

Photo Courtesy of MAP Foundation



Migrants line up to register for a work permit. Mae Sod, Thailand, March 2006.

Overview of Migration: Thailand

1. Migration Trends and Policies for Burmese, Cambodian and Laotian migrants in Thailand, 2004-2008

Thailand's booming economy over the past decade has been largely dependent on the labour of migrant workers from neighbouring countries. The vast majority of these migrants from Burma, Cambodia and Lao PDR entered Thailand illegally and originally lived and worked without documentation. In 1996 Thailand implemented a policy to offer temporary registration to 300,000 migrants for a limited period. As the disparity between economic development and political freedom widened between Thailand and its neighbours, more migrants crossed into Thailand in search of work. The Thai authorities have renewed the registration periods each year in an attempt to regulate those migrants already in the country.¹ To understand the position of migrants in Thailand in the year 2008, it is necessary to trace back the policies to at least 2004. In addition to the annual migrant registration exercises for migrants who entered the country illegally, in 2003 Thailand signed Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) with Burma, Cambodia and Lao PDR on the regulation of migrant labour. The aim of these MOUs is to ensure that the migrant's country of origin provides travel documents to those of its national already in Thailand. The MOUs also establish a process whereby new migrants can leave their home country and can migrate to Thailand through legal channels.



© Mekong Migration Network Map by Boyet Rivera

1-1. June 2004 Policy

In June 2004, instead of requiring migrant workers to register with an employer for a one-year migrant workers' card, the policy allowed migrants and their families to register for a temporary residence identification card (Tor Ror 38/1). This card was completely independent of the employer, thus giving migrants an identity beyond that of 'alien worker'. It also allowed dependents of migrants to register. Although the temporary identification card did not confer any particular rights to the migrants, by breaking the dependency for legal status from the employers, the card gave migrants a degree of freedom to leave abusive employers, to live off-site, and to participate in mainstream Thai society. In sum, 1,284,920 migrants (921,492 from Burma, 179,887 from Lao and 183,541 from Cambodia) registered for this card. These figures included 93,000 children under 15 years of age and approximately 10,000 migrants over 60 years of age. The card was free, and, for a short period, migrants mingled with general society, openly spoke their mother tongues without fear of being checked by the police and generally relaxed. However, it was not long before crackdowns and arrests started, and the migrants had to return to the anonymity of the work-sites. The speed with which the migrants' freedom were curtailed suggests that the policy was not implemented in an attempt to integrate migrants in Thailand or to improve their rights, but rather as a measure to collect information on the number, location, gender and age of migrants in Thailand. Another possible explanation is that different forces may have been at play, with certain factions within the government aiming to improve the rights of migrants by documenting them and other factors wishing to tighten the control of migrants. In either case, the migrants who had registered for the one-year temporary identification card were then encouraged to apply for a work permit in August of the same year. This work permit was valid from August 2004 to July 2005. The total cost of the work permit was THB3,800 (USD100). Associated work permit fees are listed in the table below.

Work permit fees	
Health check up	THB600
Health insurance	THB1,300
One year work permit	THB1,800 (THB450 for three months, 900 THB for six months, and THB1,800 for one year were available)
Work permit card	THB100

Of the 1.15 million migrants of working age holding a temporary identification card, 814,000 registered for a work permit. This meant that 336,000 migrants of working age with the card did not register for a work permit. Several reasons exist to explain why these migrants did not register, the most common of which are migrants' inability to afford the registration fees or to locate an employer with whom to register, and the disillusionment of having already paid for a migrant workers' card yet being subjected to continued harassment, exploitation and corruption.

'I have a job here peeling shrimps, I am paid a maximum of 100 baht per day, seven days per week. I want to register but I don't have any money...I stay with friends, we all share one room.'

(29-year-old Mon woman from Kyaikto township, Mon State)

Entitlements and restrictions

All workers in Thailand are protected by the National Labour Laws of Thailand, but employers can always make sure that non-registered migrants are arrested and deported by the immigration authorities before they can lodge a complaint against the employer. Migrants who register for the migrant workers' card are required to pay into the thirty-baht National health scheme and are then entitled to health care in the national system. Migrants are only allowed to work for the employer named on the card, in the place and type of work designated on the card. Migrants are not allowed to travel within Thailand, regardless of their registration.

1-2. July 2005 – June 2006 Policy

In 2005 the renewal policy for migrant workers was issued. Only those migrants who had registered during 2004 were eligible to apply. All migrants of working age with a temporary ID card (Tor Ror 38/1) were required to also apply for or to extend, their migrant workers' cards. Dependents of registered migrants were allowed to retain their temporary identification status.² The policy also allowed governors of border provinces to develop appropriate policies to allow workers to cross the border for the purposes of seasonal work.

Migrant workers who had a Tor Ror 38/1 card and a work permit for the year 2004 paid THB3,800 for the annual extension. Migrants who only had a Tor Ror 38/1 and no work permit, had to pay an extra THB450 retrospectively for the last three months. (Total: THB4,250).

Number of migrants registering for work permit for the period July 2005 – June 2006	
Burmese	539,416
Laotian	90,073
Cambodian	75,804
Total	705,293

For the first time, the 2005 policy allowed migrants to change their place of employment from one province to another. The permission to move in this way was an important addition to the policy because, in reality, migrants were needed in provinces across Thailand, when they previously had no lawful way to move sources of demand for labour. The process was complicated, however, as the restrictions on freedom of movement were not lifted. Migrants were only allowed to move from one place of employment to another, having officially left the employment of one employer in one province and officially been accepted by an employer in another province. Migrants who wished to move because they had been exploited or abused needed to be granted the approval of their employer, while the associated costs remained largely prohibitive.³ In reality, brokers facilitated the process of moving, receiving payment from the new employer. This

resulted in migrants becoming further indebted to their new employers.

Around this time, the Government announced that it would design a GIS (Geographical Information System) to locate factories employing workers and track unregistered workers once the period for registration had closed.⁴ In the event, crackdowns on migrants were carried out



Photo Courtesy of MAP Foundation

Living condition of migrants. Takuapa, Thailand, 2004.

before, during and after registration periods, supposedly to block new migrants from entering the country, especially into the Bangkok area. The media reported that about 400 workers were deported daily and a total of 226,508 were deported to their country of origin.

1-3. Interim Registration Policy March 2006 – February 2007

The number of migrants that registered fell far below the number of workers required by employers. A total of 705,293 registered while the demand for labour exceeded 1.8 million. In an attempt to fill this shortfall, the Cabinet held a meeting on 20 December 2005 to make a decision on opening a new registration period in March 2006 to register a further 500,000 workers. The goal was to register 200,000 workers through a regular system being organised through the MOUs with neighbouring countries, and to register 300,000 through a new registration scheme within Thailand. This registration differed from previous registration schemes, since it required the employers to pay a deposit fee for each migrant whom they employed. The employers were required to pay a THB10,000 deposit for migrants who had previously registered or a THB50,000 deposit for migrants who had newly arrived or who had never previously registered. This seemed to be an attempt to control and to track migrants and to curb the number of migrants falling out of the system. The policy also stated that it did not have to be implemented within a human rights framework, a far cry from the open registration for temporary identification cards in June 2004 and even a backlash against their failure to keep those migrants in the system. The policy also stated that the long term policy of Thailand was to clear Bangkok of migrant workers

Photo Courtesy of Yang Chi Oo Workers Association



Migrants working in a factory mostly face long working hours and poor OHS standards. Mae Sod, 2006.

within one year, and other non-border areas within two years, effectively relegating migrants out to the border regions.

When this registration period started very few employers or migrants came forward to register. Employers complained of the high deposit fees and NGOs complained that the system encouraged debt-bondage, forced labour and corruption. (See Action Network for Migrants open letter, page 54). In response, the government agreed to temporarily waive the fee while they set up a committee to investigate the problems. After 90 days the committee recommended that the deposit fee should be permanently waived and that those who had already paid should be reimbursed.

Numbers of migrants registering: March 2006 – Feb 2007

Burmese	168,849 (renewals: 163,499; new registration 5,340)
Cambodian	29,195 (renewals: 23,240; new registration 5,955)
Laotian	22,848 (renewals: 21,653; new registration 1,195)
Total	220,892 (renewals: 208,392; new registration 12,490)

Table 1. Number of Documented Migrants in Thailand, as of January 2008

	Through regular registrations			MOU			Registered through the special scheme in deep south
	Registered in February 2007 (Period of work permit: Mar 2007-Feb 2008)	Registered in June 2007 (Period of work permit: Jul 2007-June 2008)	sub-total	Came to Thailand through recruitment agencies (per process set by MOU)	Migrants' nationality verified by the Cambodian government and Laotian government	sub-total	Registration between 15 March and 13 June 2007
Myanmar	121,448	367,834	489,282	0	0	0	8,809
Cambodia	10,322	14,469	24,791	8,173	47,982	56,155	1,305
Laos	9,519	12,140	21,659	6,374	48,000	54,374	426
			535,732	14,547	95,982	110,529	

Source: Office of Foreign Workers Administration, MAP, MMN

1-4. Regular Registration of Migrant workers July 2006 – June 2007

The caretaker Cabinet on 16 May 2006 approved a decision to allow migrants who had registered in July 2005 to extend their registration for a further year with the same employer.

Only workers who were able to prove that they had to change employers for one of the following or similar reasons could register with a new employer: that their employer had died; their employer changed or stopped his/her business; or that the employer had forced or abused the worker or didn't pay the worker or dismissed them unfairly.

Total Number of migrants re-registering for July 2006 – June 2007: 460,014 workers

The decrease in migrant workers registering during this registration period may in part be due to the lack of cooperation between government departments and NGOs. In previous regular registration periods, NGOs from the Action Network for Migrants (Thailand) had actively sought to translate the policies into the languages of the migrants and to disseminate information on the registration via brochures, radio broadcasts, outreach programs and providing interpreters at the Department of Employment. However, disillusionment with the policies, especially regarding the interim policy's total disregard for human rights and with the general lack

Table 2. Other migrants who have legal status under Article 7 and 10 of Ailen Employment Act 1978 and those who have permanent residency

Permanent residency	14,423
Work permit under article 7	85,398
Work permit under article 10	24,403
Total	124,224

Source: Office of Foreign Workers Administration, as of February 2008

**February 15th 2005
OPEN LETTER OF CONCERN**

Regarding

THE THAI CABINET RESOLUTION OF 20 DECEMBER 2005

ON

**“SYSTEM OF MANAGING BURMESE, LAOTIAN AND CAMBODIAN MIGRANTS
WHO ENTERED THE COUNTRY ILLEGALLY”**

The Action Network for Migrants (Thailand) is deeply concerned that the Cabinet Resolution of 20 December 2005 violates the basic rights of migrant workers and will have an adverse effect on migrants security, local communities and the economic stability of Thailand and the region.

We are particularly worried that the system of requiring a deposit fee for the employment of migrant workers is contrary to the principle of decent work.

Previous registration policies have charged a fee of 3,800 baht for registration, health insurance and the work permit. Most employers have in the past deducted the registration fee from the daily wages of the migrants, confiscating their work permits as ‘insurance’ against the workers leaving or changing their work place for better conditions before the fee is re-paid.

An additional deposit of 10,000 baht or 50,000 baht is highly likely to increase this debt-bondage of migrants to the employers and increase migrants’ vulnerability to situations of forced labour and severe forms of exploitation. Migrant workers will be under unreasonable pressure to work excessive hours to re-pay the employer. They will not be able to choose to leave their work or negotiate their working conditions, however exploitative or abusive they may be. This in turn will seriously impact on the physical and mental health of migrant workers.

Certain employers associations have already publicly expressed disagreement with this policy. Therefore we are concerned that employers will refuse to participate, thereby creating an

of enforcement of labour laws, together with a worsening political situation that distanced the government from the NGOs, led to the registration’s implementation without any assistance or promotion by the NGOs. Other factors for the decrease in the number of migrants registering were likely to be the same as previously mentioned for other registration periods.

‘I’m a daily worker here – I earn 70 to 80 baht per day... I don’t work every day. I do household jobs, cleaning; cutting firewood, gardening... I don’t know much about registration in Thailand. I would like to register; it would be safer for me. Yesterday I was walking through the jungle and I saw the police - they pointed a gun at me but I ran away.’

(A young Karen man)

Once again, no sooner had the registration period finished the crackdowns on migrants began. On 7 September the *Nation* newspaper reported that 13,487 migrant workers were arrested for entering the country illegally and 7,354 of them were being prosecuted. In October, the police

environment where brokers will play a greater role with increased power and influence and will in effect control the systems of employment. This will increase underground employment systems, corruption, and trafficking.

Clearly in denying a human rights framework to one set of people, Clause 17 of the policy is against the principle of non-discrimination in the Constitution of Thailand and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The policy's proposed industrial zones and contract farming in border areas will likely negatively impact on the livelihoods and resources of local people on both sides of the border. Any such policy or program should be formulated in consultation with civil society and especially those affected. Since political situations currently exist which do not allow for civil society's participation, the Thai government should refrain from implementing such policies.

The Action Network supports systems for protection of the rights of migrant workers but we believe the problems faced in regulating migration stem from the policies of the respective countries not from the migrant workers who were not consulted. In respect of this, any policy in Thailand should take into account the political situation in the countries of origin. The 2004 policy of Thailand which allowed for migrants to register for the temporary residence was an example of an appropriate and realistic response to the current situation of migration in the Mekong region.

For the reasons outlined above, The Action Network for Migrants (Thailand) is deeply disappointed by the Cabinet Resolution on the management of irregular migrants and we call for its immediate withdrawal. We urge the government to design and implement any consequent policy on migration within a human rights framework and in respect of the principle of non-discrimination.

We call on the Royal Thai Government to formulate further policies on migration in consultation with all stakeholders. However, taking into account the restriction of freedom of movement of migrants, we call on the Royal Thai Government to organise mobile consultations throughout Thailand in the month of March, with migrant workers, migrant support organisations, health and employment officials and employers.

The Action Network for Migrants is a national network of community organisations, and NGOs working with migrants from Burma, Cambodia and Lao to protect the rights of migrant workers and their families.

arrested over a 1,000 Shan migrant workers from Burma while they were celebrating the end of lent at temples in Chiang Mai.⁵

1-5. Registration of Employers of Migrant Workers

In addition to migrant workers having to register for temporary ID cards and temporary migrant workers' cards, employers who wished to employ migrant workers also had to register the number of migrant workers they needed to fill the labour shortages.

In June 2005, 240,297 employers registered, requesting 1,881,520 migrant workers. The Department of Employment approved a quota of 1,773,349. The number of workers needed by employers can be taken as a reasonable estimate of the total number of migrants of working age (registered and unregistered) in Thailand. In June 2006, employers asked to extend their quotas to 1,333,703 migrants (Burmese 1,051,577, Lao PDR 154,787 and Cambodian 127,339). In the end the Department of Employment approved 1,226,106.

Table 3. Migrant Workers Who Came to Thailand Under the Process

Province	Total Employers	Total Migrant	Number of Migrant Workers who came under the with Memorandum of Understanding											
			Lao PDR				Cambodia				Burma			
			employers	total	male	female	employers	total	male	female	employers	total	male	female
Kingdom of Thailand (Total)	720	14,547	455	6,374	3,937	2,437	265	8,173	5,926	2,247	0	0	0	0
Greater BKK	151	1,913	80	702	508	194	71	1,213	710	501	0	0	0	0
Central	130	3,533	78	2,190	1,343	847	52	1,343	967	376	0	0	0	0
Northern	8	13	8	13	6	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Eastern	56	1,119	40	888	499	389	16	231	151	80	0	0	0	0
Southern	110	5,065	46	1,833	1,137	696	64	3,232	2,176	1,056	0	0	0	0
Bangkok	265	2,904	203	748	444	304	62	2,156	1,922	234	0	0	0	0
Greater BKK	151	1,913	80	702	508	194	71	1,213	710	501	0	0	0	0
Samutprakan	41	431	18	125	113	12	23	306	230	76	0	0	0	0
Nonthaburi	27	288	15	75	46	29	12	213	161	52	0	0	0	0
Prathumthani	22	252	13	130	97	33	9	122	70	52	0	0	0	0
Nakornpathom	25	202	19	123	73	50	6	79	50	29	0	0	0	0
Samutsakorn	36	740	15	249	179	70	21	491	199	292	0	0	0	0
Central Thailand	130	3,533	78	2,190	1,343	847	52	1,343	967	376	0	0	0	0
Ayutthaya	17	435	7	150	69	81	10	285	96	189	0	0	0	0
Angthong	2	7	2	7	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lopburi	2	65	2	65	41	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Singhburi	1	21	1	21	9	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chainat	2	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saraburi	19	794	18	791	444	347	1	3	2	1	0	0	0	0
Chonburi	18	542	9	159	133	26	9	383	265	118	0	0	0	0
Rayong	12	265	1	8	8	0	11	257	240	17	0	0	0	0
Chamburi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trad	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chachoengsao	20	328	6	78	54	24	14	250	232	18	0	0	0	0
Prachinburi	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Nakornnayok	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sakaeo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ratchaburi	15	174	13	135	54	81	2	39	39	0	0	0	0	0
Kanchanaburi	2	331	2	331	238	93	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Suphanburi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Samutsongkram	2	12	2	12	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Petchaburi	1	71	0	0	0	0	1	71	38	33	0	0	0	0
Prachuabkirkhan	16	484	13	431	275	156	3	53	53	0	0	0	0	0
Northern	8	13	8	13	6	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chiangmai	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lamphun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lampang	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Utaradit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Phare	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Phayao	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chiangrai	3	5	3	5	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Office of Foreign Workers Administration

Table 4: Number of Thai migrants who legally left the country between 1998 - 2007 (top 10 countries)

No.	Destination Countries	Year 1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005*	2006	2007**
1	Taiwan	66,732	101,814	110,753	94,126	79,589	75,849	69,982	18,665	62,068	4,579
2	Singapore	4,817	18,181	21,273	20,411	15,354	12,480	11,338	5,708	15,115	1,398
3	Israel	8,071	12,765	8,764	12,163	12,952	6,327	10,611	2,780	9,312	331
4	Brunei	5,297	6,086	8,607	8,607	7,155	6,118	5,680	2,493	5,141	369
5	Malaysia	772	1,723	1,579	2,197	14,619	7,479	5,853	3,020	3,418	222
6	Japan	876	5,033	5,207	5,246	4,701	5,037	5,857	2,681	7,218	892
7	South Korea	780	1,154	2,089	1,180	2,428	8,631	10,647	4,227	16,456	1,142
8	Hong Kong	1,247	2,702	5,121	5,488	4,962	4,143	4,126	1,642	3,760	315
9	USA	221	956	1,520	1,897	1,955	2,331	2,743	1,012	2,799	276
10	UAE	542	1,310	1,902	1,743	2,171	1,835	1,842	834	3,624	353

*as of March 2005 **as of January 2007

Source : Office of Overseas Employment Administration, Department of Employment, March 2007.

1-6. 2nd Year of Interim Registration Policy March 2007 – February 2008

According to the Cabinet Resolution of 19 December 2006, migrants who had registered in the interim registration policy could now renew their work permits for a further year.

Number of Migrants Registering March 2007 – February 2008

COUNTRY	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Burma	64,549 workers	56,899 workers	121,448 workers
Lao PDR	4,280 workers	5,239 workers	9,519 workers
Cambodia	6,329 workers	3,993 workers	10,322 workers
Total of migrant workers 141,289 workers			

1-7. Regular Registration of Migrant Workers: July 2007 – 30 June 2008

Migrant workers who had previously registered for work permits could extend the work permits for a further year.

Number of Migrants Registering July 2007 – 30 June 2008

COUNTRY	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Burma	199,023 workers	168,811 workers	367,834 workers
Lao PDR	5,895 workers	6,245 workers	12,140 workers
Cambodia	9,118 workers	5,351 workers	14,469 workers
Total of migrant workers 394,443 workers			

1-8. Registration Policy 2008

On 19 December 2007, the Office of Administration of Irregular Workers announced the policy for the renewal of work permits. The Ministry of Labour noted that following surveys in all provinces, employers needed 1.2 million ‘unskilled’ workers for 2008, yet as of 2007, only 546,272 migrant workers had registered, rendering impossible the effort to locate Thai workers to fill these positions. A further 600,000 workers were needed, and, although the MOU process was on-going, not enough workers from Cambodia and Lao PDR had been provided with travel documents and work permits. In order to fill the labour shortage, therefore, the Ministry of Labour recommended that, first, migrants with temporary identification cards (Tor Ror 38/1) who had lost their legal status through not registering for work permits should now be allowed to return lawfully and to register for work permits; and, second, migrants with work permits be allowed to renew their work permits. Unlike other policies, this policy guarantees migrants and employers who register for a two-year work period, although they will initially register for one year then renew for a second year. All periods of work, regardless of the date of registration, will expire on 28 February 2010. The Ministry of Labour has also called for the authorities to strictly enforce the immigration laws to deport any new arrivals before, during and immediately after registration periods in order to protect society and national security. In addition, authorities were requested to initiate legal proceedings against brokers, employers who did not follow the regulations, and those who sheltered illegal migrants.⁶

Number of Migrants Registering February 2008-28 February 2010	
Burmese	126,265 migrant workers
Lao PDR	4,953 migrant workers
Cambodian	3,786 migrant workers
Total registered and applied for work-permit	135,004 migrant workers

A further registration period for migrants renewing their work permits in the on-going June registrations is to be opened in June 2008.

In addition, the 10,540 migrants who had registered to work in the Deep South of Thailand (districts in Yala, Pattani, Naratiwet, Satun and Songkla) in June 2007 could re-register for a further two years.

2. The Regularisation of Migrant Workers Following the MOUs

As discussed above, in 2003 and 2004 the Thai government signed MOUs with Lao PDR, Cambodia and Burma/Myanmar regarding the regularisation of migrant labour in Thailand. (See appendix, page 183.) For the MOU’s to be implemented, the country of origin first needed to verify the nationality of migrants in Thailand and issue them with some form of identification or travel document.

Rules and Regulations for Laotians Working Abroad (Lao PDR Decree)

Criteria, Rights and Duties of Lao Workers to work abroad

Lao workers who will go to work abroad must have the following criteria:

- Lao nationality
- Age 18 years old and above
- Complete primary education and higher
- Good health
- Good standing as a citizen

Fees and service fees for recruitment/employment of workers to work abroad

Fees for recruitment/employment of workers to work abroad should be obliged by the rules and law. Prohibit the government organizations in collecting fees and other costs that are not set in the rules and law. For the service fees for recruitment/employment of workers to work abroad must be under the management of the MOLW.

Lao workers abroad have the following rights:

- receive wages and other bonuses as stated in employment contract
- receive protections of personal benefits according to the contract and law
- sign contract with the recruitment agency sending workers abroad

Lao workers abroad have the following duties:

- strictly obey the working rules and regulations of the receiving country
- obey the employment contract that one has signed
- respect the rules, law and traditions of the Lao PDR and the receiving country
- pay income tax to the government in accordance with regulation

2-1. LAO PDR

2-1-1. Verified in Thailand

The Laotian authorities started the process of verifying the nationality of Laotian migrants in Thailand in 2005. Between January and October 2005, the Laotian authorities interviewed 33,937 migrants in Thailand and approved 33,908, refused 28 and put one on a waiting list.

No information is available regarding the reasons why 28 migrants who presented themselves to the Laotian authorities as Laotian but were refused nationality, but at seminars on the process in Thailand, Laotian authorities have said that if applicants speak Laotian with a Thai accent or have lived in Thailand for a long time and have thus taken on Thai customs, the authorities expect Thailand to accept them as its citizens, not as Laotians, as the former are unable to verify Laotian citizenship.

Since this process was progressing very slowly, the Laotian authorities started a dual process, also setting up a process of regularising Laotians in Lao PDR to go to Thailand as migrant workers.

Criteria, Rights and Duties of the Recruitment Agencies Sending Workers Abroad

The recruitment/employment agency sending workers abroad should have the following criteria:

- must be an authorized recruitment agency for sending workers abroad;
- must be a reliable company, possess liability endowment (warranty) in sending workers abroad;
- an organized company with competent and knowledgeable staff

The recruitment/employment agency sending workers abroad have the following rights:

- seek for the labour market abroad and sign contract with companies abroad;
- deploy the workers abroad as stated in the contract;
- receive service fee as stated in Article 12 of this decree;
- protect the benefit of the company as stated by the law.

The recruitment/employment agency sending workers abroad have the following duties:

- manage the Lao workers that have been sent by the company in accordance to the contract;
- respect the tradition, laws and regulation of the country and country where the Lao workers have been sent to work;
- provide the information to the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (MOLSW);
- responsible for the benefit of the Lao workers that have been sent to work abroad;
- organize training for the Lao workers prior departure as supervised by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare;
- pay income tax as stated by the law.

The recruitment/employment agency sending workers abroad who will send Lao workers abroad must file the following documents:

- Request letter for permission to send workers abroad send to the MOLSW;
- Business license for sending workers abroad;
- Employment contract between the Lao workers and the recruitment/employment agency sending workers abroad;
- Contract to supply the workers between the recruitment/employment agency sending workers abroad and the companies that will recruit the Lao workers in the receiving countries.

According to an article posted on the Thai Ministry of Labour's website, by July 2006, 43,788 Laotian migrant workers in Thailand had had their identity verified, while Thailand still needed to recruit a further 27,621 Laotian workers. Only 778 workers had been sent from Lao PDR to work in Thailand.⁷

2-1-2. Process of Regularisation in Lao PDR

The government of Lao PDR issued a decree regarding the rules and regulations of sending Laotian workers abroad. (see page 60). The decree specifies that applicants to work abroad must have at least a primary school education.

The recruitment agencies in Lao PDR enter into a contract (Agreement for the Supply of Workers) with an employer (factory, business etc) in Thailand. The quota for the number of workers is then approved by the Ministry of Labour in Thailand.

Nine private Labour recruitment companies, approved by the government, have been set up in Lao PDR to recruit the workers and have so far sent 25 groups of workers to Thailand. Laotian

migrants began working under the MOU agreement in Thailand in June 2005. The first batch of workers, 216 Laotians have already returned to Lao PDR having completed their contract.

2-1-3. Cost of Regular Migration for Laotian Migrant Workers to Thailand

According to the Lao PDR decree on procedures for workers going abroad, the service fees for recruitment of workers must fall under the management of the Ministry of Labour and Welfare (MOLSW). However, currently the agency fees are not regulated by the MOLSW.

Costs in Lao PDR		Costs in Thailand	
Passport and authorisation:	THB790 (valid for three years)	Health check up:	THB600
Health check-up:	THB450	Social security card:	THB4,473
Visa to Thailand:	THB2,000 from Thai embassy (valid for one year only)	Work permit:	THB3,800
Work permit in foreign country:	THB37 (LKP10,000)	Total in Thailand:	THB8,873
Training (for pre-departure):	uncertain amount; paid by migrant	Combined costs:	
Travel:	amount varies upon region of employment; paid by migrant		
Others:	not specified	Minimum THB12,150	
Minimum Total in Lao PDR:	THB3,277		

Laotian migrants, then, undergo two health check ups: the first in Lao PDR and one in Thailand. The health check up in Lao PDR includes an HIV test, and it is understood that people testing positive are not allowed to migrate. The information from the health check is to be used to check what diseases migrants are contracting during their time in Thailand.

Ordinarily in Thailand, employers, workers and the government contribute to the social security scheme monthly. Whether migrant workers from Lao PDR are expected to pay this fee monthly or whether it will be demanded as a lump sum is uncertain, though the latter case would beg to know whether the employer and the government were also making their respective contributions to the scheme.

It appears that recruitment agencies may practice different methods of employment and implement different fees in order to be competitive in the labour market. As a result it is not clear where the responsibility will lie in cases of exploitation or abuse.

The decree does not set out clearly the amount of deposit that the employment agency should have, this liability endowment may be said to determine the commitment of the employment agency in protecting the benefits and well being of Laotian migrant workers abroad, since the endowment could be used for unforeseen emergencies of migrant Laotian workers.

Currently, there is no organisation or labour attaché at the Lao PDR embassy that is responsible for the protection, benefit and well being of Laotian migrant workers. And if there were, the various responsibilities of the different stakeholders have not yet been clearly stated (recruitment agency, Laotian embassy, Laotian MOSWL, employer in Thailand, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Interior in Thailand).

Photo Courtesy of MAP Foundation



Migrants and migrant rights advocates join in the May Day rally. Bangkok, Thailand, May 2006.

According to current information, the recruitment agencies are discussing starting pre-departure programs, but it is not yet clear who will bear the costs of these trainings. On 4 August 2006, the Thai Minister of Foreign Affairs donated THB2 million to the Vice President of the Lao Women's Union to build the Vocational Training Centre in Vientiane for Laotian women who wish to work in Thailand. The Vocational Training Centre is to be set up to enhance the capacity and develop working skills of prospective Laotian women migrants.

On 4 August 2006, the Thai Minister of Foreign Affairs told a press conference that Thailand and Lao PDR have successfully legalised 50 percent of all the Laotian labourers in Thailand.

2-2. Cambodia

Cambodia, like Lao PDR, has two registration processes relating to the regularisation of migrant workers to Thailand.

2-2-1. Verified in Thailand

Cambodia has begun the process of interviewing migrants in Thailand to verify their nationality. Between March and April 2005, Cambodia interviewed 75 persons, approved 72 and rejected three applicants. The process was then put on hold until November.

Between 14 November 2005 – 30 June 2006, the Cambodian Multi-Ministerial Task Force in Thailand verified the nationality and issued Certificates of Identity (CI) to 37,142 migrants and a further 2,508 (708 female) Cambodian documented migrants have been sent to work in Thailand.⁸

The Ranong Incident

On 10 April 2008, 54 of the 120 Burmese migrants travelling in the back of an airtight cold-storage truck from Ranong to Phuket suffocated to death when the air conditioning failed. The migrants screamed and banged on the inside of the truck in desperation, but by the time the doors to the back of the vehicle were eventually opened, it was too late. Of the 54 Burmese migrants that suffocated to death—37 were women and 17 men. The driver and his accomplice on discovering their cargo of dead bodies fled the scene, although both were later apprehended by the police. The 66 migrants who survived this tragic journey were all taken into police custody, while arrangements for their deportation were made. Twenty-one of the survivors required urgent medical attention while the rest were detained by the police for questioning.

The migrants' transportation in the truck belonging to Rungrueangsab Co.Ltd. was arranged by 'agents' on either side of the Thai-Burmese border. According to survivors, most of the migrants knew that they were heading to Phuket and many had already paid for their journey. The human cargo that replaced the designated shipment of refrigerated shrimp paid a total of more than THB600,000 (around USD17,650) for their fateful ride. Some migrants, on the other hand, agreed to have their fees deducted from their future earnings. The container truck driver confessed to receiving THB80,000 (around USD2,350) for the four-hour drive to Phuket.

Following this incident, a number of organisations expressed their sorrow and anger at the deaths as well as the manner in which the Thai authorities handled the aftermath. They have urged the Thai authorities to allow the families and relatives of the 54 victims to remain in Thailand and receive appropriate shelter, medical and psychosocial treatment as well as compensation in accordance with the law. The Kingdom ultimately decided to deport most of the survivors back to Burma. Fifty of the survivors were convicted of illegal entry and fined THB2,000 (USD59), while the remainder who were not charged were either minors or too ill to stand trial. The Thai police has treated the incident as a case of smuggling and illegal entry, rather than an incident of human trafficking. The Thai police and others have argued that the Ranong tragedy was not a case of organised human trafficking, as the migrants had not been lured into the country under false pretences, but came voluntarily. According to the police, human trafficking must involve smuggling of people with the specific purpose of employing them in slave-like conditions and occupations, such as forced prostitution.

The CI is valid for two years and issued by the Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training. It is understood that work permit visas will be issued for two years.

The Certificate declares:

This is to certify that the bearer is of Cambodian nationality.

This CI is only for Cambodian who is working in the Kingdom of Thailand.

The worker pays THB500 for the CI and the employer is required to pay THB1,000 to the Cambodian Task Force.

According to the TOR of the Cambodian Multi-Ministerial Task Force for the Verification of Migrant Workers, its duties include:

- a. Cooperation with the Cambodian Embassy in Thailand, e.g. documentation, issuing CI to migrants, requesting the relevant Cambodian authorities to search for migrants not yet identified;

In the aftermath of the incident, the Thai police kept the survivors in immigration detention in Ranong, separating those who were minors from the adults. Since most of the migrants could not afford to pay the fine imposed upon them for illegal entry, they were imprisoned for 10 days before being transferred to an immigration detention centre. During this time they had limited access to lawyers and non-governmental assistance.

In May 2008, the Thai and Burmese authorities signed an agreement outlining arrangements for the deportation of all but 10 of the survivors who were due to give evidence in court. They also signed an agreement to investigate the incident and punish those responsible for the tragedy.

On 13 May 2008, the Liberty Insurance Co. Ltd. agreed to pay THB100,000 (about USD3,100) as compensation to the relatives of the 54 migrants who died of suffocation and THB50,000 (about THB1,550) to the injured migrants. However, according to MAP Foundation who have worked on securing compensation for relatives of migrants who are the victims of road traffic incidents, relatives of the migrant victims will need either official documents or costly DNA tests that positively link them to the deceased in order for them to receive any compensation. As no proper autopsy was ever carried out by Thai authorities, it is unclear how it can be ensured that the Burmese authorities issue the necessary official documents to the authentic relatives of the deceased.

On 19 May 2008 the first 56 survivors were deported to Burma. On 21 and 23 May 2008, 10 migrant survivors including four children gave evidence in court as six Thai nationals stood trial charged with causing death by negligence.

On 9 June 2008 the 10 survivors who stayed on to give evidence in court were deported back to Burma.

Despite the efforts of civil society groups such as Action Network for Migrants (ANM) and Mekong Migration Network (MMN) who have repeatedly called for the facilitation of safe migration channels, it is feared that the legacy of the Ranong incident, will be a tightening of ever stricter immigration control. In an effort to stem the flow of illegal Burmese migrants into Thailand, Thai officials have proposed reducing the amount of time visitors from Burma can spend in Thailand from one week to a single day. Such policies only serve to deepen the dependency of migrants on 'agents' and smugglers who exploit migrant's lack of any legal status as well as the absence of any coherent migration policy.

Source: www.mekongmigration.org

- b. To move from province to province in Thailand interviewing migrants, comparing and checking documents, verifying or rejecting nationality and requesting the certification, entering data into a database; and
- c. Making daily and monthly reports to the Cambodian embassy in Thailand.

2-2-2. Process of Regularisation in Cambodia

There is as yet no final agreement on the costs associated with migrating legally in to Thailand, but the following information reflects the current debates and suggestions.

The Cambodian Ministry of Labour have recommended that migrants going to Thailand will have to pay THB23,300 over two years. Understanding that migrants will not have this lump sum, it recommends that the amount is deducted from the monthly wages at THB2,000 a month. The government approved these cost on 12 September 2006.

Labour-recruitment companies organising the migration of Cambodian workers to Thailand have begun to open. A prospective recruitment company must deposit USD100,000 with the

Provincial Decrees in Southern Thailand

Overview

Migrant workers help sustain the country's national industries, contribute to economic growth, and recently helped rebuild vast areas in the South devastated by the tsunami of 26 December 2004. Nevertheless, under Thai law migrants are offered only minimal legal protection and have a limited access to recourse in case of right violation. Rather than seeking to redress this serious social inequity, the provincial governments in five provinces in southern Thailand have recently issued decrees that further strip migrant workers of their fundamental rights.

The first such decree, issued by the provincial government of Phuket in December 2006, restricts migrant workers' freedom of movement and ability to communicate by imposing an 8:00 p.m. curfew, prohibiting migrants from owning, or even using, mobile phones and motorbikes, and banning the public assembly of groups larger than five people.

Employers are furthermore held responsible for (and therefore put in a position of control over) the movements and actions of the workers under their employ. The provinces of Ranong, Surathani, Rayong and Phang Nga soon implemented similar laws.

It bears repeating that these decrees are applicable to migrant workers who possess valid work permits issued by the government. In other words, the Thai government allows migrants to work in Thailand but denies their fundamental human rights.

Consequences

The many dire consequences of these decrees are being documented by various organisations in the affected areas. At the time of the announcement of the decrees, the Action Network for Migrants (Thailand) predicted that the decrees would '...adversely affect migrant's ability to access healthcare and to practice health.'

Indeed, there have been several instances of reduced access to healthcare for undocumented workers too afraid of arrest to seek medical attention, as well as documented workers whose employers may choose to withhold from them the permission to travel in order to obtain the necessary healthcare.

The decrees have also necessarily impeded the migrants' access to education, particularly non-formal education.

Workers report increased police extortion (particularly of undocumented workers), confiscation of mobile phones and motor bikes, and perhaps most disturbingly, increased participation by regular Thai citizens in the arrests and confiscations.

The decrees' representation of these minority groups as a threat to national security has been leading the Thai society into that with the more nationalistic attitudes and xenophobic hatred directed at migrant workers.

It should be emphasised that the decrees specifically target migrant workers from Burma, Lao PDR and Cambodia, and are therefore blatantly discriminatory, representing a flagrant breach of Thailand's commitments under the International Convention on the Elimination of All



Forms of Racial Discrimination, which it joined in 2003.

These decrees effectively place workers at the mercy of their employers by forbidding workers from leaving their place of employment and making contact with others outside of their place of employment. The resulting working conditions are akin to forced labour, and as such represent a violation of the ILO Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, to which Thailand is also signatory.

Despite the series of action taken by the migrant rights advocacy in Thailand, these provincial decrees remain effective at the time of writing this report.

For more information about the provincial decrees, please see Mekong Migration Network's homepage (www.mekongmigration.org).

Ministry of Labour in Cambodia in order to get registration.

Fifteen such companies had registered by April 2006. Currently there are only six of these companies active in the process of negotiations with the government. One company, Top Man Power, has negotiated permission to charge each migrant THB700 more than the set fee. (i.e. charging THB24,000 instead of THB23,300)

Companies have complained that the figure is too high, since migrants are not paying the fee up front but paying monthly from their salaries. They say they are concerned that the migrants may not go as planned or may stop working during the contract. In order to protect their investments, the companies are asking for permission to charge the migrants a USD100 deposit fee in advance, which they say they will pay back to the migrant in the 11th or 12th month. This is not part of government policy. Migrants also say that individuals within the recruitment agencies are taking a further USD20 commission. This is neither government nor company policy.

On 1 September 2005, Dr Kantathi Suphamongkhon, Thai Minister of Foreign Affairs gave a live telephone interview with the press in Thailand after his courtesy call on Senior General Than Shwe, Chairman of the SPDC and his talks with U Nyan Win, Foreign Minister of Myanmar. On the question of migrant workers, according to the Foreign Minister of Myanmar, the delegation showed a readiness to exchange views, but he also explained the difficulties involved in obtaining information on the exact identity of each worker. Thailand, therefore, proposed a dual-track system whereby the Myanmar authorities would send officials to work at the Myanmar embassy in Bangkok to verify the identity of Burmese workers in the central part of Thailand and also to send officials to be stationed at border checkpoints to perform verification of the identity of Burmese workers in regional areas in Thailand.

Thailand also proposed a Working Group to be set up, consisting of officials from both sides to discuss the appropriate modalities.

There was no implementation of these proposals and then on 17 August 2006, the Federation of Thai Industry, Tak suggested creating a 'one-stop' department to handle all issues relating to migrant workers: registering migrants, conducting medical check-ups, offering job training, and acting as an employment recruitment agency and providing lodging.

A few days later, the Thai Labour Minister Somsak Thepsutin and Burmese Deputy Foreign Minister Maung Myint agreed to set up a temporary visa centre in Mae Sot, Thailand within six months to issue visas to 10,000 Burmese workers. The centres would also issue visas within a day to migrants already working in Thailand. While Thailand wanted to oversee the process of verification, Burma wanted to be in charge of it.

The following month, on 5 September 2006, according to minutes from the Caretaker Cabinet, Burma requested that Thailand send the names of Burmese workers in English or Burmese for verification to the Burmese embassy. Workers would then be called to three centres in Burma (Tachilek, Kawthaung or Myawaddy) to be verified as Burmese. If all documentation were in order, they would be issued temporary passports within 24 hours. Burma also requested Thailand to send the names of employers to Burma by the end of September, so they could begin recruiting workers by the end of October. The Burmese said the centres could also be used as recruitment

Total number of regularised Cambodian migrants, October 2006

Verified in Thailand:	37,214
In Cambodia	0
Total	37,214

centres for employers.

The Burmese authorities then advertised for 10,000 workers for Thailand in local newspapers in Burma and there sprung up a number of new labour recruitment agencies inside Burma.

During September and October, migrant workers in Thailand were asked to fill in a form with their details in English and Burmese so that this process could begin. It is understood that the majority of migrants from Burma did not dare to do this, as they were afraid it might cause repercussions for their families in Burma. This fear has been fuelled by news from migrants' families inside Burma, that the authorities are going house to house in Burma taking details of missing persons and requiring families to hang a photograph outside their house of all family members so they can check who has migrated. Migrants believe that the Burmese authorities will then start to collect taxes from families who have migrants in Thailand or other countries.

According to the *Nation* Newspaper on 7 September 2006, then-caretaker Labour Minister Somsak said that most of the verified Burmese migrant workers would work on fishing trawlers and at seafood-processing factories. Thai employers in need of legal Burmese labourers could register as of 1 September. Registration was free, but to speed up the process, employers could pay THB3,800 for the workers passports and mandatory medical check-ups. The Burmese authorities had requested Thai immigration to reduce the visa fee to THB2,000.

While a few of these temporary passports were issued to migrants from Burma within a few hours of their application, three months later, the migrants were asked to return to the centres to be fully questioned in order to have the temporary passport replaced by a permanent passport (3 years). It is understood that no migrants dared to return for this procedure.

As of writing, no Burmese migrants have been through the identification process or been issued the necessary travel documents.

3. Other Migration Patterns in Thailand

3-1. Refugees from Burma

Camp based

Around 140,000 refugees have been housed in camps on the Thai-Burma border for the last 20 years. Camp-based refugees are not permitted to work or farm the land, nor can their children access education outside the camps. In recent years, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) registered the refugees in the camps. Only registered refugees can access shelter and food. Nevertheless, following offensives by the Burmese troops in ethnic areas, people continue to have to flee to Thailand and share the meager resources with the refugees already inside the camp. Registered refugees can apply for resettlement through the UNHCR. During 2005 and 2006 around 3,000 refugees were resettled to third countries, mainly to America, but also Scandinavian countries, Canada and the UK. Refugee-protection in Thailand is in crisis after the government pressured the office of the UNHCR to stop conducting refugee status determinations in May 2007.

Shan camps along the border

Since 1996, forced relocations in the Shan state have forced people to flee to Thailand for safety. However, Thailand does not recognise the Shan as refugees or provide shelter or humanitarian assistance. In the March 2005 dry season offensives, the Burmese army burnt down entire villages

in the Shan state, forcing 2,000 civilians to seek refuge in camps in Loi Taleng, across the border from Thailand's Mae Hong Son province. On a daily basis, 200 – 500 Shan villagers fled to Thailand via Fang and Chiang Dao districts of Chiang Mai province, where without any assistance they could only live in hiding, working illegally and at constant risk of arrest and deportation.⁹ Again in mid-2007, according to the Thai Burmese Border Consortium (TBBC), more than 500 villagers from areas along the Mekong River in Eastern Shan State were forced to flee their homes due to abuses by the Burmese army. The families moved to Loi Kaw Wan IDP settlements bordering Chiang Rai province of Thailand, already home to more than 3,000 displaced persons. According to TBBC, there are four other IDP sites along the border with Thailand housing Shan refugees.

3-2. Hmong Camps

In late 2004, an estimated 4,000 – 5,000 ethnic Hmong fled from Lao PDR across the Mekong River to Petchabun in search of safety from the persecution they alleged by the Lao PDR government. At first, they lived in the forest and worked on local farms. In June 2005, the local Thai authorities put pressure on the local villagers to stop assisting the refugees and a make shift camp was set up at Huai Nam Khao.

Earlier that year, Thai authorities had closed down a community of Hmong who had lived in Thailand for several decades and stayed at the Wat Tham Krabok temple in Saraburi. While the United States agreed to resettle the refugees, many of them were not accepted or did not want to be resettled. They were then moved to join the other refugees in the Huai Nam Khao camp, which grew to around 8,000 residents.

In 2005 the UN Human Rights Committee, the expert body that monitors state compliance with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, expressed concern about the Thai government's plans to deport Hmong refugees and asylum seekers to Lao PDR, where they feared persecution. Since December 2005, more than 370 Hmong have been forcibly returned to Lao PDR. Thailand also attempted to forcibly return 149 UNHCR recognised Hmong refugees, including 86 children, but when this was not successful, they held them in the Immigration Detention Centre at Nong Kai.

Following a September 2007 meeting, the Thai and Lao PDR governments reaffirmed their commitment to repatriate the 8,000 Hmong in the Petchabun camp by the end of 2008.

3-3. Rohingya

In the past few years, more than 2,000 Rohingyas from Bangladesh and Burma have attempted to make their way to Malaysia by boat but have been forced to land in Southern Thailand. On 10 March 2006, a group of 67 Rohingya refugees and migrants who were arrested in Phang Nga of Thailand were sent to Mae Sot in Tak province and then forced back to Thailand. In early 2008, reports of Rohingyas dying at sea reached Thailand and those who managed to survive and reach Thai shores were arrested. In April, the Thai Prime Minister Samak Sundaravej announced that he would detain them on a deserted island to deter new arrivals.

4. Summary

4-1. Labour Migration Policies

Migration policies in Thailand have mainly been formulated in response to the needs of the Thai economy while trying to accommodate the irregular migration flows from neighbouring countries. While the 2004 policy was by far the most successful in regulating the status of migrants already in the country, there has been a reluctance to repeat this policy, resulting in a fairly major decrease in the number of migrants with a regular status. The bondage of migrants to an employer appears to be a major deterrent to successful registrations. Apart from the difficulties mentioned in this chapter for migrants themselves to re-register, many employers continue to prefer to use irregular workers who cannot demand proper wages or working conditions, and even if they do, can be immediately deported. While the policies have focused on the implementation of the immigration law, both for the registration of migrants and for the arrest and deportation of irregular migrants, there has been little focus on the implementation of labour protection laws, occupational health and safety standards and rights of workers to organise.

4-2. Refugee Policies

Thailand has not ratified the Refugee Convention. Refugees seeking asylum in Thailand from other GMS countries are rarely allowed to enter a screening process to determine their refugee status and therefore have to live in hiding and find work on the labour market under the constant threat of deportation to a country they have fled from for fear of persecution. While policies dealing with labour migration have introduced some flexibility and made some attempt to respond to the situation on the ground, refugee policies appear to have no flexibility and are enacted with little humanitarian protection.

Endnotes

¹ The 1996 registration exercise allowed migrants to register for a period of two years. However each subsequent registration policy since 1998 has been for a one-year period, partly in response to the Asian economic crisis hitting in the middle of the first two year policy. The current policy for 2008, covers a two year period.

² As per the May 10th 2005 Cabinet resolution.

³ In order to move, the original employer had to return the work permit to the Labour Department in that province, and a registered employer of migrant workers had to inform the Labour departments in both the province of origin and province of destination. The migrant worker then had to repay the fees for a work permit for the new province.

⁴ See <<http://www.csr-asia.com/index.php?id=3528>>.

⁵ Reports from eye-witnesses.

⁶ Office of Administration of Irregular Workers, Ref 0307/8134, 19 December 2007.

⁷ “Lao, Thai officials resolve illegal migrant issue”, Thai News Agency. Last accessed at: <http://eng.mol.go.th/related_jul0506_2.html>.

⁸ Regional Informal Workshop on “Labor Migration in Southeast Asia: What Roles of Parliaments?” by H.E. Ms. Ho Naun, Chairperson of the Commission on Health Care, Social and Veteran’s Affairs, Training, Youth Rehabilitation, Labor, Vocational Training and Women’s Affairs of the National Assembly of Cambodia. Available online at: <<http://>>

www.fes.org.ph/2007%20conferences/reading%20and%20presentations/Intervention%20by%20Ho%20Naun%204%20_final%20in%20Eng_.pdf>.

⁹ “Thailand Must Admit Civilians Forcibly Displaced”, Press Release, Human Rights Watch, New York, 26 May 2005.