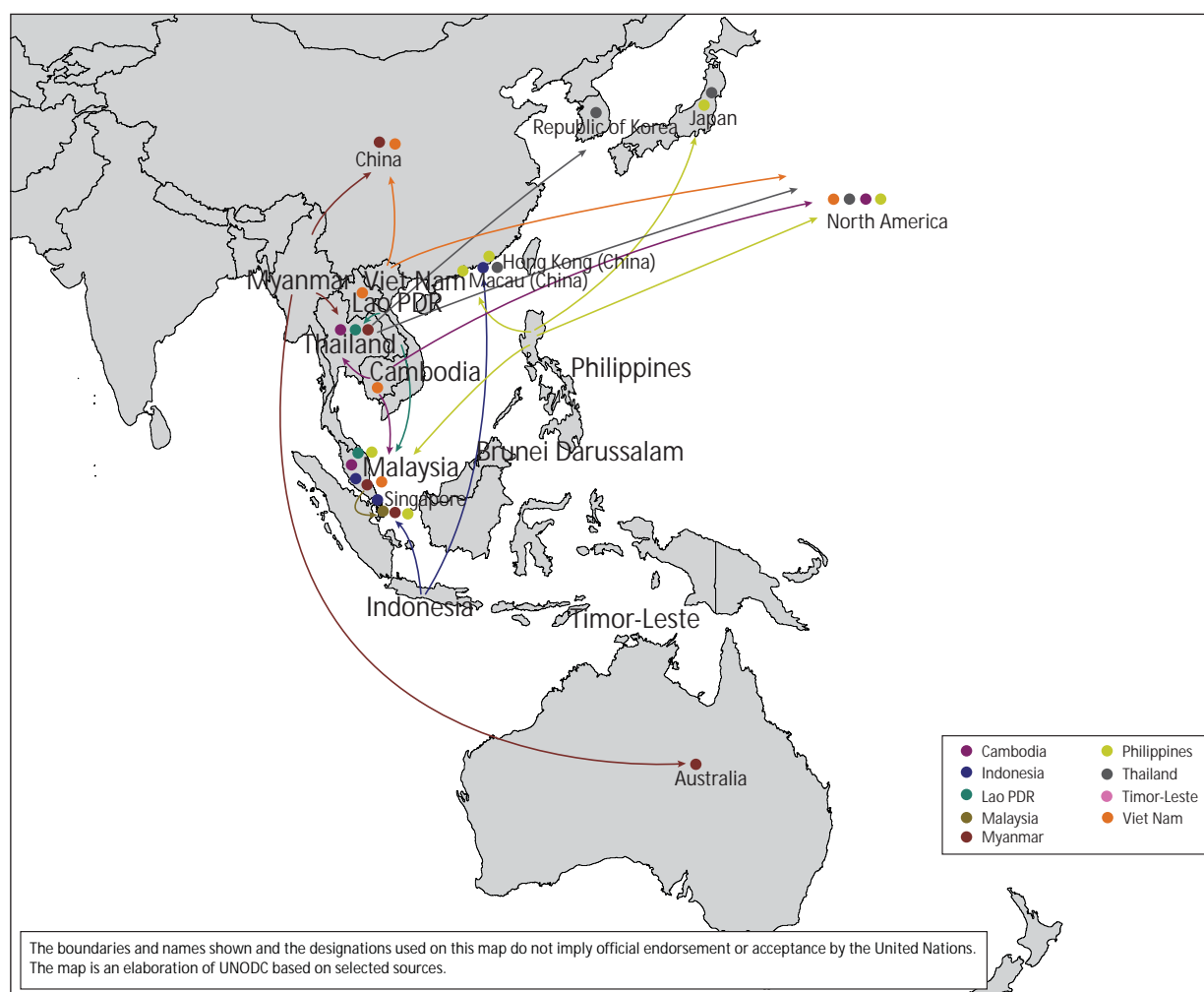
Turkish authorities report the smuggling of Myanmar nationals through Turkey. Myanmar nationals have been detected among the many nationalities of smuggled migrants at the borders to Georgia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq and Syria. Smuggled migrants then travel across Turkey overland to reach Greece and other parts of Europe, or they acquire fraudulent travel or identity documents to travel onward by plane.¹⁵⁴

4.4.6 Smuggling through South-East Asia

Ethnic Rohingyas from Myanmar are often smuggled via Thailand and Malaysia to Indonesia and, until late 2013, sometimes to Australia. Most Rohingyas initially travel to Thailand and are then guided by smugglers in several stages through southern Thailand into Malaysia.¹⁵⁵ From Malaysia, migrants employ means and take routes that are used in the smuggling of a range of nationalities. They travel by boat from the Malay Peninsula to Aceh Province and other parts of Sumatra Island in Indonesia and then move by various means of transport to the south of Indonesia, where they board migrant smuggling vessels bound for Australia.¹⁵⁶

Until 2013, many smuggled migrants from South-West Asia and Sri Lanka travelled to Malaysia and Indonesia, intending to reach Australia. Afghans, Iranians, Iraqis and Pakistanis have been found to travel directly by air to Kuala Lumpur, sometimes via the Gulf region or Bangkok, Thailand.¹⁵⁷ Once in Malaysia, local contacts of smugglers or smuggled migrants provide lodging while the onward journey is planned and organized.¹⁵⁸ The journey

Figure 10. Destination countries in East Asia, South-East Asia, North America and Oceania for the smuggling of migrants from South-East Asia



from Malaysia to Indonesia usually involves overland travel across the Malay Peninsula and then by private boats or ferry to Sumatra and other parts of Indonesia. In good weather conditions, the journey by boat from Malaysia to Indonesia can take about six to eight hours.¹⁵⁹ Smuggling through Indonesia follows a general south-eastern direction, from landing points in Sumatra to departure points on the southern coastline of Java Island. Migrants were often gathered in central locations, such as Jakarta or Cisarua, and accommodated in a hotel or apartment while they waited for their onward journey to be organized.¹⁶⁰ From Indonesia, migrants were then smuggled to Australia aboard vessels intending to reach Ashmore Reef or Christmas Island.¹⁶¹

Countries in the Mekong subregion, including

Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Thailand and Viet Nam are used as transit points for nationals of DPR Korea who are smuggled through China to South-East Asia en route to the Republic of Korea.¹⁶²

4.4.7 Smuggling from South-East Asia to North America

According to US authorities, there is some evidence of irregular migration of Vietnamese nationals to the United States.¹⁶³ Rather than attempting to enter the country clandestinely by avoiding border controls, it appears to be more common for Vietnamese migrants to arrive with genuine documents and then overstay their visa.¹⁶⁴ It is possible that smugglers assist in the acquisition of a visa, although the extent to which irregular migration from Viet Nam to the United States is facilitated by smugglers is not known.

Data from US authorities indicate that significant numbers of irregular migrants arrive from the Philippines.¹⁶⁵ There is, however, no other information on the specific routes and modus operandi of smugglers taking Filipino migrants into the United States.¹⁶⁶ According to Canadian authorities, Filipino nationals are also smuggled into Canada. The smuggling appears to be carried out almost exclusively by air, although there is no further information on the routes and modus operandi used.¹⁶⁷

According to Cambodian authorities, Cambodian nationals, mostly women, pay migrant smugglers to arrange a sham marriage with a Canadian, American or Australian citizen in order to enter those countries.¹⁶⁸

4.5 Conditions and risks to which smuggled migrants are exposed

The smuggling of migrants within and through South-East Asia often takes place under conditions that endanger their health and life due to the territory and/or waters to be crossed and the methods used by smugglers.

Migrants smuggled by sea, for example from Myanmar or Bangladesh to Malaysia or Thailand or migrants from South-West Asia smuggled by sea from Indonesia to Australia are exposed to deadly risks. IOM described these risks and highlighted that they have at times been exacerbated by facilitators encouraging migration routes during monsoon seasons and smugglers using unseaworthy vessels and less competent crew in response to policy changes, such as increased border control of boats.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, the journey undertaken by smuggled migrants entering Singapore by sea can be hazardous because they may have to swim long distances or use improvised flotation devices to reach the coastline.¹⁷⁰

Smuggled migrants travelling from Bangladesh, Cambodia, Lao PDR or Myanmar to Thailand often cross through dangerous terrain and thick jungle areas along the border, sometimes at night. On some known journeys, migrants were not equipped with sufficient supplies, while others suffered from fever, jaundice or mental

health issues.¹⁷¹ Migrants who are smuggled across borders concealed in vehicles are at risk of suffocation and heat exhaustion. There are several reported cases from South-East Asia and Europe involving South-East Asian migrants who died as a result of inadequate ventilation in the compartment in which they were smuggled.¹⁷²

Smuggling as a major driver of irregular migration within South-East Asia heavily heightens migrants' vulnerability to abuse, exploitation or 'non-pre-organized' trafficking in persons. Such non-pre-organized trafficking does not begin in the country of origin but in the destination country, when opportunistic criminals lure smuggled migrants into traps that become human trafficking situations. Several reports document that the irregular status of smuggled migrants in Thailand makes them vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking.¹⁷³ In 2013, UNODC estimated that 4 per cent of irregular labour migrants in Thailand end up as trafficking victims.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, IOM reported that irregular migrants from the Philippines who travel overseas for employment are vulnerable to becoming victims of trafficking.¹⁷⁵

Other research found that irregular Bangladeshi and Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong (China), Macau (China), Malaysia and Singapore and irregular Vietnamese migrant workers in Cambodia and the United Kingdom had been exploited or had become victims of trafficking.¹⁷⁶ Some reports point out that irregular female migrants smuggled by unlicensed recruitment agencies are particularly vulnerable to exploitative working conditions in the domestic service industry.¹⁷⁷

Migrants also experience physical abuse and deception at the hand of their smugglers. Some have been abandoned by their smugglers and left stranded in transit — as reported in Indonesia.¹⁷⁸

4.6 Profile of migrant smugglers

Migrant smugglers within South-East Asia are largely nationals of the country in which they operate. Smugglers who transport Cambodian migrants into Thailand, for instance, are generally Cambodian nationals.¹⁷⁹ Smugglers taking Lao migrants to Thailand are both Thai and Lao

nationals who hand over groups of migrants from one smuggler to another.¹⁸⁰

The smuggling of Vietnamese migrants to Europe is generally organized by compatriots, including by members of Vietnamese communities in transit and destination countries. According to law enforcement agencies in countries along the main smuggling routes, non-Vietnamese locals or other nationalities may be hired to assist in certain capacities.¹⁸¹

The smuggling of migrants from South-West Asia and Sri Lanka through Malaysia and Indonesia to Australia is typically overseen by individuals who share the same background as the migrants they smuggle. Many of these organizers were once smuggled migrants who returned to South-East Asia after naturalizing in Australia or who remained in a transit country.¹⁸² The captains and crew who man the vessels used to smuggle migrants from Indonesia to Australia are mostly poor, uneducated fishermen and labourers from villages along the Indonesian coastline who are hired by an organizer for small amounts of money.¹⁸³

There is no evidence linking the persons involved in the smuggling of migrants in South-East Asia to other criminal activities, including other forms of organized crime. There are, however, some reports linking Vietnamese smuggling networks in Europe to drug trafficking, money laundering and prostitution. In the United Kingdom, Vietnamese organized crime groups have been found to employ smuggled migrants in large-scale cannabis cultivation.¹⁸⁴

Available literature suggests that corrupt law enforcement, immigration, customs and other government officials contribute to the smuggling process in many parts of South-East Asia. For example, in the context of the smuggling of migrants from neighbouring countries into Thailand, corruption is encountered throughout the process of migrating and working illegally. Bribes may be required to allow border crossings or to avoid detection or to protect employers of irregular migrants. Similarly, corrupt officials are perceived as integral in the smuggling of migrants through Indonesia and comprise an important

part of some smuggling networks.¹⁸⁵ There are reports that Indonesia's highly regulated labour export policies tend to encourage the bribing of officials, who may choose to overlook falsified travel documents in return for money.¹⁸⁶

According to available sources, corrupt immigration officials sometimes release asylum seekers from detention facilities in exchange for bribes. Smugglers who have arranged sea travel sometimes allegedly pay bribes to police and military officers to ensure that migrants will not be arrested on their way to the boat and to ensure that boats pass unhindered.¹⁸⁷ Corruption of some law enforcement officials is cited as further contributing to irregular migration from Indonesia to Malaysia.¹⁸⁸ Other reports suggest that corrupt officials on the border between Lao PDR and Thailand are involved in the migrant smuggling ventures¹⁸⁹ and that corruption in Malaysia makes unauthorized entry for irregular migrants from Lao PDR relatively easy. Corruption is also thought to enable some of the flows of irregular migrants from Viet Nam to Malaysia.¹⁹⁰

4.7 Organizational structure of migrant smuggling groups and networks

4.7.1 Smuggling within South-East Asia

The available information on organizational structures of migrant smuggling groups suggests that most activities are carried out by loose associations of individuals rather than by structured, hierarchical organization. The smuggling of migrants into Thailand, for instance, mostly involves networks operating on a small scale.¹⁹¹

Networks that operate from Cambodia, Lao PDR or Myanmar across the borders to Thailand tend to operate at ground level, such that smugglers are known to migrants or somebody close to them. The structure and level of organization of these smuggling networks appears to vary considerably. Although there is evidence of well-established smuggling networks operating between provinces on both sides of the borders, some smuggling also appears to be organized around family or social networks. The groups and individuals involved in the smuggling of migrants into Thailand frequently

offer services beyond the initial smuggling across the border, such as accommodation and job placement.¹⁹²

Networks that offer highly organized services facilitate the smuggling of migrants from Indonesia to Malaysia.¹⁹³ These networks include smugglers who operate within Indonesian communities and provide accountability and security to the process as well as services for document forgery and bribery to local officials who are co-opted.¹⁹⁴

4.7.2 Smuggling from Viet Nam to Europe

The smuggling of migrants from Viet Nam to Europe appears to involve a combination of Vietnamese groups and non-Vietnamese networks that cooperate along the main smuggling routes. There are reported instances of collusion between these groups and outsourcing from one group to another, especially where local groups possess contacts and knowledge.¹⁹⁵ There are also ample examples of collaboration with local groups in transit and destination countries and the use of 'contractors' who operate outside the Vietnamese smuggling organizations.¹⁹⁶

Vietnamese smuggling organizations involve participants with designated roles and responsibilities. At the beginning of the journey are 'smuggling coordinators' responsible for determining some initial conditions for a smuggling venture. These persons tend to organize the operation at a general level and usually do not have insight into every individual stage of the smuggling operation. Other coordinators stationed along the smuggling route have responsibility for one or more legs of the journey. These local coordinators operate quite independently and have limited knowledge of other parts of the network.¹⁹⁷

The structure of many Vietnamese smuggling groups is fostered by underlying close relationships. In some groups, the main members come from the same area and communicate in the same dialect, making it difficult for others to understand.¹⁹⁸

4.7.3 Smuggling from South-West Asia to South-East Asia and Australia

The networks involved in smuggling Afghan,

Iranian, Iraqi and Pakistani nationals through Malaysia and Indonesia to Australia are mostly described as loose and non-hierarchical, taking advantage of personal relationships among many actors with specialized roles.¹⁹⁹ Recruiters are drawn from asylum-seeker communities. Organizers and intermediaries only communicate directly at certain points in the smuggling route. At times, officials are bribed to facilitate the smuggling process. The networks are said to be highly adaptable and able to change quickly in response to law enforcement activities.²⁰⁰

4.8 Fees and financing

4.8.1 Fees

Migrants from Cambodia reportedly pay between US\$34 and US\$138 to be smuggled to Thailand. This is dramatically less than the US\$700 required to migrate regularly. The payment by smuggled migrants includes accommodation and food along the journey, making the profit earned by smugglers for each migrant about US\$10–US\$30. Female migrants reportedly pay lower fees than men, at an average of US\$74.²⁰¹ The fees for smuggling migrants from Lao PDR to Thailand range between US\$80 and US\$113.²⁰² Migrants from Myanmar pay between US\$323 and US\$485 to be smuggled to Thailand.²⁰³

Migrants who are smuggled from Myanmar to Singapore may be charged exorbitant fees upon arrival and forced to work for long periods without wages to repay the debt. One report cited this debt at US\$2,560.²⁰⁴

The fees paid by Indonesian migrants for smuggling to Malaysia vary, depending on their point of departure. Migrants from Batam Island, for instance, pay approximately US\$25, whereas migrants from West Nusa Tenggara Province may pay as much as US\$200. These fees are still lower than the cost of migrating through an official channel, which can be US\$325.²⁰⁵

The fees charged for the smuggling of Vietnamese migrants to Europe varies greatly, depending on the routes used, the ability to negotiate fees along the journey and the time spent in transit countries. The smuggling of Vietnamese migrants

into Eastern Europe tends to be considerably less expensive than a journey to a country in Western Europe. For example, smuggling to the Czech Republic is estimated to cost between US\$7,000 and US\$8,000, whereas the cost to go to France ranges between US\$7,000 and US\$15,000. Smuggling from Viet Nam to the United Kingdom is estimated to cost between €12,000 and €15,000.²⁰⁶

The fee paid to be smuggled from Afghanistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq or Pakistan through Malaysia and Indonesia and on to Australia reportedly ranges between US\$6,000 and US\$7,000. This fee includes the airfare to South-East Asia, smuggling across and within Malaysia and Indonesia and the boat journey from Indonesia to Australia.²⁰⁷ The fees may be substantially higher when migrants do not pay for an 'end-to-end' package — US\$6,000 may be paid for a flight to Thailand alone, as well as an additional US\$4,000 for smuggling from Thailand to Malaysia. Smuggling from Malaysia to Indonesia may cost as little as US\$500 or as much as US\$3,000.²⁰⁸

In a 2013 publication, UNODC examined the composition of fees paid for smuggling from Afghanistan to Australia through Indonesia and found that, on average, US\$4,000 was paid to an organizer in Afghanistan, US\$400 for fraudulent documents, US\$2,500 for bribes to law enforcement and border officials, US\$700 for logistical costs relating to air travel, US\$1,700 for a smuggler in Malaysia and US\$3,000 for a smuggler in Indonesia.²⁰⁹

4.8.2 Financing

Recent information on the ways in which smuggled migrants from countries of origin in South-East Asia raise and transfer the funds needed to pay their smugglers is limited, but there appears to be some variation between countries.

The fees for the smuggling venture can be paid up front to the person or persons recruiting smuggled migrants or, if the would-be migrants cannot afford this, it may be paid later to the employer or the smuggler in the destination country. In some cases of smuggling from Cambodia or

Lao PDR to Thailand, the employer paid the recruiters and then recouped the money from smuggled migrants. In such cases, the money owed is sometimes deducted from the wage of the migrant worker.²¹⁰ Similarly, some smuggled migrants from Indonesia pay for their journey upfront; but typically, their smuggling is financed through monthly deductions from their wages overseas.²¹¹

The considerable fees required for the smuggling of Vietnamese migrants to Europe are often financed through the sale of property and assets by the migrant and their family.²¹² In some instances, migrants from Myanmar pay for their smuggling to Thailand using remittances sent by relatives and friends who have been previously smuggled.²¹³ Female Indonesian migrants travelling abroad to find employment in the domestic service industry may mobilize funds by borrowing from relatives, friends, village moneylenders or the recruitment agent, but at high rates of interest.²¹⁴