Cambodian Migrants: Social Protection, Local Integration and Multiple Boundaries

in the Thai Border Villages of Khok Sung, Sa Kaeo Province

Phra Kimpicheth Chhon

Consortium of Development Studies in Southeast Asia (CDSSEA)

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The Consortium of Development Studies in Southeast Asia has drawn on primary postgraduate research undertaken for theses from the master's programs of Chiang Mai University's Master of Arts in Social Science (Development Studies) (MASS); Chulalongkorn University's Master of Arts in International Development Studies (MAIDS); and the Asian Institute of Technology's Master of Science in Gender and Development Studies (MGDS). With a diversity of academic approaches (gender studies, political science, social sciences), the individual works of this collection have in common a focus on the increasing interconnection and regionalization of the five mainland Southeast Asian countries (Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam), and examine these exchanges and encounters within the context of the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS).

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Series Foreword

The Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD) at Chiang Mai University has extended its publication program to include Master's dissertations from The Consortium of Development Studies in Southeast Asia (CDSSEA). The CDSSEA series covers mainland Southeast Asia: Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, and regionalization, development encounters and exchanges within the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS).

The CDSSEA program brings together resources and expertise from three of Thailand's leading institutions offering Master's degrees in development studies: Chiang Mai University's Master of Arts in Social Science (Development Studies) (MASS); Chulalongkorn University's Master of Arts in International Development Studies (MAIDS); and the Asian Institute of Technology's Master of Science in Gender and Development Studies (MGDS). Although the Consortium's program focuses on the relationship between development studies and social sciences, each of the programs has a different emphasis. The Chiang Mai degree focuses on social sciences and anthropological perspectives, with research interests in environmental and resource management, food security and local livelihoods, labour migration and trans-border issues, ethnicity and development, health, tourism, and agrarian transitions. Chulalongkorn's program concentrates on the political dimension of development, including democratization, human rights, conflict resolution, international and civil society development organizations, community development and globalization. The Asian Institute of Technology focuses on the relationships between gender and development—including women's rights, civil society, and gender dimensions of urbanization and industrialization.

The CDSSEA program has a practical dimension, building leadership capacity in mainland Southeast Asia's regional development, bringing together postgraduate students, encouraging debate, and promoting the rethinking of development alternatives in such areas as social equality, justice and participation, environmental and economic sustainability, and community development. In this regard, a major objective is to develop the knowledge and skills of development practitioners and to enhance the quality and effectiveness of policy-making and its implementation in the region.

The publications in this series—selected from the CDSSEA Master's program—are designed to express this diverse range of interests in development studies and regionalization, and to emphasize the relationships between empirical and theoretical research, policy-making and practice.

Victor T. King, Senior Editorial Adviser,
Consortium of Development Studies in Southeast Asia series

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Abbreviations

CMHI	Compulsory Migrant Health Insurance
ILO	International Labor Organization
JBC	Joint Boundary Committee
KPRP	Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party
LPR	Permanent lawful residents
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOI	Ministry of Interior
MOL	Ministry of Labor
MoPH	Ministry of Public Health
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SSF	Social Security Fund
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas
WCF	Workmen's Compensation Funds

Glossary

Khmer	The Khmer are a ethnic group native to Cambodia. They are 97.6% of the country's 15.9 million people. They speak Khmer language and follow their own syncretic blend of Theravada Buddhism, Hinduism, animism, and veneration of the dead. Significant Khmer populations reside in areas adjacent to Thailand (Northern Khmer), in the Mekong Delta region of Vietnam (Khmer Krom), and there are over one million Khmer people in the Cambodian diaspora in France, the United States, and Australia.
Lao	The Lao are a Tai ethnic group native to Southeast Asia. They speak the eponymous language of the Tai–Kadai group, very similar to Thai. They are the majority ethnic group of Laos, at 53.2% (about 3.6m people). The majority of Lao people adhere to Theravada Buddhism. They are closely related with the Isan people of north-eastern Thailand, who also speak the Lao language (about 20m people). There are Lao ethnic minorities elsewhere in Thailand, Cambodia, and a small diaspora living mainly in France, USA, Canada and Australia.

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Phra Kimpicheth

Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

For decades, Cambodian migrants have been living in the Thai border villages of Khok Sung District, Sa Kaeo Province, a preferred location for certain Cambodian migrant groups belonging to the Khmer and Lao ethnicities (Schliesinger, 2011). Most Khmer in Khok Sung, whose families originally moved from Cambodia to Thailand before 1962, have been granted Thai citizenship. They live in three villages, Ta Lom Tim, Rom Sai and Noi. During the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979) and the Vietnamese invasion[1] (1979-1989) many Cambodians sought refuge with relatives and friends in Thai villages. Those who came from farther away took shelter at Nong Chan refugee camp[2] where they were able to contact relatives and friends in Thailand to ask for help.

In 1991, when decades of conflict in Cambodia formally ended, most refugees were repatriated to their home country, but some decided to remain (Leckie, 2009). Many Cambodian migrants decided to marry local villagers in

1 Vietnam invaded Cambodia in late December 1978 to remove Pol Pot in response to his troops' cross-border raids into Vietnam. Pol Pot fled and Phnom Penh quickly came under Vietnamese control. Survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime initially greeted the Vietnamese as liberators. Years later, however, Vietnamese troops were still in Cambodia and by then many Cambodians considered them occupiers. The Vietnamese withdrew in 1989.

2 In Nong Chan village, Khok Sung District.

order to remain in Thailand. Intermarriage later became a key factor in Cambodian migration and settlement. Migration due to intermarriage often results in long-term residence, often with children born in Thailand. Migrants in Khok Sung can be categorized into three groups: former refugees who migrated during early and post Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1993); intermarriage migrants (after 1993); and current migrant workers who cross the border daily at Non Mak Mun.

Despite decades of living in Thailand, the long-term migrants are still considered by the Thai state as illegal immigrants. In 2005, the District Office carried out a census of undocumented people for the first time under the government's strategy for people in Thailand without legal status (Saisoonthorn, 2006). According to the census, the number of Cambodian migrants in Khok Sung was 629. In 2011, 214 people were issued with the so-called white ID card for "people without civil registration status". Many villagers missed the chance to obtain this card. All 629 people were issued with temporary residential status which is a prerequisite to receive the ID card, but due to mismanagement at the District Office, and some negligent village headmen, many migrants, some of whom had been resident for twenty years, did not receive one.

The status of migrants can be categorized into three groups: (1) undocumented; (2) white ID card holders (3) those who have acquired Thai nationality.

Basic rights are denied to undocumented migrants; they cannot rely on formal social protection policies and are excluded from most of state welfare. The legality of migrant workers according to Thai law is only temporary (Truong, Gasper, Handmaker, & Berg, 2014). There is little incentive for long-term migrants and intermarriage migrants to obtain the temporary status. Community and family are considered their main sources of support (Feeny, 2014).

This book looks at the boundaries to migrant integration. I will begin with a brief general overview of the Thai border community followed by an analysis of the strategies and roles of migrants in seeking to integrate. I will then go on to point out some attitudes from local citizens toward migrants in order to reflect the extent to which integration, acceptance and protection are met, and will look at existing social protection mechanisms, either from the local community or the state, to see their different limitations and to what extent together they succeed or fail in fulfilling social protection needs.

Research Question

How have Cambodian migrants gained access to social protection, and dealt with local integration and multiple boundaries in the Thai border villages of Khok Sung, Sa Kaeo province?

Sub-questions

1. Which boundaries do Cambodian migrants have to cross to access social protection and local integration in Thai border villages? What is the impact?
2. How do migrants negotiate with boundaries in order to access and enable local integration?
3. How has local integration facilitated social protection among the Cambodian migrants?
4. What limitations do Cambodian migrants still encounter and what kind of measures should be taken to strengthen their social protection?

Objectives

1. To identify the boundaries and their impacts on Cambodian migrants in terms of accessing social protection and local integration in the Thai border villages;
2. To examine the migrants' negotiating practices vis-a-vis the boundaries in order to access and enable local integration in the Thai border villages;
3. To analyze the effect of the local integration process in terms of facilitating social protection among the Cambodian migrants; and
4. To identify the limitations that the Cambodian migrants still encounter and the kinds of measures that should be applied in terms of widening and deepening their social protection.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework has been drawn from four main concepts, namely migration, multiple boundaries, local integration and social protection. These are explained briefly below, and in more detail in chapter II.

Migration

Migration - the physical transition of an individual, or a group of people, from one society to another - is primarily defined by the "push" and "pull" factors which help to explain why people migrate, their destinations of choice, and the reasons behind their decisions (Brettell & Hollifield, 2015). This research is focused on long-term migrants who end up as permanent settlers seeking local integration. Many were initially refugees fleeing from war, the Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese invasion, before becoming economic migrants in Thailand.

Multiple social boundaries

There are various boundaries that migrants may need to cross in order to integrate with the host society. They may be social: e.g. racial or religious; cultural, e.g. language; or legal, eg nationality.

Local integration

There are five main instruments for assessing the integration process: social, cultural, economic, community, and legal. Integration is seen as a largely linear process beginning with cultural integration - local language acquisition, understanding values of cultural practices – leading on to complete assimilation through intermarriage, to enable the migrant to be no longer distinguishable (Gordon, 1964).

Social protection

Basically, the migrants' survival kit: the right to paid employment, with some sort of social security back-up, plus the other services and institutional safeguards enabling people to live safely and without being in need.

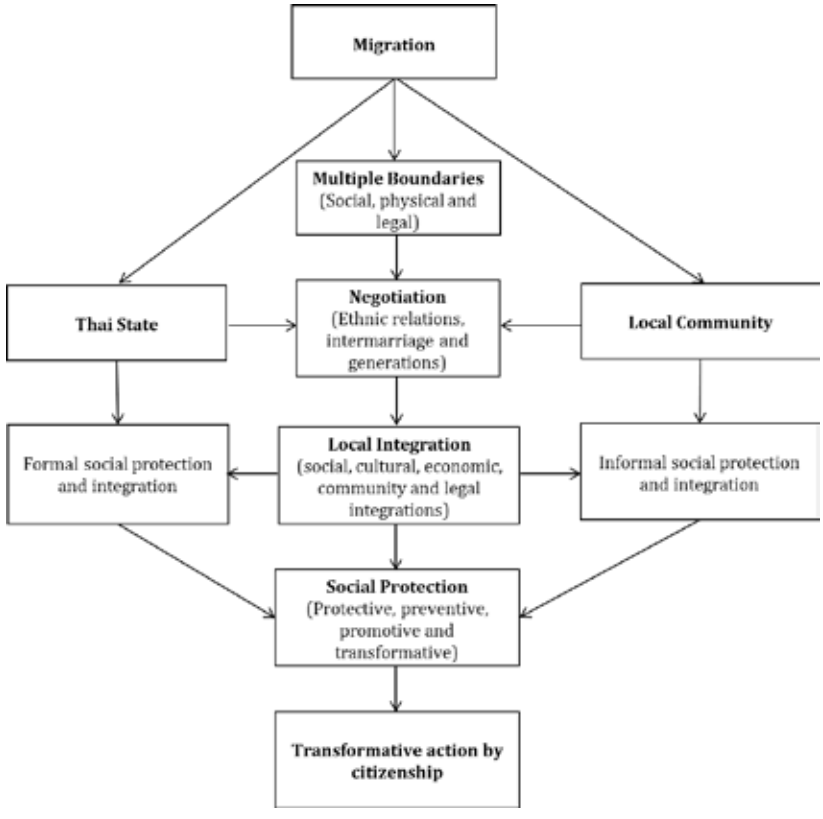

Figure 1.1: Conceptual framework for the research

Research Methodology

This research used qualitative methods to collect data. Ethnographical technique was deployed based on non-participant observation field notes, in-depth interviews and semi-structured interviews that were undertaken in the border villages between 15 April and 15 May 2015. Information from the Khok Sung District Office identified 622 Cambodian migrants widely distributed in different villages. In order to see a large number of migrants together, I focused my field work on six particular villages with 156 long-term migrants: Ta Lom Tim, Noi and Rom Sai in Khok Sung Sub-district; and Nong Chan, Non Mak Mun and Kut Phur in Non Mak Mun Sub-district. The villages comprised two communities, Khmer and Lao speaking respectively. I used additional sources

- reports from the District Office, migration articles and documents on social protection for migrant workers in Thailand - to provide comparable data for discussion and analysis. To provide more detail about the data collection process, certain techniques used in this thesis are discussed in the sections that follow.

Documentary Research

Document-based research depended on secondary data from the Thai State such as statistics of Cambodian migrants from the Khok Sung District Office, and immigration law and policies regarding the Strategy on Administration of Legal Status and Rights of People in Thailand without Legal status or Nationality. Information about social protection schemes for migrant workers in Thailand was obtained from national laws such as the Social Security Act (1990), the Workmen's Compensation Act (1994), the Ministry of Public Health (MoPH) Act (2013), and the National Education Act (2005). All of these were examined within the social protection framework for long-term migrants in the Thai border villages. In addition, secondary data were collected from academic journals, theses and border agency reports, and the District Office.

Semi-Structured Interviews

I conducted 79 face-to-face interviews with different groups of migrants and local citizens. Interviews were also conducted with 57 Cambodian migrants who were either former refugees, intermarriage migrants, migrant children or Thai nationals. I also interviewed 22 people who were either villagers or local authority representatives. Semi-structured interviews lasted from 30 to 45 minutes each. Interviewees were randomly selected from different villages without pre-selection or, except in one or two cases, pre-appointment. During the field work, I would ask migrants to introduce me to other migrants who lived in the same village so that I had more people to interview.

To be interviewed, migrants had to have been living in the local villages for at least ten years. The interviews focused on their direct experience, using a structured questionnaire consisting of closed and half-opened questions. The questions were designed in particular to find out about their attitudes to and perceptions of Cambodian migrants living in the same village.

Key informants

I conducted in-depth interviews with 37 key informants from many different groups of people including Cambodian migrants and Thai citizens. I divided the migrant key informants group into three sub-groups: undocumented migrants; migrants with white ID cards ("persons without civil registration status"); and migrants who had gained Thai citizenship. I then selected three people from each sub-group for interview. During the course of the data collection, I became aware that it was difficult to find people who had the white card or who had been able to gain Thai citizenship. It took some time to build trust with undocumented people and village headmen who could introduce me to the particular key informants that I wanted to meet. I used a snowball technique for my interviewees to identify other persons for interview. In some cases, they were among the groups of migrants with whom I had already conducted semi-structured interviews; I realized that they should be among my key informants and came back set up a second interview with them. For interviews I conducted with the other 27 key informants, I divided them into five groups comprising people from different local institutions, namely: six village headmen; five local hospital officers; four school teachers; nine local authority officials; and five abbots/monks. I requested their permission to be interviewed with a letter issued by my university. Most of the target informants agreed to let me interview them. For those who do not usually work in an office, such as village headmen, I made appointments according to their availability.

Non-Participant Observation

I employed ethnographical techniques based on non-participant observation to observe the relationship between migrants and local people such as the ways in which they associated with other migrants and other villagers. The degree of association of migrants with local people would indicate the state of inter-communal relations, and the migrants' success with language acquisition. As a monk, I had easy access to migrant families and could see how their residences were situated either in groups of migrant households or distributed among Thai homes. When I had opportunities to talk with them I found out whether or not what I had assumed from the observation process was true. I also observed migrants during my participation in local ceremonies in the villages and at Buddhist temples.

However, it was a challenge for me to present myself as an "outsider" due to my personal characteristics and the robe that I wear. While non-participant observation of others was not so difficult for me it had its limitations in that I could only do it in particular places and at particular times. I was able easily to get direct access to the places, homes and people rather than simply walking around like a visitor. The observation process in the Thai villages was not difficult. But at the border checkpoints the police and soldiers were aware that I was a researcher, and even though the authorities did not prohibit me from crossing the border to visit Cambodian communities, soldiers at the checkpoints were always informed of my arrival in advance so that they could keep an eye on me. These security protocols made me uncomfortable in the observation process in the villages because I was always aware that somebody was looking at me. The local authorities were likely afraid that I would see some activities that they would not want a researcher to know about. Once when I crossed the border to a Cambodian village, several Cambodian solders followed me to my destination and observed me interviewing people. I felt insecure and could not take any photos until I finally decided to return to the Thai village. However, I could see that crossing the border between Thai and Cambodian villages was very easy for the villagers – they would simply ask for permission and could drive their motorcycles across the border after being granted passage.

Scope of Research

The aim was to focus on local integration and the social protection of long-term migrants from Cambodia in the Thai border villages. This involved looking at the multiple boundaries - social, physical and legal - that migrants have to negotiate with local citizens and the state before getting access to social benefits. For local integration of migrants, I measured this against five types of integration: social-ethnic; cultural; economic; integration; and legal. I measured social protection in both formal and informal contexts, informal referring to community actions including rights to land and housing, movement, and community self-help saving and funeral fund groups. State based mechanisms and formal social protection schemes include health services, education and legal recognition as basic primary protection.

Significance of the Research

From the research it can be argued that the state of community exception is unlimited if migrants are well-integrated within the host society, except where the legal boundary of the state intervenes and undermines the collective wish of the local community towards the migrants. There is no significant limitation for migrants to enjoy the social protection provided by the local community, which seems to have an openness to migrants on matters such as rights to land, housing, employment, welfare, and insurance. The limitations are primarily related to the legal barriers that delimit the rights and capacity of migrants' access to adequate social protection according to national social protection schemes for citizens and migrant workers. Previous studies have not focused much on local integration and informal social protection, but have rather emphasized the roles of the state in integration policy and the provision of social protection. But actual integration is happening at local and community level, and not at state level (Aerschot & Daenzer, 2014). The community has played a key role in recognizing the status of its members including migrants. This book will try to illustrate the particular negotiating strategies employed by Cambodian migrants to overcome the boundaries and to acquire local integration and protection from the community.

Ethical Issues

As a researcher I am concerned about ethical issues that might affect people who are involved in my research especially the undocumented migrants. For those who opted for anonymity, I have replaced their real names with aliases. I would not interview any migrant or local citizen without asking for permission at the beginning of the field work. Letters issued by the University were submitted to particular local authorities for requested interviews. During the conduct of the interviews, no interviewee was forced to answer any questions that they did not want to answer. The interview would be immediately stopped should participants show discomfort about continuing.

Chapter 2

Concepts and Literature Review

This chapter explains the concepts and theories behind the research, with reference to the literature; discusses the different experiences of the migrants in terms of their access to resources and social opportunities, and of local integration; and looks at the policies and state-based mechanisms regarding migrants' integration and their social protection in Thailand, with some comparative examples from the United States and Europe.

Multiple Social Boundaries

Lamont and Molnar (2002) define social boundaries as "objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources and social opportunities". When these boundaries are widely recognized and agreed upon by people in a particular society or state, they become social boundaries that can take a constraining character and affect patterns of social interaction in important ways (Tate, 2012). Race, ethnicity, class, gender, and nationality are social categories that produce social groups with unequal access to resources and opportunities (Lamont & Molnar, 2002).

Lamont and Molnar (2002) also note that "the conceptualization of symbolic boundaries is made by social actors" - the social actors in question being essentially the people who have acquired the status that allows them to

access the resources; their status is objectified by the social boundaries. These social boundaries are often referred to as physical and legal boundaries to objectify forms of social differences experienced as unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and non-material) and social opportunities (Tate, 2012). This research defines the multiple boundaries to migrant local integration and social protection in three dimensions - social, physical and legal. Calavita (2005) argues that "migration is at one level about space, about the movement of people across spatial and territorial boundaries, but it is also about more than physical or even political space; social and cultural space as well ". Migrants have to overcome the boundaries before they become locally integrated and can access social protection. The easy border crossing process allows migrants to enter and build up connections with the local citizens. The migrants use ethnic relations and intermarriage to undermine the social boundaries created by local social actors. This in effect allows migrants access to more secure social status especially when they have children who are recognized as citizens of the host country and who may eventually contribute to legal recognition by the state.

State-imposed border lines divide people by nation or nationality. Kellas (1991) explains that " Nations have 'objective' characteristics which may include a territory, a language, a religion, or common descent, and 'subjective' characteristics, essentially a people's awareness of its nationality and affection for it". Migrants are often seen as strangers in the host country because of nationality differences. Differences in culture, language, religion and ethnicity may make it difficult for migrants to integrate with the population in the host country. Integration will also be difficult if migrants do not have a certain feeling of belongingness to the national identity of the country they live in. A nation represents its specificity, uniqueness, and distinctiveness from other nations, and language is of particular significance both for the problem of migrant integration, and for the host population's problem of communicating with migrants. Host populations do not always want to associate with aliens ,and alien populations will not always integrate with hosts, except at work - they may form their own cultural enclaves that will grow into mini-nations once a critical mass of their people has been reached (Barrett, 2012).

The problem of boundaries in integration is a subset of the generic problem of the cultural and political reproduction of any nation, and arises particularly in those nations which accept migrants (Ueda, 2005). Such as, recently, European countries faced with large-scale migration from the Middle East and Africa, and requiring an EU policy regarding their integration (Scholten, Entzinger, Penninx, & Verbeek, 2015).The non-integration of migrants can cause marginalization in which prejudices and discrimination on the basis of "national identity" can be a main factor. This prejudice which is an attitude with an emotional bias may come from negative ideas of the dominant group towards subordinate groups (Marger, 2005). Stranger status is an important factor for the development of negative attitudes which can bring about discrimination between migrants and natives - how the majority treat the minority. This discrimination may also be rooted in differences of faith, identity, race and ethnicity (Parrillo, 2002). Cholewinski (2005) suggests that "affording rights to migrants can be an important feature of ensuring their integration in society, but the absence of rights in contrast can risk their social exclusion".

Local Integration

Local integration is a process of mutual exchange between migrants and host population (Castles & Miller 1993). Park and Burgess (1940) note that "in order to gain another's language, characteristics, attitudes, habits, and modes of behavior migrants will take over or associate with mainstream society". More specifically, migrants may integrate or participate in particular levels of the socio-economy of the host society (Wu, Zhang, & Webster, 2013).

After some time, local integration is manifested through intermarriage or through learning the local language to be able to earn income, either individually or as a household, to no longer feel obliged to live in an ethnic enclave, and to abandon attachment to ethnic labels (Danico, 2014). The intermarriage phenomenon is best explained by the international migration system theory of Castles & Miller (1993) who describe this gradual transformation status of migrants from temporary to permanent residents with "a four stage model":

1. temporary labor migration of young workers, remittance of earnings and continued orientation to the homeland,

2. prolongation of stay and development of social networks based on kinship or common area of origin and the need for mutual help in the new environment,
3. family formation, growing consciousness of long-term settlement, increasing orientation towards the receiving country, and emergence of ethnic communities with their own institutions (associations, shops, cafes, agencies, professions),
4. permanent settlement which, depending on the actions of the government and population of the receiving country, leads either to secure legal status and eventual citizenship, or to political exclusion, socioeconomic marginalization and the formation of permanent ethnic minorities.

Integration and assimilation are two words frequently used to address the host-migrant relationship, and are often used interchangeably. Park & Burgess (1964) note that "assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which people and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history are incorporated with them in a common cultural life". They explain the process wherein individuals naturally gain the language, characteristics, attitudes, habits, and modes of behavior of the host society (1940). This theory was later popularized by Milton Gordon (1964), who developed structural assimilation as the cornerstone of migrant integration. Gordon argues that assimilation which happens over generations is the vehicle for ethnic changes (Ramiro Martinez & Abel Valenzuela, 2006). As the integration process progresses one will see more specific examples of where migrants are able to integrate or participate in particular levels of the socio-economy of the host society. From the literature reviews, integration is multidimensional, in conformity with Gordon's well-known seven steps: cultural, behavioral, structural, marital, identification, attitude reception, behavior reception and civil assimilation (Wu et al., 2013). Integration is seen as a largely linear process in which migrants progress from the very basic to the most advanced. The beginning of integration is cultural integration, local language acquisition, and understanding the values of cultural practices; while complete assimilation is manifested through intermarriage, to enable migrants to be no longer distinguishable (Gordon, 1964).

Classical assimilation aims to explain the process of assimilation in ethnic relations. Park (1950) points out that when minorities incorporate into the mainstream culture then the interethnic relations will be connected (Ramiro Martinez & Abel Valenzuela, 2006). He divides the connection process into four stages which pertain to contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation (Park, 1950; Park & Burgess, 1969). The process of racial and ethnic assimilation will happen slowly rather than quickly (Smith & Edmonston, 1997). According to Milton Gordon (1964) on assimilation over generations, it is not the case that integration must happen within the life-time of one migrant. A first generation migrant can access only some levels and dimensions of integration.

In neo-classical assimilation, on the other hand, the process of assimilation capitalizes on the experiences of past migrants which contribute to the assimilation of current migrants. Richard Alba and Victor Nee have argued that the early groups who have already assimilated will facilitate the later groups' entry into the mainstream where their children will also benefit from this assimilation template whether intended or not (Danico, 2014). Thus a historical overview of European migrants in the United States at the turn of the 20th century found that they became assimilated over several generations, groups such as the Irish and Italians through intermarriage (Alba & Nee, 2003). Intermarriage with host citizens allows migrants to acquire the local language, and increasingly to move away from living in ethnic enclaves and to abandon attachment to ethnic labels. However, in neo-classical assimilation theory, these phenomena will not be readily apparent until the third or fourth generations of migrants (Danico, 2014).

In segmented assimilation, the most influential theorists are Portes & Zhou (1993) who focused on second generation migrants and their socio-economic outcomes. The theory attempts to explain how new migrant groups may depart from the straight line by reframing the question "will the second generation assimilate" to the question "to what segment of society will it assimilate" (Ramiro Martinez & Abel Valenzuela, 2006). This identifies an important alternative to straight-line assimilation. When migrant youth integrate into a disadvantaged neighborhood without support from family and co-ethnic community, the youth will adopt the norms and values of inner-city youth subcultures. In contrast, migrant youth who maintain strong attachments to the values of, and tight solidarity with, their co-ethnic community, will depart from straight-line assimilation because they will resist that acculturation process (Ramiro Martinez & Abel Valenzuela, 2006).

Social Protection

The need for social protection has been recognized by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other fundamental international human rights instruments (García & Gruat, 2003). The ILO's mandate maintains that access to such protection should be universal through the promotion and development of social justice. Social protection and social security are interchangeably used according to the contexts of particular populations in vulnerable situations. The ILO provides comprehensive definitions and explanations of social protection and social security (World Social Security Report 2011):

> Social protection … is often interpreted as having a broader character than social security (including protection provided between members of the family or members of a local community) but is also used in some contexts with a narrower meaning (understood as comprising only measures addressed to the poorest, most vulnerable or excluded members of society) … Social protection has the following aspects: (1) interchangeable with "social security;" (2) as "protection" provided by social security in case of social risks and needs.
>
> Social security covers all measures providing benefits, whether in cash or in kind, to secure protection from: (a) lack of work-related income (or sufficient income) caused by sickness, disability, maternity, employment injury, unemployment, old age or death of a family member; (b) lack of access or unaffordable access to health care; (c) insufficient family support, particularly for children and adult dependents; and (d) general poverty and social exclusion… Social security has two main dimensions, namely 'income security' and 'availability of medical care'.

The broadening concept of social protection has been redefined in many developing countries as it reflects complex issues and can have different meanings in different contexts. Rein & Rainwater (1986) refer to social protection as "social provision of resources to individuals and families in order to deal with particular risks and needs". Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux (2003), focus on income or consumption transfers to the poor in order to protect them

from vulnerabilities and livelihood risks while enhancing the social status and rights of marginalized groups. In general, it refers to wage employment and the payment of cash transfers that maintain income. However, the way that the term is currently used is not only "occupationalist" but also has a "conceptual basis" which sometimes expands the scope of the terminology to cover all protective transfers, services and institutional safeguards (Hoefer & Midgley, 2013). The sources of social protection can be formal and informal – i.e. between collective practice and state mechanism (Holzmann, Richard Hinz, & Team, 2005). Standing (2007) points out that "Social protection is the broadest [definition], signifying the full range of protective transfer, services, and institutional safeguards supposed to protect the population 'at risk' of being 'in need'. Social security is the term that covers the state-based system of entitlements linked to what are often called contingency risk".

Sabates-Wheeler and Waite (2003) conceptualized the multiple approaches to social protection where vulnerable migrants are widespread and highly differentiated. They have divided social protection into four aspects: protective, preventive, promotive and transformative (to equate with social assistance, social insurance, social services and transformative action). The social protection can be either from informal or formal mechanisms.

Social protection remains problematic in practice as many countries still have not recognized migrants as part of the population for the purposes of their social protection schemes. Ulriksen & Plagerson (2014) note that the "rights carry correlative duties in which individuals can enjoy rights by virtue of their citizenship while non-citizens are excluded". Social protection is focused mainly on social insurance, social assistance, and public services to the population at large, but many international covenants attempt to expand these concepts to support the rights of international migrant workers. The 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (which entered into force in 2003) and the 2007 ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers (Hall, 2012) are the landmark international agreements on migrant rights protection. The five basic principles of international standard social protection of migrants include: equality of treatment; maintenance of acquired rights and provision of benefits abroad; determination of the applicable legislation; maintenance of rights in the course of acquisition; and reciprocity (Huguet, 2014).

Social protection is often limited by political contexts regarding non-citizens, as many countries do not treat international migrants in the same way as citizens. In particular, undocumented workers are faced with discriminatory legislation which violates their entitlement to social protection. Hall (2012), notes that there are two main barriers that limit migrants from accessing social protection. In the ASEAN context, legislation on social protection is in place but generally applies only to citizens and particular groups of migrants. This legislative barrier apparently excludes the welfare of the greater population of migrants. Administrative barriers to social protection pertain to a fundamental flaw in administrative practice where migrant workers entitled to social protection may face limited access to relevant mechanisms. This requires active promotion and implementation of social protection from both formal and informal providers (Ulriksen & Plagerson, 2014).

The ILO provides international standards for social protection of migrants based on five conceptual principles which include equality of treatment, maintenance of acquired rights, determination of applicable legislation, maintenance of rights in the course of acquisition, and reciprocity (Huguet, 2014). Equality of treatment is one of the important principles in terms of state policy implementation of social protection and social security based on non-discrimination on the basis of nationality (Bender, Kaltenborn, & Pfleiderer, 2013). However, many countries use the policy to limit social rights for migrants, making their lives more difficult (Cholewinski, 2005). The problems of social protection for migrants in many countries appear to be resolved by a selective practice where host countries include only some particular types of migrant in their social protection schemes. Irregular migrants generally face discrimination because of legal boundaries. Cholewinski (2005) argues that " restricting the access of irregular migrants to social protection will increase not only their marginalization but also the stigmatization in the eyes of the general population that views irregular migrants as unworthy recipients of social protection." This can eventually affect the integration of migrants because they will lack a sense of belongingness to the community, society, and country they live in as they receive unequal treatment from the state and its population.

Integration of Migrants in the United States and Europe

Western countries of destination can be differentiated into three types: traditional migration countries such Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States, which still encourage migration for permanent settlement; migration countries in Europe (United Kingdom, France, Netherlands, Austria, Germany and Sweden) often seen as for temporary migration only; and European countries such as Ireland, Italy and Spain whose citizens used to emigrate in large numbers but which are now countries of immigration (Bauer, 2003). Immigrants in Italy and Spain used to be natives coming back, but now they are outsiders from Eastern Europe, Asia or Africa coming in. These countries do not yet have much experience with inflow migration and they are still developing their migration policies.

Prior to 1920, migration to the United States was not very restricted, but more recently this has changed with priority being given to people with family connections in the US, or with particular skills that are in short supply. Non-citizens who entered legally are either permanent residents or temporary residents. Permanent residents can enter and leave the country freely, and may later apply for citizenship (Richardson, 1996). Migrants who entered illegally cannot apply for permanent lawful residence status because they are considered as having violated US law. A non-citizen who wants to become a US citizen must first become a permanent resident (Motomura, 2006). Mexico is the leading country of origin of permanent lawful residents. In 2011 an estimated 3.3 million or 25 per cent of green card holders originated from Mexico (O'Leary, 2014). García (2002) notes that large numbers of Mexican residents in the United States can access citizenship rights in both countries because Mexican law allows its citizens to hold dual nationality. The United States recognizes this law, but does not encourage its citizens to hold dual citizenship.

In Europe after World War II, 20 million people displaced by the war migrated to Germany; ex-colonials returned to their respective motherlands; and workers migrated to Great Britain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands (Bauer, 2003). Most European countries were open to the inflow, and due to labor shortages some countries like Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, and Sweden introduced active recruitment policies to receive unskilled workers from Southern Europe. This is no longer the case. Since 1988 there has been an inflow of migration from Eastern Europe, and asylum seekers and refugees from Africa and Asia.

Unlike the US and Australia which have birthright citizenship, not all European countries automatically grant citizenship to anyone born in the country. Where European counties do not grant citizenship on the basis of *jus soli*[3] they may still allow children of migrants born in their countries to have the right to access the naturalization process after they have lived in the host country for from five to twelve years. In Germany, for example, the 1990 Foreigners Law automatically grants citizenship to migrant children, whether or not born in Germany, after they have lived in the country for eight years (Stout, Buono, & Chambliss, 2004).

Local Integration of Migrants in Thailand

The history of local integration of migrants in Thailand can be looked at against three successive pieces of legislation: the Nationality, Civil Registration and Immigration Acts.

The notion of the Thai nation-state was introduced during the reign of King Rama V who declared that all population groups in the country should be integrated and recognized as Thai under codes included in the first Naturalization and Nationality Acts that came into force in 1911 and 1913 (B.E. 2456 and B.E. 2454) respectively.

The first Civil Registration Act was introduced in 1955. Many undocumented and stateless people experienced great difficulty in registering. This was especially the case with ethnic minority groups living in remote areas and along Thailand's northern borders. Throughout the Cold War period the Thai government's concerns about communist insurgency, in which some border populations were suspected of being involved, caused restrictions in the registration process. Children from undocumented families could not receive birth registration certificates. However, in the past decade, there has been a vast improvement in birth registration for every child regardless of status.

The third period of integration was by Immigration Acts. The government has no direct policy to grant permanent resident status to, or to integrate, migrants, but rather applies national policies to solve the problems of particular

3 *Jus soli* is the right of anyone born in the territory of a state to nationality or citizenship. These considerations demonstrate how national identity informs citizenship and potentially allows for the exercise of prerogative power upon noncitizens. It is the predominant rule in the Americas, but is rare elsewhere.

undocumented groups. In the past the government granted different legal status to ethnic minority groups and aliens respectively. In the early 1970s, the government surveyed and assigned colored cards[4] for minority groups and border populations. In 1990, the minorities were classified into 15 groups. In 2005, the Thai cabinet introduced the "strategy to solve problems on legal status and rights of persons" with a new identification of the unregistered population (Saisoonthorn, 2006). Under this policy the legal status of particular undocumented people was recognized, whether they belonged to an ethnic minority group or were long-term immigrants. Each group is registered and assigned a color card that signifies its entitlement status, which varies among groups. There is a possibility for the state to grant full citizenship to some groups or even all groups that are registered.

Pongsawat (2007) argues that the partial status of minority groups in contemporary Thailand can be considered as a status of "minority migrant", different from the status of an alien immigrant as stipulated in the Immigration Act 1979. Legal migrants can be divided into two categories: short and long stays. Migrants must apply for a work permit if they want to work in Thailand. Illegal migrants are not allowed to enter Thailand, and anyone who enters illegally is liable to arrest, imprisonment and deportation. However, "minority migrants" are not arrested, put in jail and deported like illegal migrant workers because they are contained and controlled by the state in terms of mobility restriction while they are waiting for the state's decision whether to deport them, or grant them alien status or Thai citizenship. Their temporary status might become the foundation for the newest form of integration and partial citizenship. Meanwhile they share the limitations of other migrant workers in terms of the need to obtain formal work permits and official permission to travel outside their registered areas.

Boonwanno (2007) studied stateless people in Chiang Mai Province, focusing on citizenship acquisition by people holding pink cards (Burmese displaced persons). Many villagers in Mae Ai village[5] have had to become

4 Aliens who were born outside Thailand and migrated into Thailand before 3 October 1985 (B.E. 2528) had to be registered and given one of four types of identification cards including: (1) Highlanders (blue-color card), (2) Displaced Burmese Nationals (pink-color card), (3) Nepalese migrants (green-color card) and (4) Chinese migrants (mostly from Burma) (orange-color card).

5 Most northerly village in Chiang Mai Province, adjoining Chiang Rai Province.

undocumented people because they missed registration during the census and have thus revoked their Thai nationality. They have used the pink card like the Burmese displaced people until they have the chance to prove their Thai nationality through local support/legal documents submitted to the District Office. Acquisition of Thai nationality is not only for the original villagers but also for the displaced people from Myanmar. There are arguments about local corruption and weak verification process as many migrants could not gain access to Thai nationality, while some villagers still remain stateless due to inadequate and untrustworthy evidence of residence. The study by Wong-a-thitikul (2006) on stateless persons in Chiang Rai province argues that it is possible for non-original Thai to receive Thai nationality even though they come from Myanmar, under the process of nationality verification that is still taking place at local level. He concludes that it is not really corruption that slows down the process but rather the inflexibility of the provincial officers in taking the process through step by step in accordance with the Act. For example, the Mae Fa Luang District Office allowed migrant children who had finished high school and pre-university degree to register using a document (TR14) which can be used to apply for Thai nationality under section 7/2 of the 1992 Nationality Act. In 2006, the Ministry of the Interior approved Thai nationality for those migrants from Myanmar on the basis of that document.

Somboon (2005) suggests that sources of information and awareness of individual migrants and stateless people about entitlement to Thai nationality is very important. His study in Mae Fa Luang District[6] shows the importance of community and local leaders and authorities as sources of information to establish the status of people in the community. In general, older migrants will not understand much about their rights to Thai nationality. They depend mainly on their village headman who in turn receives information from the District Office. Seeking information from relatives, friends and villagers who have previously acquired Thai nationality is the common alternative approach for minority migrants. Even if they have adequate evidence of their identity, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to process it alone without help from the community and the local authority. At the least, minority migrants must create for themselves a favorable local public opinion and gain recognition from the community.

6 A district of Chiang Rai Province

Otherwise, the community and the local leader are likely to refuse to support the migrant, who will face the possibility of his application being refused.

Social Protection for Migrants in Thailand

Thailand's social protection schemes are based on three main pieces of legislation: the Social Security Act (1990); the Workmen's Compensation Act (1994); and the National Education Act (1999); plus the Ministry of Public Health (MoPH) Announcement on Health Examinations and Insurance for Migrant Workers from Myanmar, Lao PDR, and Cambodia (2009) (revised in 2013) (Huguet, 2014). These provisions categorize the key elements of social protection for migrant workers - social security, workmen's compensation, health care, old-age care, child benefits, unemployment benefits and education (Huguet, 2014, p. 35). Apart from education, these benefits are available only for migrants who entered the country legally or who obtained a legal status after arrival. Legal migrant workers can be divided into three categories: (1) Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)[7] migrants; (2) migrants who completed nationality verification; and (3) registered migrants. Each group has differential rights under the different schemes as discussed below.

Rights to public health services

Health insurance for migrant workers was first introduced in 1997 (ILO, 2009). To be eligible the migrant must possess a passport, have completed nationality verification or be a registered illegal migrant worker (Manajit & Na, 2011). This will allow the migrant to purchase the insurance, which costs THB 2,800 per year (THB 365 for children under 7) for health care insurance during their period of employment in Thailand (Balbo, 2005). Alternatively, migrants can access health benefits through Workmen's Compensation Funds (WCF) and the Social Security Fund (SSF) (Hall, 2012), which require monthly contributions from the migrants or their employers. Sakunphanit et al (2013) found that "although migrant workers under the MOU or who have passed nationality verification can in theory be registered under the SSF and the WCF, they encounter difficulties in fully accessing benefits because of limited compliance with the law by employers". It remains a challenge for migrants to

7 Migrants who entered under the auspices of one or other of the MOUs signed by Thailand with Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam.

access this health insurance package - in practice it is commonly out of reach. Huguet (2014) notes that sometimes the migrants themselves do not want to spend the money.

To include illegal migrants in the benefit package, the Ministry of Public of Health (MoPH) revised the policy to allow irregular migrants to buy the THB 2,800 health insurance package. However, Huguet (2014) argues that although this policy is positive for migrants the expensive fee is a major deterrent. Moreover, young and healthy people may not see the importance of voluntarily purchasing cover, and are unlikely to enroll.

Rights to education

Since the early 2000s, the Thai government started to express concern about migrant children with regard to child trafficking and exploitation of child labor (Truong et al., 2014). Based on a Cabinet resolution on education for undocumented children, the Ministry of Education (MOE) introduced the 'Education for All' policy in 2005 to enforce education as a universal right for all children in Thai society (Truong, Gasper, Handmaker, & Bergh, 2011). Undocumented children are eligible to enroll in Thai public schools and can receive 12 years of free education the same as Thai children (Bartlett & Ghaffar-Kucher, 2013). Pyne (2007) argues that as migrant children generally cannot speak Thai, many schools discourage their enrollment in order to avoid the difficulty of teaching migrant and Thai students together. Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) (2013) which has been working with migrant communities in Thailand since 2005, claim that many Thai teachers still lack understanding of migrant children's communities, and of how to manage a multicultural classroom.

It was recently estimated that less than 20 percent of undocumented children in Thailand attend school (Allden, M.D., & Murakami, 2015). Bartlett and Ghaffar-Kucher (2013) argue that there are five possible explanations: a lack of awareness by migrant families, or a lack of willingness on the part of some Thai schools to register non-Thai children; parents' concerns about the cultural relevance of attending school; pressure for undocumented children to work; the itinerant lifestyle of many undocumented families; and security concerns for undocumented family members - parents fear they will be arrested if they send their children to school, in spite of the fact that the government encourages this. In theory, if migrant children do not have birth certificates or

registration papers, a family biography can be used instead to enroll them (Allden et al., 2015). This often applies in schools located at the borders or remote areas. However, many migrant families are still uninformed about this possibility, and some think that the school enrollment process may require many documents that they cannot produce (Bartlett & Ghaffar-Kucher, 2013).

Years	Total Students	Thai	Non-Thai	Percentage of Non-Thai Students
2012	7,355,041	7,255,108	99,933	1%
2013	7,243,713	7,130,646	113,067	2%
2014	7,114,804	6,981,458	133,346	2%

Table 2.1: Migrant children enrollment rates in Royal Thai government schools in Thailand, 2012 – 2014 *Source: (OBEC, 2014, p. 17)*

Professional rights

Aliens' and migrants' rights to work are limited. The work that an alien may do as well as the workplace and period of work are prescribed by Ministerial Regulation. Foreigners who intend to work in Thailand are subject to the Alien Employment Act 2008 (B.E. 2551). Under the provisions of this Act, an alien cannot perform any work or service unless a work permit has been issued by the Alien Employment Division of the Ministry of Labor. This is because of major concerns of national security and occupation opportunities in Thailand. The available types of work for aliens are defined according to the demands for labor necessary for the development of the country. Therefore, the matters to be prescribed can be different according to the categories of worker and their work permit (MOL, 2008). There are 3 categories of aliens who are eligible to apply for work permits (MOL, 1978):

1. Aliens who reside in the Kingdom of Thailand or are allowed temporary stay in the Kingdom, but not as a tourist or a transit traveler;
2. Aliens who are allowed to work in Thailand according to the investment promotion laws or other laws; and
3. Aliens who have been ordered to be deported but who are allowed to work in certain locations instead of being deported or while waiting for deportation; aliens who have entered Thailand illegally or are waiting a

forced transfer out of the Kingdom; and aliens who were born in the kingdom but who have not been granted Thai nationality or who have had that nationality annulled. These groups are eligible to work in the 27 occupations as stipulated in the Ministerial Announcement.

The 27 occupations are: vehicle maintenance, house construction, dress-making and laundering, some forms of agriculture, sales (other than of strategic goods such as weapons, communication equipment, etc.), food-making, shoe, clock, watch and glasses repair, knife-grinding, picture framing, metal-working, weaving (other than silk) and general laboring (Boonwanno, 2007). On the other hand, aliens are banned from working in 39 occupational categories, which include manual workers and traditional craft skills that are reserved for Thais. The work permit is further divided into two main categories - temporary and permanent. The temporary permit is valid for two years and in some cases may be renewable for another two years.

Chapter 3

Profile of Cambodian Migrants and their Negotiation of Boundaries

This chapter is divided into two parts: a profile of Cambodian migrants; and their boundary negotiation issues. The chapter begins with an introduction to the border communities in Khok Sung District where the research sites were selected. I then describe the causes of Cambodian migration and settlement in Khmer and Lao communities, and provide a demographic profile of the Cambodian migrants. For the second part of the chapter, I describe the circumstances of Cambodian migrants in the Thai border villages in terms of how they physically, socially and legally negotiate with the multiple boundaries they encounter. The Thai-Cambodia border crossing at Khok Sung is a physical boundary but is considered under a state of local exception because of its ambiguity between legal and illegal. I then analyze the way in which migrants use ethnic relations and intermarriage as social capital to reduce the social boundaries impeding their integration with the hosts. Finally, I show how migrants access social protection despite the absence of state provision, especially in situations where they are faced with legal barriers.

Profiles

Profile of the Thai Border Villages

The villages are located in Khok Sung District. Its neighboring districts to the south are Aranyaprathet, Watthana Nakhon and Ta Phraya in Sa Kaeo Province, Thailand; and to the east, Banteay Meanchey in Cambodia. Khok Sung District accommodates 629 Cambodian migrants out of a population of 26,466. The majority of the Cambodian migrants live in Khok Sung and Non Mak Nun sub-districts, whose Thai population forms two ethnic groups speaking Khmer and Lao respectively. There are three Khmer villages - Ta Lom Tim, Noi and Rom Sai. The two latter villages were originally split off from Ta Lom Tim, a Khmer term which means "twin fallen (tree)". The villagers still commonly use this name to refer to all three villages. From the narrative of local people, their ancestors were originally from Cambodia and when the first group arrived in the area they saw a big twin fallen tree – hence the name. The local population still uses Khmer as its local language. There are approximately 87 long-term migrants living in these villages among 2,378 local citizens. It is only five kilometers from the east of Khok Sung subdistrict to Khok Sung township, and two kilometers to Non Mak Mun and its temporarily permitted border check points between Thailand and Cambodia.

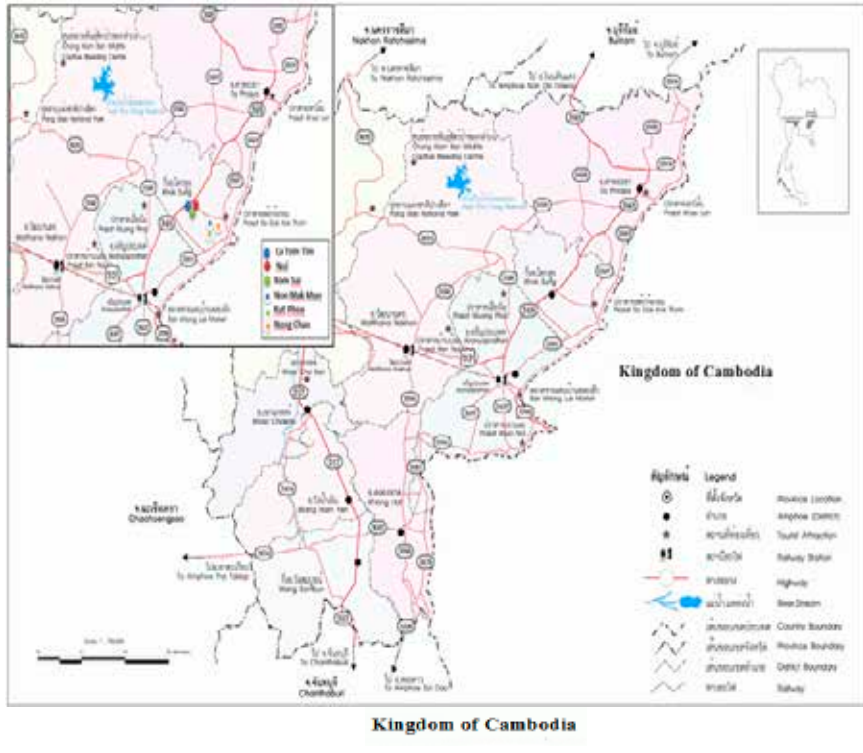

Figure 3.1: Map of Thai border villages in Khok Sung district, Sa Kaeo Province
Source: Sa Kaeo Map, retrieved 30 July 2015, http://www.novabizz.com/Map/57.htm

The Non Mak Mun population speaks Lao and the majority of migrants (56 out of 1,642 locals) live in three villages: Nong Chan, Kut Phoe and Non Mak Mun. There were previously refugee camps at Non Mak Mun and Nong Chan before they were destroyed by a Vietnamese military incursion in late 1984 (Stedman & Tanner, 2003). New villages were set up on the former locations of the refugee camps using the same names. Cambodian Nong Chan and Ang Sila villages are located opposite the Thai villages with the same names. Migrants in the Cambodian-Thai border villages are former refugees from other provinces in Cambodia.

There are three temporarily permitted check points located close to each other at Non Mak Mun, Nang Chan and Ang Sila. Thai and Cambodian villagers

are allowed to visit each other with the permission of the authorities (i.e. soldiers at the border check point).

Most of the migrants married local villagers either before or after migration. Some were displaced people who fled into the villages after the Vietnamese military destroyed Nong Chan camp. Thai local people mainly cultivate rice, sugar cane and cassava crops according to the seasons. Migrants work as farmers and as local laborers in the Thai community. At harvest time the local villagers will hire Cambodian people from the border check points and the authorities will allow them in for one day. Thus mutual benefits are shared between the Thai and Cambodian communities. Business places such as markets, peddler stalls, restaurants, shipping agencies and internet shops, among others, are to be found in the villages. For public services, there are four hospitals and five schools located in Non Mak Mun and Khuk Sung Sub-districts. In general, Cambodian people can access medical services at hospitals and their children can study at Thai schools.

No	Sub-districts (Tambon)	Male	Female	White ID card	Undocumented	Totals
1	Khok Sung	97	138	114	121	235
2	Nong Muang	47	65	33	79	112
3	Nong Wang	125	101	19	207	226
4	Non Mak Mun	29	27	48	8	56
Total		298	331	214	415	629

Table 3.1: Cambodian migrants categorized by status in Khok Sung District, Sa Kaeo Province *Source: Amita Nurthong, Khok Sung District Registration Office (17 April 2015)*

Cambodian Migration and Settlement

Cambodian migration to the Thai villages occurred in three periods: 1975-1993 when there were many refugees and displaced people; after 1993

when marriage migration was progressing; later (and current) a proliferation of local migrant workers. Many Cambodians moved to the villages during the early stages of the Khmer Rouge regime because they had relatives there. People living in the villages opposite the Thai border could easily escape before the situation in Cambodia reached crisis point. As the 85-year-old monk in Wat Nong Chan states:

> I lived in a village close to the Thai border, so, it wasn't a problem for me to escape to Thailand. Actually, I didn't intend to move because even though the Khmer Rouge army controlled everything in Cambodia it wasn't restricting the population in the border community. I could live in the village as normal. However, I was afraid they would come to control people like in other parts of Cambodia so I decided to escape. (Monk, Wat Nong Chan, 2 May 2015).

Cambodians living in cities or a long way from the border would make their way to stay at Nong Chan refugee camp for a while before they were able to contact their relatives or people in the Thai villages. After the Vietnamese invasion many Thai locals helped Cambodians who crossed illegally (Cook, 2009). But when they entered the villages, the local authorities would come to check in order to arrest displaced people and push them back to Cambodia or into the camp. The Thai government prohibited villagers from providing accommodation to Cambodians on pain of fines or other punishment. The Thai government was concerned about communism being practiced by its neighbors and that this might influence or impact on the practice of democracy in Thailand. Thai relatives and village headmen were required to identify Cambodians. Those without Thai relatives or friends had to hide while receiving humanitarian help from local villagers. As recalled by a former village headman of Ta Lom Tim:

> I had to inform the local authorities if I saw Cambodian refugees in my village, but some could help by allowing them to stay out of village areas or in the rice fields. It was very rare to see refugees living in the villages if they didn't know any people there because village headmen would be assigned to

> check and report to the local authorities. (Former village headman of Ta Lom Tim, 9 May 2015).

From the interviews, it appeared that in most cases Cambodian migrants shared accommodation or land with Thai villagers. Some who had access to land and housing decided to stay longer even after refugee repatriation took place. Migrants who had lived in the Thai border villages for a long time decided not to return. Some of them reasoned that it was too late as they no longer had land in Cambodia[8].

> I won't go back to Cambodia. My land there has already been taken by others. I will live here because my house and family are here. (Huean, Non Mak Mun, 23 April 2015).

When the situation in Cambodia improved, forced migration was replaced by economic migration. Access to the Thai border villages has changed. In general, Cambodian people are free to cross the border to work in Thailand. From interviews with 60 Cambodian migrants, 49 are married to locals. This marriage migration gradually increased after the refugee camps closed down.

Gender		Marriage status		Nationality of partner		Legal status	
Male	Female	Married	Single	Thai	Cambodian	White card	Undocumented
14	36	56	4	49	7	36	28
60		60		56		60	

Table 3.2: Cambodian migrants by gender, marriage and legal status
Source: field work in Khok Sung and Nonk Mak Mun, April - May 2015

There is also seasonal migration at harvest time; migrants come to the Thai border villages to help and meet with and sometimes eventually get married

8 The legal and institutional framework set up by the French colonial administration was destroyed by the Khmer Rouge and land was collectivized. Under the People's Republic of Cambodia, land remained under collective ownership. After the departure of the Vietnamese in early 1989, the new national constitution included land reform and recognized private land rights. Khmer citizens who had used and cultivated their land continuously for at least one year before the promulgation of the market-oriented policies were able to recover it, but otherwise ownership rights from earlier regimes could not be established and were not recognized. Collectivized land was redistributed to the public under a formula.

to local villagers. After having children in Thailand, the migrants are likely to extend their stay even though some of them were expected to return home.

> I did not have a job at home in Cambodia therefore in 1995 I followed my neighbors to work in the Thai border villages during harvest and met with my present husband. Now we have a daughter and a son. They have Thai citizenship like their father. (Chia, Non Mak Mun, 7 May 2015).

Temporary migrant workers who have been granted one-day entry permits must return to Cambodia in the evening. This is due to the absence of an immigration checkpoint in Khok Sung, where there are only temporarily permitted border points. Migrants who want to work in Thailand have to wait for their employers to pick them up at the border every morning. Migrant workers are permitted unofficially to work within the border areas. Long-term migrants can be clearly distinguished from the ones with only a half-day temporary permit. It should be noted that although the migrants have (unofficial) permission from police and local authorities, they are still illegal migrants under Thai Immigration Law.

Categories of Migrants

Cambodian migrants who came to Thailand after the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979) faced more difficulty in obtaining Thai citizenship than individuals who were formerly Thai but who moved to Cambodia prior to 1975. Some former Thais still had migrant status in the Thai border villages in Khok Sung District. Most of the Cambodian migrants who migrated to Thailand before 1962 were granted Thai citizenship. These people can be seen in three villages namely, Ta Lom Tim, Rom Sai and Noi. They called themselves the "Khmer ethnic group". However, no more can they consider themselves migrants or Cambodians since they have aged and dwindled in numbers while the present the population is now dominated by new generations who were born in Thailand and have more sense of belonging there.

Cambodian migrants after the Khmer Rouge came as refugees, but remained in the border villages after the refugee era ended. The Thai government neither treated them as displaced people, nor provided Thai citizenship as with earlier Cambodian migrants. They are generally considered by the Thai state as illegal.

Categorizing migrants by legal status, there are three main groups: those holding the official Thai ID card; those holding the white ID card of "persons without civil registration status"; and undocumented people.

Migrants who have obtained Thai citizenship after arrival are very difficult to identify as they are generally not willing to reveal their status as former migrants or as people who used to live and were born in Cambodia. The white card holders belong to the group of 1979-1999 refugees and to the new intermarriage migrants. They received white cards in 2011 as result of the 2008 government's strategy to solve problems on legal status and to uphold rights of people in Thailand. They have never had color ID cards like ethnic minority groups[9] and Burmese displaced people. White card holders were illegal migrants in the Thai border villages until the Thai government resolved their status. While the white card guarantees them the right to take refuge in Thailand, albeit temporarily, it still does not accord them full legal status.

The undocumented group is primarily either from the old group of migrants who have remained illegally in Thailand or new irregular migrant workers who are considered illegal and who are in the most vulnerable position. As undocumented people they have no access to state welfare and insurance programs and will be arrested, put in jail and deported to Cambodia if the police and authorities find them.

9 Many ethnic minority people – "mountain people" – in Thailand are stateless.

Age	Numbers	Lengths of stay (Years)	Numbers
15-25	3	1-5	1
26-30	2	6-10	2
31-35	10	10-15	17
36-40	10	16-20	11
41-50	23	21-25	9
51-55	7	26-30	9
56-60	3	31-35	2
61-65	1	36-40	8
66-70	1	41-50	2
Total	60	Total	60

Table 3.3 Cambodian migrants from interviews categorized by age and lengths of stay in Thailand *Source: From the field work in Khok Sung and Non Mak Mun subdistricts during April and May 2015*

Negotiation with Boundaries

Thai-Cambodian Physical Boundary

The notion of "border" illustrates the sovereign nation-state system where the state has the ability to control movements across its borders (Diener & Hagen, 2012; Kieh, 2008). Border checkpoints are set up along the frontier between the state and its neighbors and regulate the border crossing points. Generally, undocumented people are not permitted to cross the border of any state. In theory, the state has to restrict people from entering the country illegally and check movements and possessions that are considered as unlawful. However, the Thai government has announced that some border crossings are in a state of exception which is ambiguous between legal and illegal. Border crossings and border trading with neighboring countries are set up in three different categories which include permanent border crossing, temporary border crossings and temporarily permitted points. The temporarily permitted points are allowed under principles of mutual assistance, shared benefits and developing relations between border populations of both countries at local level. The promulgation

of this openness is mandated by the authorities of the provincial governor and issued by the Ministry of the Interior.

Figure 3.2 Photo of Ban Non Mak Mun Point in Non Mak Mun, Khok Sung, Sa Kaeo Province
Source: photo from field work during April-May 2015

A temporarily permitted point is defined by informal economic activities between the countries that share the border. An agent of such informal activities does not need to conform to the formal procedures that obtain at official immigration check points (Pongsawat, 2007). Comings and goings are flexible and less restricted. In Khok Sung, there are three temporarily permitted points located in Non Mak Mun, Nong Chan and Ang Sila villages. They have all been opened unofficially for many years. The Non Mak Mun point is in the process of negotiation between the two local governments of Sa Kaeo in Thailand and Bantey Meanchey in Cambodia, and will become a temporary trading point after the Joint Boundary Committee (JBC) has completed a detailed survey. Recently, the Deputy District Chief from the Ministry of the Interior has stood as the commander of border checkpoints. The Ranger Army and Civil Defense Volunteers are the state security agents responsible for security issues along

the border and in the Thai community. The Thai Ranger Amy is supervised by the second infantry regiment based in Khok Sung Township.

Figure 3.3 Map of Thai-Cambodian temporary border permitted points in Non Mak Mun, Khok Sung, Sa Kaeo Province

Source: Sa Kaeo Map, retrieved 30 July 2015, http://www.15thmove.net/news/thai-khmer-set-open-non-maakmun-border/

Checkpoints are set up at the entrances and exits of the Thai border villages, along the road. The army and civil defense officers cooperate with each other in monitoring and screening irregular migrants and illegal products. Irregular migrants are those who intend to leave the permitted areas within Khok Sung district. Generally, Thais and Cambodians can enter the border crossings to visit each other by asking for permission from the soldier. Villagers from Cambodia often enter to buy Thai products for sale in Cambodia, and some come to work as migrant workers in the agricultural and construction sectors. The Thai employers go to the border checkpoints when they need labor. The Ranger Army allows one day entry for Cambodian local villagers. The practices are different between ordinary villagers and migrant workers. Cambodian villagers have more flexibility. Migrant workers can only enter if their employers come to pick them up at the checkpoints. Early every morning from 6 am onwards, hundreds of migrant workers will be waiting at the border

for their employers. The workers come from many provinces in Cambodia. Information on labor force management from a soldier at Non Mak Mun border checkpoint reveals that:

> Every morning I am responsible for checking the migrant workers at the border. Here, we don't use individual documents to issue one day entry permits but instead we count how many migrant workers the employers have taken in the morning, then in the evening we check that they have brought the same number back. I'll note the names of employers and numbers of migrant works entering, and if any are missing the employer must be responsible. (Soldier at Non Mak Mun border checkpoint, 4 May 2015).

This rule is used to prevent migrant workers from escaping to other cities and provinces. The legal/illegal border crossing is considered within a state of community exception. It is a mutual local agreement and traditional practice of border livelihoods that are not always covered by the normal rules. During the interview with the soldier, it was apparent that Cambodian villagers will show their Cambodian ID or any ID card they have to the soldier at the check point while some of them simply raise their hands to let the authority know that they will enter Thailand.

Social Boundaries between Citizens and Migrants

It is important to identify the formal and informal distinctions between citizens and aliens in the Thai border villages. With regard to nationality, there is considered to be a formal boundary with Cambodian migrants. Less formalized but socially relevant is the distinction between majorities and minorities. Migrants are often characterized as minority ethnic groups in the host society. However, on the basis of ethnicity, Cambodian migrants are not really considered to be a minority group because the local population share similar ethnicity and indeed call themselves the "Khmer group of Thai nationality". Some of the villages have Khmer as their local language.

From the interviews with local citizens of the Khmer community, the people are likely to see migrants as villagers rather than looking at them as migrants based on their nationality. This is because the villagers still have their

sense of Cambodian ethnicity. As some villagers remarked, their grandparents moved from Cambodia, and the Khmer ethnic group has grown up in the Thai border areas over many years. Some villagers still maintain connections with relatives in Cambodia:

> Every year I go to Siem Reap to visit my relatives and sometimes they come to visit us here. This connection has existed since the time of my grandparents and I still keep it. (Village head man of Ta Lom Tim, 1 May 2015).

This relationship can also be seen in non-Khmer villages for example with Lao ethnic groups. Acquisition of the local language is very important for migrants in terms of accelerating the integration process. Lao ethnic groups are widely distributed along the border in both countries, and the historical background and current relations of villagers with their relatives are not so different from those of the Khmer group. For migrants who are originally from the Lao community in Cambodia, there is no difficulty for them to learn the local language because they also spoke Lao in Cambodia:

> I came from Non Sawan village (called Kon Trey in Khmer) in Cambodia. There people speak Lao and Khmer, so when I came here (Non Mak Mun village) I talk with local people as normal. (So, Non Mak Mun, 23 April 2015).

Moreover, distinctions between cultural or ethnic majorities and minorities become blurred when Thai and Cambodian natives intermarry - a phenomenon widespread along the Thai-Cambodian border. This is seen as individually crossing the boundary and assimilating oneself in the majority. Villages that have a long historical background of intermarriage migration tend not to regard newcomers as very diffierent to locals.

However, this boundary blurring does not mean that migrants have already overcome the boundaries of social determination and discrimination against active participation in civil society. Do they have access to social welfare on education, income and accommodation? Using these three dimensions we can examine the social boundaries and integration of migrants in a narrower meaning of the term "social".

With regard to legal barriers, migrants are strictly debarred from a variety of occupations since the national law of Thailand seeks to secure jobs for Thai citizens. However, this is not the case in the community where employment is seen as a potential for solidarity and as a way of pooling resources to alleviate the effects of overt discrimination and overcome obstacles to migrants' upward social mobility. Social and cultural integration will inevitably lead to greater socio-economic integration. For example, a village head reflects:

> In the past, housing and household economics as between villagers and migrants were clearly distinct. Of course the villagers were better off. But now when migrants have children and send them to work in Bangkok like the local villagers do, their circumstances are not much different from those of the villagers. (Village head man of Non Mak Mun, 2 May 2015).

It seems that migrants use ethnic relations, intermarriage and generations to reduce the effect of social boundaries within the narrow context of the local community. Migrants see the community as a space of less legal constraints, where social negotiating can be done direct between migrants and villagers.

Legal Boundary for Migrants

Migrant integration is further complicated by the issue of legality. Only legal migrants are eligible to access official channels recognized by the state, unlike undocumented migrants who lack legal permission to either stay or work in the country (Arnold, 2011). Undocumented migrants in the Thai border villages are generally aware of the importance of legal status as the key to more opportunities and security. Despite this they still do not register for legal status because they consider themselves long-term residents. As the legal status for migrant workers under national laws of Thailand is nothing more than a temporary status of one or two years of work permit, migrants who never participated in registration for undocumented migrants see no reason to get involved:

> I'm not a migrant worker; I only work in my village and nearby areas within the Khok Sung district. (Kwarng, Nong Chan, 9 May 2015.

Securing legal status for migrants who intermarried and later became long-term residents in the village requires marriage registration - a marriage ceremony alone is not enough. In Thailand, registration means getting required documents from the foreigner and the Thai national before they get married. Without registration the law does not recognize the marriage (Buxbaum, 1968). Several Thai-Cambodian couples have tried to register at the District Office to enable the foreign partners to benefit from the marriage visa as a legitimate way to stay in Thailand. However, in most cases, applicants were not able to satisfy the registration requirements. For example, some documents needed for the registration must be submitted to and processed by embassies of the couple's respective countries (Boonwanno, 2007). Further, the foreign national must have an income of at least 40,000 baht per month and a minimum deposit in a Thai bank of not less than 800,000 baht[10]. Obviously, poor migrants cannot meet these criteria and many will become illegal over-stayers after their tourist visas expire (Balbo, 2005). While Thai Law does not prohibit aliens from registering their marriage, and while this right is not to be refused by the officials unless the people are unqualified according to the requirements of marriage law, district officials usually will refuse to register marriages between Thai citizens and migrants from Thai neighboring countries. As Su recounts:

> We have tried to get a marriage registration at the district office but the government official says that migrant workers cannot register marriage with a Thai national. Therefore, we merely entered into a traditional marriage. (Su, Nong Chan, 22 April 2015).

Truong et al (2014) note that "this liminal legal status of migrants leads to specific kinds of vulnerability that significantly affect their experiences of assimilation in Thailand in general". Undocumented people are subjected to low pay despite the fact that the Thai government has set up a minimum wage standard for migrant workers. In the Thai border villages, migrants receive the same wage if they work with the local villagers. Therefore, those who care about wage discrimination will not generally work outside the district or with people who are not from their village. Undocumented status bars migrants from participation in most state welfare and insurance programs. Only documented

10 These appear to be the requirements for the foreign partner to obtain a marriage visa, although the bank deposit required may be 400,000, not 800,000.

migrants are eligible to benefit from social protection for migrant workers in Thailand. For example, self-insurance for migrants who work in formal sectors is required to buy or access the health benefit package through SSF or WCF funds. Currently, MoPH allows irregular migrants an alternative option wherein they can buy a health insurance package at a lower cost (THB 2,800 per year). But it is extremely rare for migrants to buy it. Reasons given for not participating are lack of information about the program, and the cost of the package which is not considered cost-effective for migrants given their low income. As one informant complained:

> I bought it once when I got pregnant, however, after that I won't buy it anymore because I think it is too expensive for me. (Nath, Tal Lom Tim, 5 May 2015)

Migrants with legal status such as provided by the white card are nonetheless restricted by many regulations: they are not allowed to travel out of Khok Sung district unless they obtain permission from the district authorities; they cannot own land; and they have limited access to job opportunities. Their desire to secure a good income is constrained by the limitations of the labor law.

Chapter 4

Local Integration and Social Protection for Migrants in the Thai Border Villages

In this chapter, I will analyze how Cambodian migrants can integrate with the hosts in the Thai border villages, and will identify the existing social protection mechanisms for migrants provided by the state and the local community. The first part of this chapter explains the local integration of Cambodian migrants in various domains of social, cultural, economic, community and legal aspects. It shows the actual integration that happens at the local level and how it has deepened beyond the state-based mechanisms. This part of the chapter will measure how far migrants have already been integrated into the host society. For the second part, I will describe how local integration enables migrants to access resources and protection, showing the different limitations of existing social protection mechanisms from local community and state schemes respectively. I will then identify the limitations that the Cambodian migrants still encounter and the measures that should be applied to widen and deepen their social protection. Rather than looking at the limited capacity of the local community in terms of providing social protection to the migrants, I will focus more in this chapter on how migrants benefit from existing community welfare and insurance programs. Finally, all existing social protection mechanisms from the state and local community will be analyzed as interchangeable resources of protective, preventive, promotive and transformative actions.

Local Integration

Social Integration

Cambodian migrants typically live more in Khmer communities than in Lao communities, because of language. Migrants who have limited language skills tend to migrate to villages with a substantial number of people who speak the same language as them (Gold & Nawyn, 2013). Most migrants in the Khmer community are well-integrated because of the shared ethnic background and language. This allows Cambodian migrants to avoid negative attitudes as the local citizens recognize themselves as the "Khmer group" of Thai nationals - a group with emotional attachment and values significantly shared (Ooi, 2004). However, Gold & Nawyn (2013) argue that "this ethnic enclave may negatively affect migrants' destination language acquisition", as migrants who have this linguistic advantage tend not to learn Thai as they do not seek a greater local integration with Thai-speaking communities. This affects migrant children because they attend Thai schools. For example, Ba is an 18 year-old boy who has grown up in the Khmer community with his mother. From his physical characteristics and language capacity, it is difficult to recognize him as Cambodian. In contrast, his mother, who migrated in middle-age, cannot speak Thai very well even though she has lived there for a long time:

> I was born in Cambodia but when I was one my mom took me to Thailand where we've lived ever since (Ta Lom Tim village). Now I'm a high school student and I can speak both Thai and Khmer. My mom can't speak Thai very well because she always speaks Khmer with the villagers here and she has never moved to work in other places where people speak Thai." (Ba, Ta Lom Tim, 5 May 2015).

For migrants living in non-Khmer communities, how they integrate depends upon the individual migrant's capacity in language acquisition, and acceptance by local citizens. Migrants make great efforts in adjusting their personal characteristics whether in speaking the local language (Lao) or dressing like other local villagers. For example, whenever I entered a village I could hardly distinguish the Cambodian migrants from the locals because most of them speak the local language like the native speakers. Indeed, some migrants

spoke the local language in preference to Khmer. For example, during the interviews my questions were prepared in Khmer but when I was talking with the migrants they often showed difficulty answering in Khmer. So I changed my interview language to Thai in spite of the fact that both the migrants and I are Cambodian. This shows how a migrant minority can gradually lose its language (Jenkins, 2009):

> In my family we don't speak Khmer because my daughter suggested that "mom if you want to stay in Thailand you should learn the language [Lao][11] otherwise if the police come they'll arrest you." As in the past there were restrictions on Cambodians who moved into the villages, I was afraid of police coming to check, so I tried not to speak Khmer and learned Lao word-by-word from local villagers. Now I speak only Lao to my children. They all attend Thai school and cannot speak Cambodian anymore - and I still forget some Khmer terms. (Chim, Nong Chan village, 17 May 2015).

The factors encouraging acquisition of the destination language by the Cambodian migrants may be due to the impact of restrictions in the late 20th century because of the fear that communism in Southeast Asia would affect democracy in Thailand (Saisoonthorn, 2006). At that time Cambodia was among the most extreme communist countries in the region, therefore the Thai border villages severely restricted the entry of Cambodian displaced people. These restrictions affected many migrants in the Thai villages. As a result, migrants have a higher motivation to learn the destination language because they realize that it will help them avoid investigation and possible arrest by the authorities who regularly come to check on illegal migrants.

Some migrant families overcome this fear by creating an obligation among their family members not to speak Khmer in their daily communication. Particularly in the Lao and Thai villages, migrants generally do not speak Khmer to each other. For example, while visiting a migrant at home in Nong Chan village, I noticed that when his friend from Kut Phure village came to invite him to his son's university graduation they spoke in Lao.

11 Lao is closely related, and very similar, to Thai.

Some children of the second generation need to act as language brokers for their family members (Thomas & Schwarzbaum, 2011). This can be a very significant factor for parents to stop speaking Khmer at home, because their children feel ashamed or shy to speak their parents' language even there, or at school. They do not want to learn or use the parents' language because it identifies them as members of the minority - except in the Khmer community where people speak the language of their parents. When parents speak Khmer to their children, the children often answer in Thai - two people communicating in different languages but nevertheless understanding each other. This is a common reaction and interaction of second generation children so that they can still maintain their parents' language. It may also encourage the parents to learn the host language.

Cultural Integration

Cultural integration describes the dimensions between cultural maintenance and cultural adaptation of Cambodian migrants in the Thai border villages. Thus, integration can be manifested through a process where one brings from one's indigenous culture and absorbs from one's settlement culture (Bornstein, 2010). In fact, most forms and practices of cultural activities in Thailand and Cambodia are similar (Keyes, 1995), so there is no difficulty in cultural integration. The easiest ways to cultural assimilation include language usage and participation in religious activities because both countries are dominated by the same forms of Buddhist teachings, rituals and practices. None of these issues is seen as an obstacle for Cambodian migrants in the Thai border villages.

Migrants can enjoy their traditional cultural activities in Thailand, as most of the traditional festivals and customs are similar. Specific cultural integration may refer to participation in religious activities at the local Buddhist temple. A temple can play a very important role in gathering together all groups of people in the community. Every Buddhist observance day (*wun phra*) will see some migrants bring food to offer to the monks at the temple like other local villagers. In each temple I visited during a Buddhist holiday, there were two or three Cambodian migrants among the twenty to thirty local villagers present. Some Cambodians cross into Thailand for merit-making activities at Thai temples.

Cambodian Buddhism is not seen by migrants as different from Thai Buddhism so they are likely to openly show their way of life as Buddhists by offering food to the monks in the morning and involving themselves with other local ceremonies. A yearly merit-making ceremony is performed in the village every May (*tham bun mubaan prachumpi*). I was invited to visit for chanting. Despite migrants being considered as a minority group, I saw that they were very much involved along with the other villagers. Some villagers just participate in the ceremony and return home, while some migrants would stay behind to help cleaning the village hall and getting everything back in place. As one migrant recalls:

> I'll offer food to the monks every morning before I start my work selling vegetables. But on Buddhist holidays I'll start work a bit late as I have to help other villagers wash the dishes. (Chim, Nong Chan village, 17 May 2015).

The migrants' engagement in Buddhist ceremonies accelerates the process of acculturation although the migrants are unaware of this. Migrants generally can meet with new friends at the temple and form a new social network with local citizens because people who are socially engaged in the temple will usually have their own group where they can call on each other when they need help:

> When a temple in my village has a *kathin*[12] (robe offering) ceremony and other activities, the village headman and villagers will call me to help them in arranging the place for the ceremony. (Phan, Non Mak Mun, 17 April 2015).

The engagement and contributions of migrants to local temples are beneficial to them in terms of cultural inclusion. For example if the son of a migrant is eager to receive ordination as a monk or to become a novice at the local temple, he will receive special permission from the abbot and preceptor (*phra uppacchaya*) despite the fact that an undocumented person is normally not allowed to receive ordination in Thailand. This is one of the community

12 A traditional Buddhist festival celebrated at the end of monks' retreat, or Buddhist Lent. *Kathin* means "laying down" of new robes for the monks. The offering of new saffron robes to monks is particularly meritorious and is the most important element of the festival.

exceptions on the basis of common cultural preservation that is not seen as a negative impact of migration:

> I wanted my son to be ordained here; at first I was very afraid that the abbot might refuse because my son does not have any document, and usually ordination requires people to show documentation before being allowed to ordain. However, the abbot said that this didn't matter as my son is well-known as a local villager. So my son was permitted to ordain even though this would normally not be possible for him. (Chueat, Non Mak Mun, 7 May 2015).

But violation of this rule may cause the preceptor to be punished by the Sangha[13] administration. The rule restricts not only aliens but also people from different communities. Generally, the preceptor requires the candidate to have a local villager as guarantor, and has to show his Thai ID card and documents. The rule is used in order to prevent people being ordained who should not be. In some cases, the abbot may not ordain a Thai citizen if he does not know his origin. For example, there was a man who moved away from Ta Lom Tim village at a very young age, and returned after 40 years; he wanted to be ordained but the abbots refused because he did not have any document to attest that his parents were Thai:

> I moved from the village over forty years ago, and everyone here thought I had died, so my particulars at the district office were deleted. When the abbot here did not allow me to be ordained I went to Cambodia and was ordained there, and then returned here to stay at Wat Nong Puk Bung. (Monk, Wat Rom Sai, 2 May 2015).

In this case, the local abbots did not trust a person who had disappeared from the village for decades. The local people also treated him as an outsider.

13 The Sangha Supreme Council of Thailand is the governing body of the Buddhist order (Sangha) of Thailand, and is the ultimate authority for all ecclesiastical matters within the Thai Sangha.

Economic Integration

Employment for migrant workers is mainly in the agricultural and construction sectors. The labor market which according to Thai policy gives preference to Thai locals seems to be irrelevant within the state of community exception, where migrants living in the villages can access any jobs available (Iredale, Hawksley, & Castle, 2003). Migrants have the option to be self-employed or to work as laborers. As for the minimum wage, migrants are likely to receive as much as the locals when they work together. But if they work with migrant workers from the daily border crossing their pay will be a bit lower than the standard minimum wage in Thailand (THB 300 per day) (Santiago-Fandiño, Kontar, & Kaneda, 2015). Some migrants will opt not to work with border-crossing migrants in order to receive better pay:

> If I work with Cambodian migrant workers I know that I cannot get better pay because everyone will receive the same wage, which is lower than the Thai minimum. However, if I work with my local villagers they know that I stay here so they'll pay me like other local people. I don't want to work with other migrant workers. (Phan, Non Mak Mun, 17 April 2015).

The employers can hire migrant workers at the border checkpoints. This is under the permission of local authorities that allow migrants to work in Thailand on one day permits. The wage will be pre-negotiated between employers and employees before the migrants cross the border to work. The wages for unskilled laborers are approximately 250-300 baht per day. These wages are not very attractive to the local villagers as they can get better pay working in the city. So migrant workers occupy most of the jobs in the agricultural and infrastructure sectors in the border areas. It is important to note that there is no significant negative attitude on job competition between migrant workers and local citizens:

> I don't think that migrant workers here seize the jobs of Thai locals because Thai people have a lot of choice and they'll not take hard work even if I pay them according to standard minimum wages. (Singto, Kut Phoe, 22 April 2015).

Entrepreneurship within the social and community exemption seems to have no limitation for migrants. Most of the migrants who are married to Thai locals will work as farmers and some migrant families will even rent land for farming. Farm rental may be paid in cash or with rice/paddy instead after harvest, depending on the agreement between the land owner and the tenant. Most migrants prefer to pay the rental fee in rice or paddy rather than cash, because that way they have to share only 20 per cent of total production whether the harvest is good or bad. This helps to mitigate the risk from high investment in land rental given the uncertainties of agricultural production, which depends primarily on seasonal rain.

> I'll rent land for farming every year. If I harvest twenty sacks of rice I've to give two of them to the land owner, but if it is less than that I can talk with the owner about how much to share. (Chim, Nong Chan, 7 May 2015).

The community will not stop migrants from opening grocery stores in the villages. However, only a few migrants can afford this. Generally, the village shop is in one room of the ground floor of a house, or sometimes on public land that local government has allocated for small shops. For example in front of Ta Lom Tim School there are shops run by Cambodian migrants:

> I opened a small fruit shop here (Ta Lom Tim School). I have to pay 500 baht per month rent to the Khok Sung Municipal Government Office. (Nak, Noi, 6 May 2015).

Figure 4.1: Occupations of some migrants in the Thai border villages in Khok Sung and Non Mak Mun, Sa Kaeo Province *Source: field work, April-May 2015*

Cambodian people sometimes come over by motorcycle to sell food and products such as fresh fish and fermented rice flour noodles. They simply ask for permission from the soldier at the border checkpoint and then they are free to come in. Migrants who are not interested to work as laborers will look for other jobs such as collecting ant eggs from the local forest to sell to the villagers for 400 baht per kilogram: several migrants in La Lom and Noi villages have this as their main occupation. Others prefer to buy from wholesalers for resale in the villages:

> My husband works as deputy of the village head man (Nong Chan village) and his salary is only 5,000 baht per month. It is not enough for all the family. So I decided to buy salted eggs from a company in Aranyaprathet, and use my motorcycle to travel round selling them to local villagers in Khok Sung. It is a good job with a good income; I can make about 80 baht

> profit from each stall of salted eggs, and every day I can sell to at least 15 to 20 stalls. That means I can earn approximately 1,200-1,600 baht per day. (Su, Nong Chan, 22 April 2015).

Only a few migrants are able to form their own businesses. But the community state of exception provides opportunities for some migrants to achieve self-reliance and a stable income. One of the most remarkable cases I saw was a migrant who became a middleman/broker of food exports and products from Thailand to Cambodia. Ren lives in Non Mak Mun village. For several years she was a construction laborer along with her husband (who is Thai). Then she started simply with a small chicken farm at home, until she became an exporter:

> I started with a small chicken farm at home and sold the chickens to Cambodian people by myself at the border. However, the demand for chicken in Cambodia was gradually increasing and I did not have enough chickens to respond to the demands of the market. So I contacted the CP Company in Sa Kaeo province and acted as the middleman to export chicken to Cambodia, making 1.5 to 2 baht per kilogram with 3 to 5 tons of chicken exported to Cambodia each time - profit 4500-7500 baht. The CP trucks bring the chickens straight to me at the border, where Cambodian trucks will be waiting to take them. Since I have been doing this my life and my family's is much improved. I have built a new house for my family and bought a new car. (6 May 2015.

This example shows that under community exception there is no significant restriction on migrants' occupations, notwithstanding the Thai Alien Employment Act. The real limitations are generally a lack of financial capital, and low education level.

Community Integration

When I entered a village I would have information from the District Office about the location of migrants. Once I was asking a group of three villagers in Nong Chan village "Do you know where in this village I can meet Cambodian people?" They did not realize that I too was Cambodian, despite

having asked the question in Khmer. The surprise answer was that "there are no Cambodians in this village". They were likely afraid of telling an outsider their true identity for fear that this might affect migrants living in the village illegally, many of whom had been arrested by police in the past. The local citizens showed they were trying to protect other villagers who were migrants.

I used my first encounters to interview local citizens at different villages. With regard to the relationship between migrants and locals, I got the impression that they treated each other as family. Interview answers were in the form of "we live here together like relatives, brothers and sisters". This is a common Thai form of positive answer. When I tried raising some questions which could invite negative attitudes to migrants, many showed concerns about the use of terms which they saw as divisive. The informants preferred to call everyone a "villager". As pointed out by a local leader:

> Unlike the state which sees the border as defining the territory of the country, people here just see the area as home. They are familiar with the border and villagers from Cambodia, but they do not look at each other as "people of different nationality" because we are Thai and they are Cambodian, but simply see all as villagers. Therefore, we can live together without any conflict. Even though sometimes our governments have conflicts about border issues, villagers here don't have any conflict. (The governor of Mak Mun Sub-district Administrative Organization, 8 May 2015).

The "Community" has played a very significant role in recognizing the status of the migrants, despite its lack of power or jurisdiction regarding national immigration policies. It is at the local level where the actual settlement and integration of migrants takes place (Aerschot & Daenzer, 2014). Membership is a key determinant for migrants in feeling a sense of "belonging" to the community where they live. This sense of belonging is a clear manifestation of their "right" to participate in the community like other villagers. Most of the border villages organize monthly village meetings. At the meeting, villagers report any progress on government projects or local activities (Young, 1955). The villagers, including the migrants, are required to participate in these meetings. Each household has to send at least one representative to attend but this rule does not really force villagers to show up every time there is a meeting.

But some village headmen use the rule to require migrants to attend regularly. This can be seen either as the community including migrants as "members"; or as a strategy to control and observe migrants' behaviors. Village headmen often call migrants to help when they need a workforce. Some migrants told me that on these occasions the village headmen usually note the names of all participants including migrants. This means that migrants will be judged according to their participation and contribution to the local community:

> Usually I'll encourage all Cambodian migrants in my village to participate in the meeting and other village activities. If some migrants are absent from the meetings several times running I'll have to ask them about their reasons for not attending. I would recommend them to participate the next time because they should care about their status as migrants; it is very important for them to show gratitude to the village where they live by their participation and contribution to the village, especially in times when we need people to help. (Village headman of Non Mak Mun village, 2 May 2015).

Therefore, based on the interviews, the involvement of migrants in most village activities is high, as they are strongly encouraged to participate in nearly every activity except those restricted to Thai citizens, such as elections or discussions about the One-Million-Baht-a-Village Fund[14]. In some cases, the local leader allows individual migrants he trusts to work as Civil Defense Volunteers, who have a similar role to village police. Mr. Thai's father worked as a Civil Defense Volunteers for many years:

> My father is well-known among local leaders and villagers because he works as a Civil Defense Volunteer. Whenever the community has an activity the village headman will call him to work as a volunteer security man. Me too - I used to work

14 A revolving loan program introduced by Thaksin Shinawatra's first government in 2001. The program specifically targets projects aimed at stimulating the rural economy. Village leaders and bankers identify projects and provide loans at 4% interest (commercial farm loans cost 5%-8%) to be guaranteed by community groups. The purpose of the $1.6 billion fund is to enable farmers to increase productivity, and value added, through developing new activities such as processing and packaging. The Fund can also be drawn on by individuals, households or groups to start their own small or micro-enterprises.

> sometimes when the village needed a security man. I would really love to be in the border patrol police, though I know that my status makes this impossible. But I have attended some training programs like a soldier. (Thai, Nong Chan, 9 May 2015)

In addition, there are local training workshops and activities such as those for handmade products and drug prevention that require particular numbers of local citizens from each village to participate. Some Cambodian migrants will be ordered to attend the activities when the village headmen cannot find enough villagers to volunteer. Some activities take place over several days, and participants are asked to stay overnight especially when training is organized in another district or province. For example, in the case of Thai and Kwang living in Nong Chan village, the village headman often sends them to participate in various programs and activities in Sa Kaeo province and elsewhere:

> Sometimes I'm not so interested to attend the training activities but if the village headman requests and no one else is willing to attend then I'll have to accept. Last time was on drug prevention training for ten days. I had to stay in the prison like a prisoner as the program required participants to learn about life as a drug prisoner. (9 May 2015).

Thus it can be seen that village headmen encourage migrants to participate in village activities. And that migrants are recognized as permanent residents of the local community even though their resident status is not recognized by the Thai state.

Legal Integration

Migrants who have resided in the country for a long time, according to the registration survey conducted by the Ministry of Interior (MOI) in 2005, can obtain a particular legal status under the government's Strategy on Administration of Legal Status and Rights of People who remain in Thailand without Legal Status (Huguet, 2011). Students and long-term migrants can obtain ten years temporary status as "persons without civil registration", and are granted a special ID card (the "white card") with 13 digits beginning with "0" (CRRO, 2005; Saisoonthorn, 2006).

The "community" has a key role in determining the status of migrants. As part of the process, the District Office will conduct a survey, after which the village will organize a meeting to discuss and ask for public opinion about the migrants' status. This process has a direct impact on the status of migrants and determines whether the names of the migrants are included in the list drawn up by the District Office for submission to the MOI.

> After the survey we have requested every village to organize public meetings. During the meetings District Officers cooperate with village headmen because they have to be part of the committee. Not every migrant is selected; they must have come to Thailand before 1999, and then we asked opinions from villagers about who they wish to receive the white card. In some villages we were not able to attend but the village headmen acted on our behalf and sent the information to us. We made a final classification and selection of qualified migrants at the District Office and sent the information to the MOI. (Officer of Khok Sung District Office, 7 May 2015).

In Nong Chan village, villagers, migrants and representative officers from the District Office all participated in the meeting. An officer asked the villagers to say "yes" if migrants had been in the village for a long time, and to vote by show of hands for individual migrants whom they thought should be given the legal status. "All the villagers raised their hands for all the migrants in the village." (Chim, Nong Chan, 17 May 2015).

In contrast, in Non Mak Mun village, the village headman said "some migrants did not receive support from the villagers as they never participated in the village's activities and often made problems in the community such as causing domestic violence when they are drunk." (village headman, Non Mak Mun, 2 May 2015).

This is an effective way to choose particular migrants to obtain access to legal status, provided the community contributes and participates. However, many other border villages ignored the importance of public opinion as the village headmen were not really forced to do it. In the absence of a village meeting, the District Office was left to decide who would be included in the list.

> In Noi village we did not conduct a public meeting but simply asked migrants who stay in the village to fill out a form, and this information was then submitted to the District Office. (Village head man of Noi, 5 May 2015).

The information from Khok Sung District Office shows that only 269 out of 622 migrants were granted the white ID card. From the interviews, many migrants in the villages where there were no public meetings complained that some migrants who had been in the village for only ten years received the white card, while others who had been there for over thirty years did not:

> My family is Thai but we moved to Cambodia pre-Khmer Rouge and I came back to Ta Lom Tim after the war ended (1979). I wanted to have legal status and in the past I had tried in many ways [legal and illegal], but never received it. When the village headman called me to fill out the MOI survey form I did everything like other migrants, but finally others received the ID but I didn't. I don't know why my name was not there. (Unrevealed name, Ta Lom Tim, 22 May 2015).

Similarly, some migrants who were entitled to legal status were deleted from the list because they were not able to present themselves to the District Office for the photo-taking and printing of the ID card. An officer said that the announcement letters were sent to every village. In order to find the truth about what happened, individual migrants visited other villages and were informed that some people had missed the appointment at the District Office because allegedly the village headmen did not tell them about it. As a result, these people decided to go to the District Office and later on they were able to receive the ID card.

> After the survey, many years ago, I never received any information from my village headman. But since you [researcher] told me about it I went to ask the District Office and when an officer checked and saw my name there she let me have my photo taken and after another month I received the ID. (Nee, Susamran, 8 June 2015).

Even when people have already received the white card, if they decide to return to their home country, or lose contact with the District Office, there is a possibility that their names will be deleted from the system.

No	Village	Male	Female	White ID card	Undocumented	Total
1	Ta Lom Tim	17	11	20	8	28
2	Noi	5	17	9	13	22
3	Rom Sai	8	27	12	25	37
4	Non Mak Mun	16	17	31	2	33
5	Nong Chan	9	5	12	2	14
6	Kut Phoe	11	11	10	12	22
Total		156				

Table 4.1: Cambodian migrants categorized by legal status in six villages of Khok Sung District, Sa Kaeo Province *Source: Amita Nurthong, Khok Sung District Registration Office (17 April 2015)*

Limitations of Local Integration

The study found that migrants face various limitations when it comes to local integration. For those who were able to integrate in the community through ethnic relationships like the Cambodian migrants in the Khmer community, the integration process is relatively smooth. Speaking the same language has accelerated the process. However, these migrants tend not to learn Thai and miss out on integration with the greater Thai society. Ethnic integration is a small-scale success, but it limits the capacity of the migrants to enter into larger scale integration. Migrants in non-Khmer communities, on the other hand, face constant pressure from their environment to learn Thai and become integrated into Thai society.

Attitudes to migration and settlement can change. The older generations of migrants who were displaced by armed forces received sympathy and help from local villagers during this difficult time. The integration of migrants in the past was a very successful case of locals in the Thai border villages receiving them without any negative image. We might need to be reminded that successful integration may happen in a limited place within a limited period of time. Nowadays, the policy of most village headmen seems no more to accept direct

migration from Cambodia with the purpose of settlement; only for intermarriage reasons will migrants be welcomed to settle. There is no prospect of a decrease in the number of migrants from Cambodia through intermarriage.

The smooth integration of migrants may be a thing of the past since the number of migrants has been gradually increasing. Too many new migrants may also create a negative impact on the local integration process if migrants increasingly associate with their fellow migrants rather than with the hosts. For example, in the current case study, we can see that the smallest group of migrants in the Lao community has entered into greater local integration than other groups. The integration capacity of the hosts may not be able to cope with an accelerated influx of migrants. Moreover, conflicts concerning land and resources could arise and create a growing negative image of the migrants.

Social Protection

Protective Measures with Social Assistance

A State of Community Exemption on Property

The Thai Land Act (2000) stipulates that foreigners cannot buy or own land unless there is a treaty for such ownership to particular foreigners (Mukherjee, Cuthbertson & Howard, 2015). However, within the community exception, migrants are able to access land and housing. On 18 November 1984, when Vietnamese/PRK forces attacked Nong Chan camp, many Cambodian refugees fled into the Thai villages (Robinson, 1998). After a time, some villagers sold small plots of land to migrants, who in turn built their own houses. This buying process does not give migrants legal ownership - they simply occupied the land with "word contract of sale". Land ownership in the Thai border villages is generally still in forms in such that citizens can occupy and use the land but cannot lease or sell it. Technically the land rights can be transferred from one occupier to another.

Figure 4.2: Houses of migrants in Non Mak Mun, Khok Sung, Sa Kaeo Province
Source: photo from field work during April-May 2015

However, to avoid future eviction by the owners, some migrants invited village headmen to participate as eye-witnesses to the contract. Generally migrants do not fear to be cheated because in the community villagers have a culture of trust of one another. Legal ownership can be transferred if migrants have Thai relatives or children married to Thai nationals.

> Our family stayed in another villager's house for ten years before my father could save enough money to buy some land from a Thai friend for 30,000 baht. Then we built a house. We did not receive a land certificate from the former owner, but my sister married a Thai man and has a daughter with Thai nationality; when she grows up I'll ask the former owner to transfer the land occupancy right to her. (Kwarng, Nong Chan, 9 May 2015).

Some migrants could access land through kinship relations with locally married migrants, whose Thai husbands or relatives might rent them a house or sell them land. Kinship relations give migrants a chance to stay in the village until they acquire permanent residence.

> I and my husband have been in Ta Lom Tim village for 13 years. We built a house on the land of my friend's husband - he is Thai man and allowed us to build a house on his farm land. (Kern, Ta Lom Tim, 5 May 2015).

Movement of Migrants under Restriction

Migrants in the borderlands have at different times been subject to traveling restrictions when issues arose of irregular migration or human trafficking. For example, in May 2015, as a result of the Rohingya trafficking issue in Southern Thailand[15], security measures in many borderlands including Khok Sung became tighter:

> When I traveled to any place within the district and met with a policeman he asked me 'where're you going?' I told him that 'I've a house in the village near here, I won't go anywhere'. Then he said 'don't go to the city If you go into the city I'll arrest you!' After he knows that I am a local villager, he says nothing and let me go. (Khuean, Ta Lom Tim, 5 May 2015).

To travel out of the district, migrants usually go as a group with other local villagers. If they go alone, they often use a personal vehicle or rent a car rather than using a public bus, as they are aware of the checkpoints along the way[16]. Migrants will spend a lot of money to rent a car when they need to go to the hospital in the city of Aranyaprathet. Sometimes it costs more than the medical care:

> I have 1,000 baht when I go to the hospital but I have to pay at least 600 baht for a driver to take me there. It's easy and secure for me to travel but I don't do it very often as it's so expensive - only in case of necessity. (Nee, Khoksamakee, 8 May 2015).

15 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/19/thailand-convicts-dozens-of-traffickers-after-mass-graves-discovery

16 At checkpoints bus passengers are often checked individually, whereas cars are usually waved through.

Although migrants who have a white card are required to ask for permission if they want to travel out of the district, many said that in practice they are free to travel anywhere, as whenever they meet the police, they will just show their white cards and the police will let them go or at least just say that 'you should not go out of the district'. Many of them do not feel that they are really prohibited from leaving the controlled areas as some were able to travel to many provinces in Thailand after they received the white card. Migrants will face a real challenge only if they want to move and work in another district or province when the authorities at the destination will first require them to change their residence:

> I worked in Pattaya for a year, but when the authority saw my ID card he requested me to change the residence profile from Khok Sung to Pattaya; otherwise I won't be allowed to stay and work there. But when I came back home and contacted the District officer she told me that "a person who holds this ID can't change the residence." Until now I do nothing, I still have to work here because there is no job at home. (Lan, Nong Chan, 9 May 2015).

Migrants can change the residence but in practice it is very difficult to do so as they have to find guarantors who would do the follow-up process and are often required to be from the local authority in either the sending or destination district. Ordinary migrants cannot usually satisfy this regulation. No authority will want to get involved in helping migrants - even government officials at the District Office will simply say that 'people without civil registration status cannot change the residence' rather than explain the process to change it.

Preventive Measures with Social Insurance

State Health Insurance

For the first time in 2010, the Thai Cabinet included 400,000 stateless people in national health schemes (THAIVISA, 2015) (MOPH, 2012). In 2015 they added another 208,000 people born in Thailand but without citizenship. People who have the white card can benefit from national health schemes, but at the time I was conducting the field work for this study not all white card holders in Khok Sung were included, as people were added selectively. Eligible

people can receive services in the hospital of the province where they are registered. If they want to receive health services in the province but outside their district, a permit is required except for accidents and emergencies. Most migrants go to Aranyaprathet hospital which it is the biggest medical institution nearby. However, migrants may not be aware of their rights to health insurance included in the white card unless they are sick and have to go for a check-up at the hospital:

> My family has six members. Everyone has a white card but only my brother can receive free health care when he goes to hospital - I and others can't. We don't know why, as everyone holds the same type of ID card. A nurse only tells me that she can't see my name in the system. (Kwang, Nong Chan, 9 May 2015.

Migrants can't access state health insurance unless their names are included in the Ministry of Health system. Those who are ineligible under the scheme can still access the services but they have to pay, which can be more or less expensive than the state-provided services depending on the individual hospital's policy regarding alien patients. The Aranyaprathet hospital sells a health insurance card that costs 1,100 baht per year, but only for migrants registered with MOI. This will not be a problem for migrants who have regular employers because they are required to buy the health insurance card which comes along the with the work permit. However, only a few migrants in the Thai border villages have bought the card because they consider it expensive and they are uninformed about the scheme. Well-informed people who are aware that they have to receive treatment at the hospital - such as pregnant women - would buy the health insurance package to reduce the cost:

> When I got pregnant I had to buy the health insurance card from the hospital because I realized that to give birth there costs a lot of money. In so doing, I paid less than what I would have had to pay by myself. However, I still feel that it was expensive and otherwise I wouldn't buy it. (Nath, Ta Lom Tim, 5 May 2015).

In the case of migrants who are unable to pay, the hospitals along the border often allow them to pay later whenever they have the money. Aranyaprathet hospital notes the names and amounts outstanding and reminds

the migrants about the debt the next time they come to the hospital. The migrants can also request help from the Social Medical Fund for Vulnerable People. However, a staff member of the Fund states 'in most cases migrants could never repay the Fund. But the hospital still helps them to pay for the part of the cost that the migrants can't cover, as the hospital cannot refuse to receive the patients' (Interview, 7 May 2015). Migrants who have outstanding bills at the hospital avoid visiting the hospital again, unless they fall seriously sick and have no choice other than going to some unknown hospital, because they fear they will be asked to pay the debt before being treated.

> My family owes Aranyaprathet hospital 10,000 baht for my father's cancer treatment. We had to spend a lot of money for this but we never have enough to pay for the medicines and services, so we asked for help from hospital. Now, even though my father has passed away, we are still afraid to go to the hospital again because we can't pay the debt if the hospital asks us to. (Thai, Nong Chan, 9 May 2015).

> I owe Aranyaprathet hospital for many visits as I have to receive medical care quite often since I'm old. When I don't have enough money to pay a doctor will allow me to owe. I now owe a total of 4,000 baht. (Prayong, Non Mak Mun, 17 April 2015).

The migrants in the border villages primarily depend on the Tambon (sub-district) Health Promotion Hospitals (THPH). Migrants still have to pay for the cost of medicines, except people holding the white card because the hospitals consider them as "a group" of documented migrants. Information from local hospitals reveals that illegal migrants have to pay approximately 30 to 100 baht according to the cost of the medicine. However, some doctors/staff "do not collect the money from migrants, especially from those who are staying in the villages". (Interview, doctor at Ta Lom Tim Hospital, 1 May 2015). Even though medicines are not as expensive as in Cambodia, some migrants have difficulty paying. On the other hand, local hospitals also sell life insurance cards (excluding health benefit) to villagers. They cost 420 baht a year and pay out 30,000 baht when the insured passes away. The regular and irregular migrants are conditionally included in this service:

> The migrant is required to have a letter of recommendation from the village headman or sub-district head man (kamnan) to establish having permanent residence in the community. The hospital then will allow him/her to buy the life insurance. Without a permanent residence the hospital cannot pay the money to the family. (Doctor at Ang Sila Hospital, 4 May 2015).

However, some migrants who bought this life insurance said that usually it is not that difficult because the doctor and staff of the hospital know that they are local villagers and will allow them to buy it without asking for the letter. This is an internal flexibility open to the hospital.

Community Welfare and Insurance

In the same way, migrants can benefit from the "funeral fund group" set up by most border villages. It is one of the important community institutions that supports the families of deceased persons by organizing funeral ceremonies (Cook & Kabeer, 2010). Every household including migrant families is required to join the group if they live in the village. Each household has to contribute 50 or 100 baht to the fund when a village member passes away. The mechanism and management are different in different villages. Usually, small villages like Nong Chan, Kut Phoe and Non Mak Mun will join together to increase funding capacity as well as to reduce the villagers' fee. Thus, if over five hundred households join together as a single group, the fund will be contributing 25,000 to 50,000 baht for the family when a member dies. This is quite important for migrants who face legal barriers to access external life insurance unlike Thai citizens. For instance, a migrant in Nong Chan village died of cancer in February, 2015, and his family received support from the fund:

> When my husband passed away we had only 10,000 baht to organize the funeral ceremony, however, we also received 50,000 baht from the community funeral fund and local villagers. We don't have to do anything about this money because the villagers and committee of the fund helped us to manage money for daily expenditure till the ceremony is done. (Chim, Nong Chan, 7 May 2015).

Aside from the "funeral fund group", migrants can also access the "community self-help saving group" (Anheier, Simmons, & Winder, 2007). This is a voluntary arrangement, and every villager has the right to apply for membership. It helps members to accumulate savings and shares the yield from dividends and loan interest at the end of every year. Unlike the government's One-Million-Baht-a-Village Fund, which usually provides loans only for local citizens, migrants can save and borrow from the community self-help saving group because it belongs to the community and not the state. The community and its committee have full authority whether or not to include migrants in the fund. From my research, most of the border villages allow migrants to become members. In general, regulation is very similar among the villages; the membership can save tens of thousands of baht per month and these funds can yield dividends ranging from 76 to 80 per cent at the end of the year. If members want to borrow money from the group they will receive a special low interest rate of only 1 per cent per month:

> Migrants can access the "funeral fund group" and "community self-help saving group" because both belong to the community not the government - unlike the "One-Million-Baht-a-Village Fund" which is only for local citizens. Therefore, the community has full authority to lay down a rule whether to include or exclude migrants from the groups. However, we see migrants here as villagers because they have permanent residence and have been here for a long time. (Village headman of Noi, 5 May 2015).

Under community management migrants are included in community welfare and insurance programs. However, the community has limited capacity and there are limitations to its social protection – the community can provide only what it has. It is based on the wishes of the community, with neither the capacity nor the legal mechanisms and restrictions of the state's social protection.

Promotive Measures with Social Services

Promoting Right to Education

In the past, rights to education for children were accessible only to Thai citizens. As a result, many migrant children and stateless people were not

qualified to access the Thai public education system. To address this issue, a Cabinet resolution on education for undocumented children was passed in 2005, wherein the Ministry of Education (MOE) introduced the 'Education for All' policy to include marginalized children and uphold the universality of the right to education (Truong et al., 2011). Since then many schools have started to accept migrant students.

Schools have a duty to submit the names of the children of migrants directly to the District Office:

> We complete the name list of migrant children who study at our school and then send it to the District Office. Most of children already have an ID card. (Teacher of Khok Sung School, 4 May 2015).

Since the information on students is being provided by the school, their profile will show the address of the school instead of their residence, and that will be used in their recognition status. If people are lost track of there is a possibility that their names will be deleted from the system. Students are the most affected because their residential profile is a school. As they graduate from the school, their names will no longer be on the list, although they still live in the same villages. Adult migrants are more secure in their legal status than migrant children.

It was interesting to learn that even though the policy simply says that education is for children in Thai society, this principle has been further applied across the border as many schools along the Thai-Cambodian border admit not only migrant children but Cambodian children who come over daily to study at Thai schools:

> Thai education is open for undocumented children in the country but at the same time it doesn't limit the right of other children. Therefore we can accept children from Cambodia when they wish to study at our school. (Director of Non Mak Mun School, 9 May 2015).

In 2014-2015 232 Cambodian students were enrolled at different schools in Khok Sung. In Ban Non Mak Mun School -- the closest to the border - there are more Cambodian students than Thai students. In the past, many families

did not enroll their children because they thought the school would require many documents that they could not provide (Bartlett & Ghaffar-Kucher, 2013). However, the border schools know about this problem. To enroll children at first level of primary school, the parents simply need to give verbal details. Many Cambodian families encourage their children to study at Thai schools from primary level because then they will have evidence to apply for admission at higher levels in other places. From interviews with many school teachers, it seemed that, in general, children from Cambodia finished only primary or secondary school, with very few going on to high school or university. A local school teacher explained that:

> Parents of Cambodian students only want them to learn Thai language, then they stop and later on work in Thailand to help their families. (Director of Non Mak Mun School, 9 May 2015).

Economic circumstances discourage many families from sending their children to higher education when they can go out to work and contribute to the families' livelihood. However, some migrant youths in the villages choose to work and continue their education at the same time, at the Informal Education Institution - alternative education for adults and young people who have no chance to get education from a formal school. Students regret that they can study only one day per week. The Informal Education Institution uses the same principle that allows students to enroll regardless of their status:

> There are five Cambodian high school students who already graduated from Informal Education School in tambon Non Mak Mun but in other tambons there are very few. However, now education is wide open and if migrants or people from Cambodia wish to enroll for study, they can do so free of charge like Thai citizens. (Teacher of Informal Education School, Non Mak Mun, 1 May 2015).

However, after graduating from the school, most of the migrants face the difficulty of finding a job - their status as undocumented people without civil registration serves as a barrier. Because of the status problem, some do not believe that they can use the education certificate from the school to apply for jobs in Thailand after graduation. Inability to make use of the school certificate is another reason why migrant students decide not to pursue higher

education. Thai people still lack understanding about the status of minority groups in society, which leads to selective and discriminatory hiring, favoring Thai citizens over those who have unclear status:

> I finished high school but when I went to work in Bangkok and used my certificate and white card to apply for a job, an employer said "I don't know what that means "person without civil registration status"? He thinks I am a migrant worker. Usually I'll work wherever the employer does not require me to show an ID card or education certificate; as I can speak Thai very well my employer will think that I'm Thai and pay me the same as other Thai workers. (Kwarng, Nong Chan, 9 May 2015).

No	School	Migrant and Cambodian Students						
		Enrolled in 2014-2015			Enrolled before 2014			Grand Total
		Stay in village	Daily border crossing	Total	Stay in village	Daily border crossing	Total	
1	Ban Nong Wang Community School	2	0	2	6	0	6	8
2	Ban Khok Sung School	8	7	15	2	10	12	27
3	Ban Non Mak Mun School	5	21	26	6	61	67	93
4	Ban Nong Chan School	NA	5	5	1	14	15	20
5 Ban Nong Mank School		NA NA 0 20 0					20	20
6	Ban Nong Make School	12		12	9	NA	9	21
7	Ban Nong Eag School	1		1	1	NA	1	2
8	Bank Ang Sila School	13	4	17	18	NA	18	35
9	Sahasahong Mahakun School	1	NA	1	4	NA	4	5
10	Thammasiri-vithayakarn Kindergarten School	NA	NA	0	1	NA	1	1
Total		47	37	79	85	68	153	232

Table 4.2: Migrant children enrolled at schools in Khok Sung, Sa Kaeo Province *Source: Sa Kaeo Primary Educational Service Area Office 2 (2015)*

Transformative Action with Citizenship

It is a challenge for undocumented people in the borderlands who share similar ethnicity and family name with documented inhabitants to claim that they should be able to access the right to Thai citizenship. Mrs. Pom came to Thailand when she was 11 years old and as she grew up, she was aware that citizenship was important for her.

> My parents moved to Cambodia before the Khmer Rouge regime, and I and my three siblings were born there. After the Khmer Rouge ended we returned to Non Mak Mun village where my parents had lived in the past, but because when they moved to Cambodia there was no civil registration book like there is now, we all became undocumented migrants when we came back. (Pom, Nong Chan, 24 May 2015).

She has been struggling for the right to citizenship for nearly two decades now while her father who has a Thai sister is not helping because of his old age. Due to poverty and lack of education, it is difficult for her to get help from local leaders or authorities. She went many times to the District Office to claim her right to citizenship, but the officer always refused based on the assumption that she was an illegal migrant with no connection that would help her to proceed according to the regulations:

> Every time, the officer tells me that I can't have access to citizenship because I can't read and write Thai and I'm an illegal migrant. She doesn't believe me even though I tell her I have Thai relatives here as well as my Thai aunt and village headman. Nobody wants to get involved because they think it is impossible for me to be Thai as I was born in Cambodia. (Pom, Nong Chan, 24 May 2015).

Citizenship is a sensitive issue which is why state officers proceed very carefully with registration applications. Mrs. Pom got hardly any trust and help from government officers. However, she has never given up even though she has been refused several times. She kept on going back to the District Office and one day met a man who, unknown to her, was a duty officer at the district governor's office. In their informal conversation, the man asked her to tell him

her story – where she comes from and who are her relatives in Thailand. Despite not knowing her the man listened and believed her story. She did not expect that she would be able to get his trust. Through his help, the District Office received her case for consideration and arranged for a DNA test with her closest Thai relative in the village to prove her identity:

> After I told my story to the man he asked me to write my name on a paper. My name is all I can write. He believes me because he knows that I'm an uneducated person by the way I speak and I can't tell a lie to him. The District Office requested me to do a DNA test with my father's sister and my son at Siriraja Hospital. I told the man from the district governor's office that I don't have much money; he sympathized with me and gave me a letter with the hope that the Siriraja Hospital would help me. I went to the Siriraja Hospital with my son and aunt with only 8,000 baht. I had, however, rented a car which cost 5,000 baht so that left me with only 3,000 baht. The hospital told me to do two tests with my son and my aunt that cost altogether 16,000 baht. However, because of the letter from the District Office I received assistance from the hospital's public funds and the results of my DNA test were positive. (Pom, Nong Chan, 24 May 2015).

After receiving the DNA test results, the District Office organized a public hearing in the village and invited all villagers to participate. The villagers attested to the blood relationship of Pom's family with local villagers to prove that she was eligible for Thai citizenship through her parents' lineage. After the conduct of the DNA test and the public hearing, she had to wait for one year to see whether or not she could receive Thai citizenship. Eventually in 2007 she received an official Thai ID card. Pom says that she is the first person to receive Thai nationality in Non Mack Mun. After she received the Thai ID, other villagers learned from her experience and were also able to gain Thai citizenship. In most cases the migrants underwent the same process as Mrs Pom but some villagers also had to obtain the *Thor Ror 14* document[17]. However, from the

17 ท.ร.14 - house registration document

interviews, there were not many successful cases in the Khok Sung districts; only a few people were able to get support from local villagers.

In the case of Dee, who was mentally challenged, local villagers did help with his request. The information was provided through an interview conducted with a former headman of Noi village. According to the headman, Dee moved from Cambodia to Thailand when he was very young during the pre-Khmer Rouge era. He married a local villager but when his wife passed away he was not able to handle her death and had suffered mental illness for decades. When he turned 70 years old, the villagers and the village headman felt concerned about his health problems and thought that Thai citizenship would help him to get through his old age. The process for his request was based on local public opinion. The village headman consulted with the Khok Sung District and the district officials sent an appointment letter to the village headman to arrange a public hearing to be attended by representatives from the District Office, the village headman, local villagers, and Dee as the citizenship requestor. He received total support from the villagers:

> Everyone raised their hands to support him because everyone sympathizes with him, and the process was initiated by the villagers themselves. (Former village headman, Rom Sai, 9 May 2015).

Dee was able to receive an official Thai ID card even without the DNA test. His eligibility to apply for a Thai citizenship was made stronger on the basis of his disability and mental illness - the Nationality Act of Thailand gives special consideration for people with mental disability.

Limitations of Social Protection

This study found that Cambodian migrants still face limitations in social protection, particularly for those who are undocumented. However, it can be said that despite their illegal status they are permitted to enter, stay and work in Thailand. For health services, of course they are excluded from access to the health insurance package available to documented migrants, and have to pay all medical fees when they go to the hospital. This leaves them in a situation of health marginalization when in cases of severe illness and accidents they may need medical treatment which they can't afford. The study found that long-term

migrants do not think that they are entitled to equal access to free health services like Thai citizens. They expect their accessibility to health services to be on the basis of their capacity to pay. Generally, they are satisfied with the cost of medical treatment at sub-district hospitals for normal health services which are cheaper compared to Cambodia. Migrants visit the hospital openly and buy the 420 baht life insurance package from sub-district hospitals. We think that if the cheap health insurance package were available for migrants, it would encourage illegal migrants to make more use of health services. However, until now the health insurance package for irregular migrants introduced by MoPH still has limitations as it is available only for those who are registered with MOL. Other non-registered migrants and those who are undocumented are excluded.

Regarding education for migrant children, equal job opportunities for graduate students and access to higher education are limited because of the stigma still attached to them as illegal migrants. Despite the right to education for all children regardless of status, occupations available for migrants are limited by the MOL. Migrants and stateless people are allowed to work in only 27 occupations regardless of their academic qualifications. People holding the white ID card are not recognized as Thai citizens nor as migrant workers but are still subject to the Alien Employment Act. This can undermine people's opportunities, especially those who graduated from high school or university. This phenomenon is ignored in Thai society - and this is not about Cambodian people who cross the border daily, but rather children born in Thailand from Cambodian migrant parents. Students who opt to work after graduation are faced with limited opportunities because employers in Thailand do not hire stateless people even with a university degree. There is a gap between the rights to education and the rights to employment.

White card holders are also significantly affected by the restrictions on movement. Under the law they are not allowed to travel out of Khok Sung district unless they get permission from the district authorities. In practice this restriction does not affect migrants traveling with the intention of returning to their registered area. In such cases the white card holders will neither be arrested nor deported like other illegal migrant workers. But the restriction does affect people's lives when they want to change their place of residence for better job opportunities. Even though the regulation says that white card holders are eligible to change their residence under permission of the district authorities, the study found that district officers have generally refused requests by saying

that there is no option in the registration system that allows people without civil registration status to change their address. This impedes job searching for migrants because they cannot move to look for jobs outside Khok Sung. Occupation limitations and movement restrictions have undermined the value of education, and discourage undocumented or stateless children from getting higher education or upgrading their living conditions.

State	Local community
1. health services	1. land
2. education	2. housing, accommodation
3. legal recognition	3. movement
	4. community self-help saving group
	5. funeral fund group

Table 4.3: Social protection mechanisms from state and local community

Lastly, despite the absence of state social protection, the migrants have received alternative support from the community in terms of reconstructing their lives and enabling them to live independently. For example in the Thai border villages migrants are allowed access to land and housing, and can join community self-saving groups and funeral fund groups like other villagers. Migrants are included in almost all community welfare and insurance programs. It seems that the state of community exception is unlimited if migrants are well-integrated with the host society, until it bumps up against the legal boundaries of the state, which limit the capacity of migrants to integrate and undermines the wishes of the local community to assist the migrants. The local community can only do so much in the field of social protection because its capacity is limited; it is the state which has the power and the capacity to provide social protection for all.

Chapter 5

Conclusion And Discussion

Conclusion

The Thai border villages in Khok Sung district have been a preferred destination for Cambodian refugees and emigrants. After the civil wars in Cambodia, many migrants decided to continue to live in Thailand, where they are better off, and to seek assimilation with local citizens through intermarriage. Up to a point they have succeeded: they are regarded as members of the Thai local community by that community, but at the same time are regarded as illegal migrants by the Thai state. The state has provided them with temporary status as "people without civil registration" and has issued them with a special white card ID (although in 2011, only 214 among 629 migrants in Khok Sung District had received one). The Thai border community provides the support necessary for the migrants to reconstruct their lives and support themselves independently. But the legal boundaries of Thai law do not allow them full integration with Thai society. The main barriers they face are restrictions on their movement and employment opportunities, and lack of rights to basic social protection such as Thai people enjoy. However, under the "Education for All" policy, their children are entitled to free education at Thai public schools the same as Thai children.

Local Integration beyond Boundaries

Cambodian migrants mostly live in Khmer communities in Thailand rather than Lao communities, because of the common language. They tend not to learn Thai and miss out on greater local integration with communities that speak Thai or Lao.

They build networks with residents and become members of the local community through intermarriage, making themselves indistinguishable among the local villagers. Their integration into the Thai border community is relatively smooth because migrants and hosts share a similar culture. Besides, it seems that the host community generally regards the migrants as good people based on their individual characteristics and behavior, especially if the migrants actively participate in village and temple activities.

Under Thai law, migrants are permitted to work only within 27 occupations. Under a state of community exception it seems that the restriction does not apply in the Thai border villages, where they can rent land for farming, open grocery stores and become merchants. But few migrants can progress to middle income level, because of low education and lack of financial capital.

Social Protection

Health

The right to public health services was extended in 2015 to all people holding the white ID card. Cambodian migrants holding this card are eligible for health benefits in the same way as Thai citizens. However, during the field work we found that some people with this white card were not yet included in the system.

Undocumented people still have to pay in full for medical treatment.

Education

As noted above, under "Education for All" migrant children are entitled to free education in the same way as Thai children. Students from Cambodia can also enroll in Thai schools; there are nearly 200 Cambodian children from across the border enrolled and receiving free education in Thai schools in Khok Sung District.

Land rights

Migrants have been able to secure small plots of land on which to build their own houses. The process does not give them legal ownership but enables them to have permanent residence in the eyes of the local community – although not legally according to Thai law.

Welfare and Insurance

Migrants are included in community welfare and insurance programs such as the funeral fund group and the self-help savings group.

Boundaries

Cambodian migrants have the right to form a family but the District Office does not allow them to register their marriages because of their illegal status, even if they hold a white card. The law does not deny their right as such, but they are poor and cannot satisfy the financial requirements quoted by the District Office. The district officers may refuse because they know that migrants are from Cambodia, without suggesting how to get the legal process of marriage registration done.

White card holders are not allowed to travel out of Khok Sung district unless they get permission from the district authorities. In practice this restriction does not affect migrants traveling with the intention of returning to their registered area. But the restriction does affect people's lives when they want to change their place of residence for better job opportunities. Even though the regulation says that white card holders are eligible to change their residence under permission of the district authorities, the study found that district officers have refused requests by saying that there is no option in the registration system that allows people without civil registration status to change their address. Employment and movement restrictions have undermined the value of education, and discourage undocumented or stateless children from getting higher education or upgrading their living conditions.

Discussion

I used four main theories that to explain the situations of Cambodian migrants in the Thai border villages: migration, multiple boundaries, local integration, and social protection.

I used the concept of migration based on its "push" and "pull" factors to help explain why people migrate, which destinations they choose, and the reasons for their decisions. However the theory's primary focus on economic factors may not be totally applicable to the former migration flow of refugees, "pushed" by civil war in Cambodia. The theory does apply when Cambodians migrate into Thai border villages to work and marry local citizens. And also when former refugees decide to remain in Thailand for economic reasons.

I used the concept of multiple boundaries to explain the physical, social and legal boundaries for Cambodian migrants in the Thai border villages. At community level the state of exception, the common ethnicity, and local good will create a barrier-free environment. But nationality creates barriers at state level.

Local integration is traditionally seen as a linear process from the very basic to the most advanced, with cultural integration the starting point, followed by local language acquisition and ending with intermarriage; but it doesn't work this way for the Cambodian migrants, for whom intermarriage is the first step, given that the migrants already share for the most part the local culture and language.

Lastly, I used the concept of social protection to cover all protective, preventive, promotive and transformative actions. From the study it seems that social protection from the community is more progressive than that of the state, enabling migrants to access land and community welfare and insurance programs. At state level the white ID card provides a degree of social protection, but as "persons without civil registration status" the migrants are recognized as neither Cambodian migrants nor Thai citizens - what Pongsawat (2007) calls a partial citizenship.

The Thai Government has no specific policy yet to grant Thai nationality to people holding the white card, but the Nationality Act provides the space for individuals to apply. Children holding the white card also have the Tor Ror 14 house registration document that can be used to apply for citizenship.

Recommendations

1. Right to marriage registration should be equal to all regardless of status. Migrants are refused by district officers on the basis that their status and low income does not qualify them to marry Thai citizens. This practice undermines the value of family relations. It is not necessary for migrants to be eligible to apply for Thai citizenship after marriage registration. They want only recognition from the state as a legal family that can stay legally in Thailand.
2. The basic right to health services is a barrier for undocumented migrants. They should not be discriminated against in health services on the basis of their illegal status. It is not necessary that all the rights of Thai citizens should be granted to illegal migrants but at least undocumented migrants should be allowed to buy the health insurance package in the same way as legal migrant workers. However, the cost of the health insurance package should be computed according to the capacity of migrants to pay, so that more people can afford it.
3. Employment opportunities of white card holders should not be limited by the list of occupations allowed under Alien Employment Act. They should be to free to work according to their educational level and personal aptitudes and capacities. This limitation discourages undocumented children from getting higher education and undermines the value of education as the road to a better life.
4. Holders of white ID cards should not be subject to movement restrictions. They should be able to change their residence and seek employment where they wish. The current limitations articulated in the Alien Employment Act violate the fundamental right to move and further debar migrants from accessing job opportunities that are available in other districts. Removing the limitations would give these ID card holders more choice and more chance to live their life with dignity and not become a burden on society due to a legal barrier.
5. Both locals and the migrants should be well informed about the law, especially on rights

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Appendix

Appendix A: Guideline Questions for Semi-structured Interviews

Part I: Cambodian Migrants Profile

1. What is your name?
2. Where were you born?

   (a) Cambodia (b) Thailand
3. What was your occupation before moving to Thailand?

   (a) Self-employed (b) Famer (c) Labor (d) Other…….
4. When did you come to Thailand?
5. When did you start to live in this village?
6. Why did you choose this village to settle?
7. How long will you stay in Thailand?
8. Are you a single or married?

   (a) Single (b) Married
9. With Thai or Cambodian?

   (a) Thai (b) Cambodian

Part II: Negotiating Boundary Crossing

Collective identity

1. Which language and dialect can you speak?

   (a) Khmer (b) Standard Thai (c) Northern Thai

   (d) Southern Thai (e) other languages

2. Where did you learn these languages?

(a) At school (b) TV and radio (c) At the working place

(d) From friends (e) family (f) others

Class and ethnic discrimination

1. Since you've been here, have you ever feel as the minority groups among Thai locals?

(a) Yes (b) No (c) Sometime

2. Do you receive a good treatment like other people in the village?

(a) Yes (b) No (c) Sometime

Gender and sex inequality

1. Does your husband allow you to keep his money? (Female immigrants married with Thai locals)

(a) Yes (b) No

2. Can you access to local labor market? How often if compare with the men?

(a) Yes (b) No (a) Often (b) Not

Education and occupation

1. Have you or your child attended a school? If what is levels of your/ child education?

(a) Have (b) Haven't

Class ……

2. What your occupation? Could you explain to me how do you work?

Communities and national identities

1. Since you have been here for a long time, do you have any feeling as Thainess or Khmerness?

(a) Thainess (b) Khmerness (c) Otherness

Part III: Local integration

Social aspects

1. Do have any relatives who are Thais?

   (a) Yes (b) No

2. Still you contact with the people in Cambodia?

   (a) Yes (b) No

3. How often do go back to visit Cambodia?

   (a) Often (b) Sometime (c) Not at all

Cultural aspects

1. Have you ever been participated any festival or Buddhist ceremony here?

   (a) Yes (b) No

2. Do you have a son or relatives ever ordained at the Thai Buddhist temple?

   (a) Yes (b) No

3. How often do you visit the temple here?

   (a) Often (b) Sometime (c) Not at all

Community and political aspects

1. In your village does it has a monthly meeting? If has, do you have to participate?

   (a) Yes (b) No (c) Sometime

2. When the village has any activities such as community cleaning, drug campaigning and preparing festival, do the locals invite you help?

   (a) Yes (b) No (c) Sometime

Institutional aspects

1. Do you have any identification card? What kind is it?

   (a) Yes (b) No If yes …….

2. If no, have you ever applied or registered for any legal status?

(a) Yes (b) No If yes, how and where? ……..

3. Do you think the legal status is important for you to live here?

(a) Yes (b) No If no, why……

4. Do you want to live here forever or go back to Cambodia?

(a) Live here (b) Back to Cambodia (c) Other

Part IV: Social protection

Protective (social assistance)

1. Do you have your own house or rent?

(a) My own house(b) Rent

2. If own house, do have the rights to buy the land? How?

(a) Yes (b) No (c) How…….

3. When in need, have you ever borrowed the money?

(a) Yes (b) No

4. If yes, from whom?

(a) Friends (b) Relatives (c) community saving group (d) Bank

Preventive (social insurance)

1. If you work here, do receive an equal pay like local people?

(a) Yes (b) No

2. When you get sick where did you go for treatment?

(a) Sub-district hospital (b) District hospital (c) Provincial hospital

3. Do you have to pay for the treatment and medicine?

(a) Yes (b) No (c) Other

4. In you village has any community saving group or funeral society? If has can you become a member?

(a) Can (b) Cannot (c) If cannot why .....

Promotive (Social services)

1. Do you feel free to travel out of the village, district and province?

   (a) Yes (b) No

2. How many of your children have attended and finished from the school? What are the highest and lowest levels?

Transformative (Transformative action)

1. Have you participated with the previous government policies on registration status for immigrants?
2. Did the village headmen or local authorities help or facilitate you to receive the legal status?
3. Do you mind if I would like to ask about your individual or family monthly income? How much per month you can earn?

Appendix B: Key informants and interviewees

Semi-Structured Interviews

No	Name	Age	Status	Sex	Villages	Length of stay (years)	Date of interview
1	Rin Ruean	35	Ten years ID	Female	Non Mak Mun	13	17 April 2015
2	Am Kha	40	Ten years ID	Female	Kut Phue	13	17 April 2015
3	Prayong	75	Ten years ID	Male	Non Mak Mun	38	17 April 2015
4	Phan Duang	50	Undocumented	Male	Non Mak Mun	30	17 April 2015
5	Lai	60	Undocumented	Female	Non Mak Mun	40	
7	Su	34	Undocumented	Female	Nong Chan	23	22 April 2015
9	Sot	61	Undocumented	Female	Non Mak Mun	38	23 April 2015
10	So	50	Undocumented	Female	Non Mak Mun	39	23 April 2015
11	Huean	71	Undocumented	Female	Non Mak Mun	28	23 April 2015
12	Su Ni	39	Ten years ID	Female	Non Mak Mun	22	24 April 2015
13	Tim	50	Undocumented	Female	Ta Lom Tim	30	1 May 2015
15	Toy	48	Undocumented	Female	Ta Lom Tim	25	1 May 2015
16	Tuak	45	Undocumented	Male	Ta Lom Tim	14	2 May 2015
17	On Uai	46	Ten years ID	Male	Rom Sai	20	2 May 2015

No	Name	Age	Status	Sex	Villages	Length of stay (years)	Date of interview
18	Tin	50	Undocumented	Male	Rom Sai	50	2 May 2015
19	Chan	27	In Cambodia	Male	Phum Nong Chan	-	4 May 2015
20	Khuean	54	Undocumented	Female	Ta Lom Tim	10	5 May 2015
21	Su Phia	40	Undocumented	Female	Ta Lom Tim	12	5 May 2015
22	Yet	45	Ten years ID	Female	Ta Lom Tim	12	5 May 2015
23	Iat	50	Ten years ID	Female	Noi	22	5 May 2015
24	Sa Rueang	59	Undocumented	Female	Ta Lom Tim	30	5 May 2015
25	Ni	51	Undocumented	Female	Noi	13	5 May 2015
26	Chan Thi	30	Undocumented	Female	Noi	21	May 2015
27	Chan Tha	32	Ten years ID	Female	Noi	3	May 2015
28	Phai	35	Undocumented	Female	Ta Lom Tim	15	May 2015
29	Bun Cho	42	Undocumented	Female	Ta Lom Tim	20	May 2015
30	Phliao	49	Undocumented	Female	Ta Lom Tim	10	May 2015
31	Suan	40	Undocumented	Female	Noi	20	6 May 2015
32	Lan	45	Ten years ID	Male	Noi	20	6 May 2015
33	Luan	42	Ten years ID	Female	Noi	16	7 May 2015

No	Name	Age	Status	Sex	Villages	Length of stay (years)	Date of interview
34	Chia	30	Undocumented	Female	Noi	13	7 May 2015
35	Chueat	40	Undocumented	Female	Non Mak Mun	13	7 May 2015
36	Pen pian	46	Ten years ID	Male	Non Mak Mun	13	7 May 2015
37	Chi	54	Ten years ID	Female	Phum Nong Chan	-	7 May 2015
38	Nuai	17	Ten years ID	Female	Noi	5	7 May 2015
39	Abbot of Wat Phum Chan	35	In Cambodia	Male	Phum Nong Chan	-	87 May 2015
40	Phum	40	In Cambodia	Female	Phum Nong Chan	-	87 May 2015
41	Pa Sot	43	Ten years ID	Female	Rom Sai	15	87 May 2015
42	Nga	43	Ten years ID	Female	Thawon Samakkhi	20	87 May 2015
43	Pon	44	Ten years ID	Female	Khok Samakkhi	16	87 May 2015
44	Noi	40	Ten years ID	Female	Khok Samakkhi	13	87 May 2015
45	Nath	40	Ten years ID	Female	Ta Lom Tim	20	5 May 2015
48	Ba	17	Ten years ID	Male	Ta Lom Tim	16	5 May 2015
49	Nak	50	Ten years ID	Female	Noi		6 May 2015
50	Mom Ping	50	Ten years ID	Female	Non Mak Mun	13	6 May 2015

No	Name	Age	Status	Sex	Villages	Length of stay (years)	Date of interview
51	Phon La	50	Ten years ID	Female	Non Mak Mun	30	6 May 2015
52	Wan Chittra	30	Ten years ID	Female	Ang Sila	10	7 May 2015
53	Kwang	35	Ten years ID	Male	Nong Chan	30	7 May 2015
54	Nee	45	Undocumented	Female	Khok Samakkhi		8 May 2015
55	Phan ni	45	Ten years ID	Female	Suk Samran	25	8 May 2015
56	La Wi	34	Ten years ID	Female	Ang Sila	13	9 May 2015
57	Lun	23	Ten years ID	Female	Nong Chan	20	9 May 2015

In-depth Interviews (Migrants)

No	Name	Age	Status	Sex	Villages	Length of stay (Years)	Date of interview
1	Phan	59	Undocumented	Male	Kut Phue	25	17 April 2015
2	Boe	37	Undocumented	Male	Non Mak Mun	25	17 April 2015
3	Yiao	73	Undocumented	Female	Ta Lom Tim	36	21 May 2015
4	Thai	20	Ten years ID	Male	Nong Chan	20	9 May 2015
5	Ren Rin	54	Ten years ID	Female	Non Mak Mun	20	6 May 2015
6	Chim	54	Ten years ID	Female	Nong Chan	36	17 April 2015
7	Dee	70	Thai ID	Male	Rom Sai	50	9 May 2015
8	Pom	45	Thai ID	Female	Nong Chan	37	24 April 2015
9	Swai	42	Thai ID	Male	Rom Sai	30	2 May 2015

Key Informant Interviews

Village headmen

No	Key Informants	Sex	Date of interview
1	Non Mak Mun	Male	2 May 2015
2	Ta Lom Tim	Male	1 May 2015
3	Khok Sung	Male	1 May 2015
4	Rom Sai	Female	2 May 2015
5	Khok Mai Ngam	Female	2 May 2015
7	Swarng Patthana	Male	2 May 2015
9	Nong Chan	Male	4 May 2015
10	Noi	Male	5 May 2015
11	Former village head man of Noi	Male	5 May 2015
12	Noi Nong Eag	Male	4 May 2015
13	Ang Sila	Male	9 May 2015
15	Rom Sia	Male	9 May 2015

Key Informant Interviews Doctor and Staff of Local Hospital

No	Key Informants	Sex	Date of interview
1	Health Promotion Hospital of Ta Lom Tim	Female	1 May 2015
2	Health Promotion Hospital of Ang Sila	Male	4 May 2015
3	Health Promotion Hospital of Non Mak Mun	Male	4 May 2015
4	Health Promotion Hospital of Khok Sung	Female	4 May 2015
5	Aranyapratheth Hospital	Female	7 May 2015

Key Informant Interviews

Directors and teachers

No	Key Informants	Sex	Date of interview
1	Khok Sung School	Female	9 May 2015
2	Thapwitthaya School	Male	1 May 2015
3	Non Mak Mun School	Male	9 May 2015
4	Informal Educational School (Non Mak Mun)	Male	1 May 2015

Key Informant Interviews

Local authorities

No	Key Informants	Sex	Date of interview
1	Non Mak Mun Point	Male	4 May 2015
2	Ang Sila Point	Male	7 May 2015
3	Khok Sung Police Station	Male	7 May 2015
4	Khok Sung District Office	Male	7 May 2015
5	Nong Chan Point	Male	7 May 2015
7	Non Mak Non Administative Organization	Male	8 May 2015
9	Khok Surng head men	Male	9 May 2015

Key Informant Interviews

Abbots of Local Buddhist temples

No	Key Informants	Sex	Date of interview
1	Wat Non Mak Mun	Male	25 April 2015
2	Wat Ta Lom Tim	Male	2 May 2015
3	Wat Rom Sai	Male	2 May 2015
4	Wat Nong Chan	Male	10 May 2015

Key Informant Interviews

Villagers

No	Name	Sex	Villages	Date of interview
1	Waen Khamsuksawat	Male	Non Mak Mun	17 April 2015
2	Raksa	Female	Non Chan	17 April 2015
3	Thong Rat Chantha Ma	Female	Non Chan	22 April 2015
4	Singto Ya Wiset	Male	Kut Phoe	22 April 2015
5	Tim	Female	Kut Phoe	1 May 2015
7	Tee	Female	Kut Phoe	1 May 2015
9	Tarn	Female	Non Mak Mun	23April 2015
10	Chamnian Tun	Male	Noi	6 May 2015
11	Suwan Net	Male	Non Chan	6 May 2015
12	Somsak Banluesap	Male	Susamran	8 May 2015
13	Son Sin	Male	Silarat	9 May 2015

Cambodian Migrants: Social Protection, Local Integration and Multiple Boundaries

in the Thai Border Villages of Khok Sung, Sae Kaeo Province

Phra Kimpicheth Chhon

This research examines the local integration and social protections of Cambodian migrants in the Thai border villages of Khok Sung district, Sa Kaeo province. Migrants negotiate multiple boundaries—physical, social and legal—to gain integration, acceptance, and social protection. Extensive interviews with more than one hundred interviewees and key informants in different villages reveal how livelihoods, attitudes and perceptions of migrants and local citizens both enable and limit social protection for migrants; from local collective practice to state-based mechanisms.

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