Case Study by Economy
Southeast Asia

Thailand

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Demographic change and International Labor Mobility in Thailand

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1. Introduction

Thai economy, like other ASEAN economies has rapidly integrated into competitive markets for goods, services and investment in regional and global economy. Thailand, one of the largest exporters in Asia, plays a major role in narrowing development gap by bringing down economic and social barriers in order to maximize its productivity, competitiveness and individual development potential in its own and neighboring countries.

Labor integration in Southeast Asian economies and Thai economy can be challenging due to the differences in economic status amongst these economies. Unbalanced growth and widening income disparity, border crossing between countries with strong ethic affinities contribute to a growing regional labor market. Comparative advantage of Thai economy in wage rate and labor market is also a major driving force for inward labor immigration from its neighboring countries.

Thai economy achieved a remarkable accomplishment during the mid-1980s and 1990s with capitalizing on the emerging new international division of labor. In this period, the fast development of manufacturing and service sectors absorb most of the large pool of the country workforces. Thailand's family planning programs during the past thirty years have remarkable achievement causing a diminishing growth of workforce and disappearing of population dividend very rapidly. As structure of the Thai economy has shifted away from agriculture, the old and new entrant workers have chosen to work in modern sectors. The existence of a tight labor market was clearly evident in traditional agriculture and related sectors, especially in the 3-D activities. This results in a very low unemployment rate and rising wage during this period.

Thai economy, a leading exporting economy has relied on cheap labor from the presence of large pool of cheap labors from neighboring economies to remain

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competitive in the production systems. At the same time neighboring countries with population and labor force rapid growth have no immediate socioeconomic and political improvement (i.e.,Myanmar). It can only be expected that there have been and continued to be influx of migrant across border to Thai economy seeking employment now and in the future (Chalamwong, 2005). Over the past decade, millions of economic migrants from Indochina have fled poverty and civil war and found work in Thailand as fishery and related sector workers, farm workers, housemaids, construction workers and SME workers.

Even though there are a lot of studies in the areas of cross-border migration in the region but the countries still experience emerging or un-solving issues on managing labor migration in Asia. In general, we believe that immigration is capable of helping receiving countries to achieve certain degree of their development target. Benefits are quite noticeably in many receiving countries including Thailand.

There have been evidents that immigrants are often obliged to work for lower pay, longer hours and worse condition than natives. They can not compete with natives for jobs so their jobs are those which do not want by natives. They do not allow setting up union to increase their bargaining power for them.

Many migrants sending countries have experienced very restrictive migration policies from various receiving countries resulting a wide spread irregular or undocumented migration. Their irregular status put them at the mercy of unscrupulous private agencies, officials with limit chance to fight back. Currently, immigrant workers have still experienced the following problems: 1) they may experience pre-departure abuse from unscrupulous recruiters; 2) they are exploited by work site abuses by receiving low salaries, less benefit, working long hours, working under hazardous conditions; 3) they experienced inadequate living amenities such as housing, clean drinking water, medical care, etc. in receiving countries; 4) they faced high migration costs as results of mal-practices of private recruitment agencies and bureaucratic procedure; and 5) female migrant workers engage in international migration can be particularly vulnerable when they work outside their home country say as a housemaid or domestic helper. They may face sexual harassment, abuse and seclusion. Some of these issues are addressed in this report for further considerations.

This article aims to review the highlights of demographic changes and labor market in Thailand. The paper covers major trends in international migration into Thailand from other countries, focusing on both semi-skilled workers and low skilled workers, especially cross-border migrants from neighboring countries. Large numbers of both low skilled workers from less developed Southeast Asian countries tend to move to more advanced countries like Thailand and Malaysia. The lack of job opportunity, low salary, and poverty in comparison to destination countries, for medium- and high-skilled workers from Thailand in early 70s and 80s, push Thai workers to countries in the gulf state and Asia. The paper covers selected impacts of cross-border migration and problems experienced by migrant workers. Finally it covers implications for better management of migrant workers and regional cooperation among sending and receiving countries.

2. Demographic Change and Labor Market

2.1 Trend of population change

Thailand has achieved a remarkable demographic transition. Currently, Total fertility rate is about 1.7 which is much below replacement level. With improvement of public health both in the urban and rural areas contributed to increasing life expectancy of the Thai population. Consequently, the number of population in Thailand was 62.2 million in 2000 and slowly increases to 73.8 million in the next 30 years. The annual growth rates of total population are 0.75 percent between 2000 and 2010 and gradually decline to 0.42 per cent between 2020 and 2030. In fact, the result of slowly increase in population was contributed by slowing down of people in the younger ages. The annual growth rate of people aged 0-14 would decrease during the next 30 years, while the working age population would also be slowly increased in the next 20 years and turn negative in the period of 2020 to 2030. The slow down of people in the working age contribute to slow down in the work force, and labor supply (Table 1).

It is clearly evident that the Thai society would move into the aging society much faster that one might have thought. The people aged 60 years and above increase from 5.8 million in 2000 and reach 11.8 million in 2020. It is quite noticeable that the number of old people (60+) would surpass the number of young people (0-14) in the period of 2020 to 2030.The dependency ratios would still increase, from 0.52 in 2000 to

0.67 in 2030. This indicates a burden imposed on the working age population to take care of the young and old population (Table 1).

The above data show that, in the medium-run, Thailand would have less and less number of workforces, while at the same time the government has promoted education of the younger generations by extending the basic education to 12 years and also providing scholarships to all student who may need them. As a result the new entrance of work force with Lower secondary education would be less and less while the number of university education would be higher and higher. If the structure of the economy (which provides details in the following section) and demand for labor does not change from the past, Thailand would experience labor shortages of low education (low- and semi-skilled) workers and surplus of higher education workforce, now and into the future.

Table 1 is about here

2.2 Trends of Economic Development

This section examines the recent trend of economic development which is the major source of (derived) demand for labor. As we all know, it has taken Thailand a couple of decades to transform from its less-developed country to a developing country until now. The remarkable growth rates around 7 to 8 percent per annum before the financial crisis in 1997 was results of careful management of economic structure accompanied by progress in poverty reduction and very successful population control as mentioned earlier.

Thailand was in the midst of economic boom in early 1986 which led by structural shift in 80s. It was characterized by increasing exports of both agricultural and manufactured products, rapid expansion in tourism industry and rapid growth of foreign direct investment. It was expected that the economic boom would continue into 90s. But it happened that the country adopted financial liberalization policy in 1991 to 1993 and lost control over economic stability. As results, Thai economy was in deep trouble as export growth collapsed in 1996, lost control over macro economic management and the asset bubble (Tom Yum Kung Crisis). In the end, the head long flight of capital from Thailand after the float of currency converted a mild crisis into disaster.

Consequently, the GDP growth rate shank to the lowest level, a minus 13 percent in 1998. The bank and financial sectors experienced severe damaged as economic crumbled. These impacts fell to people of all walks of life. The country was under the rescue packages of the IMF as well as several government stimulus packages, the country began to recover in 1999 with the growth rate of 4 percent. This period the country was ruled by democrat party. After this ruler was resigned and the new ruling government was in the and of Thai Rak Thai Party led by Dr. Thaksin Shinnawatra who has a strong determination to rescue the Thai economy from the crisis and this new party has done as promised.

The performance of the country has been gradually recovered as growth rates fluctuated around 4 to 5 percent in 2001- 2007. The “dual-track policy” initiated by Dr. Thaksin was oriented toward the domestic economy to fuel demand by series of government stimulus packages. The huge amount of country financial spending coupled with decent export growth generated such level of growth for the country.

It was unfortunate for Thai economy to have another coup d’etat again in November 19, 2006 after 17 years of democratic government. But the militia group did not choose to rule the country themselves but rather chose a respectful Privy Council, namely General Surayuth Chulanond as a Prime Minister. During a little more than one year of ruling, the government was able to maintain growth rate of GDP around 4.7 percent in 2007, thanks for a two digits export growth and efficient government spending. Currently, Thai has returned to elected democratic government starting from January 2008 and the government has to face another difficult year of macroeconomic management. Since the country now experiencing problems of strong Baht and external shock from “Sub-prime” or “Hamburger effect” from the United States. However, the ability of the country to maintain quite decent economic growth rates during the past 30 years, despite the interruptions of economic and political difficulties, help absorb the increase numbers of workforce and leaving a very low level of unemployment throughout these years (Chart 1 and Appendix Table 1).

Chart 1 is about here

2.3 Trend of Labor Market

2.3.1 Periods before 2000

As mentioned in above section, Thailand ‘s economic performance during the middle of 1980s and 1990s has been remarkable accomplishment. During these periods, Thailand has established itself as a formidable player in the field of labor-intensive and gradually turning into capital-intensive and medium-high technology manufactured goods as well as a major supplier of agricultural products to the world market (Chalamwong, 1998).

As Thai industries move up the technological ladder, a corresponding increase in the demand for higher skilled labor has emerged which the local education system can not sufficiently fill the gap (Sirilaksana, 1995). This has given rise to acute shortages of experts in the fields related to science and technology as well as low- and semi-skilled workers. To counteract this trend, some companies which received privileges from Board of Investment (BOI) have resorted to import engineer and many other fields from India and the Philippines and elsewhere who accept employment at competitive wages.

The structural change of the Thai economy has been set to have huge impact on those Thai workers with over 54 per cent of the workforces with only primary and lower (Chart 2). The transition from low-end labor intensive operations to more capital intensive manufactured goods is being further related by the presence of a large pool of cheap labor in neighboring economies (Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar) which has become readily available to Thai industrialists as economic refugee (Sussangkarn and Chalamwong, 1994). In fact, in attempt to maintain their competitiveness in labor-intensive industries and an attempt to keep their profit high, while circumventing the controversy that could emerge from urging the legalization of the employment of illegal migrants from neighboring economies by the most powerful industrial group, the federation of the Thai Industries and the fishery and related groups. They acute that Thai workers are quite likely to shun these 3-Ds job, it has led to open door to the employment of illegal migrants since 1996.

Table 2 and Chart 2 about here

2.3.2 Period after 2000

Currently, Thai economy has gradually recovered and returned back to normal track of growth. Since labor market performances have been closely linked with past economic outcomes, the elasticity of labor absorption with respect to GDP was calculated at 0.3 percent during 2001 to 2008. In 2001, Thai population was about 63 million and increased to 65.8 million in 2007 or equivalent to only 0.7% per annum. It contributes to 37.61 million workforces in 2007 which is considered to be one of the largest workforces in Southeast Asia.

As result of economic recovery (as mentioned in early section) which is able to absorb most of new entrant of workers very well, the number of employed persons increased from 33.48 million 2001 to 37.12 million in 2007 leaving a very small number of unemployment, 0.56 million unemployed in 2007 decreased from 0.896 million in 2001. The sustainable growth around 4 to 5 percent contributed to improve absorptive capacity in the labor market during these periods. It has been a responsibility of the new government to increase the export growth engine and at the same time search for other (engine) effective measures to stimulate domestic consumption, foreign direct investment, and government spending. If it proves successful, it would help stimulate growth and maintain unemployment rate at the same level as those in early periods (Table 2 and Chart 2.)

Thailand Development Research Institute has assessed the population and labor market of low-skilled workers in Thailand during 2004 to 2016 (Chalamwong, 2006). The Thailand's population would be 64.76 million in 2005. The total working age population was estimated at 49.90 million, or 77 per cent of the whole population, with only about 36 million of these workforces employed. Most of them were employed in private sectors. Taking only these employees in private sectors in consideration, from 2001-2006, the employment rate was gradually increasing every year. In the third quarter of 2001, there were a total of 10.5 million employees in private sectors and it increased to 11.3 million in the third quarter of 2003, and 12.6 million in the third quarter of 2006 respectively. In other words, it increased almost 20 per cent within only 5 years.

For the market of low-educated workers, the primary worker group in all manufacturing fields is facing a serious shortage these days due to the increasing demand for new workers to support the expansion of manufacturing sectors. In 2006 alone, the expansion demand of primary workers reached 40,000. In addition, many of business operators also need workers to replace their vacant positions.

The projection of the future demand for workers by Thailand Development Research Institute (Chalamwong, 2006) also revealed the trend for Thai labor market in 2007-2012 would be increasing. In 2012, the demand for primary workers is projected to increase by 300,000. However, the number of lower secondary school graduates (M. 3) who are ready to enter into the labor market in 2007-2012 from the study of “Thailand Manpower Development Plan for the Enhancement of Country’s Competitiveness” by Thailand Development Research Institute came up to about 100,000 only. Therefore, the number of primary workers who are entering into the new labor market is just 33 per cent of the total demand. The two sources of forecasted data from TDRI are consistently proved that Thailand has been experiencing labor shortages in all levels of education.

Besides the continuing shortage for low education workers, another problem was found as Thai labor becomes quite selective in choosing a job, particular those classified as 3-D jobs because Thai workers perceive them difficult and not very attractive in terms of compensations, in comparison with other industrial or service jobs. This point is confirmed by data in Charts 3 and 4 which shows wages of industry and service sector of rural and urban areas have increased relatively faster than agricultural sector during the past 13 years. The much lower wage and coupled with the poor working conditions in agriculture making this sector very unattractive to new Thai workers. New entrant workers tend to take up non-agricultural occupations or non-3-D jobs which provide better wage, welfare and working environment causing agricultural sector to seek workers elsewhere to fill up vacant positions.

Chart 3 and 4 about here

Due to the aforementioned shortage problem and the availability of cheaper alien workers from neighboring economies, many factories and businesses choose to employ the alien workers to replace Thai workers. This is particularly true in labor-intensive sectors, specifically agriculture, fisheries and related sectors, and construction (Chalamwong, 2007a). The case of Thail economy is a good example of a country in Southeast Asia where excess demand for labor can be easily supplied by other labor surplus neighboring economies.

3. International Labor Mobility

The first part of the following section presents an overview of Thai workers abroad and its impacts on Thai economy and the later part of this section provides a profile of foreign workers in Thailand.

3.1 Thai workers abroad

It does not matter how the local labor market situation appears to be, the Thai workers have continued to seek better opportunity abroad. A relatively high wage levels in many destination economies have been a major pull factor for luring Thai workers. The majority of Thai migrant workers are ranging from high skilled to semi- and low-skilled workers. The number of dispatched workers is 161,917 in 2007 increased from 159,566 in 1999. The main geographical destinations of Thai workers are Taiwanese (21%), Singaporean (10%), South Korean (8%), Israeli (7%), United Arab Emirates (6%) and Japanese economies (5%).

The top five occupations in 2007 are skilled workers in various businesses (34%), Low-skilled workers (25%), factory workers and machine operators (23%), Sales and service workers (8%) and Technical and related workers (3%). Even though these emigrant workers seem to work with medium and high skilled, their education backgrounds do not reflect much of their ability. About 75% of workers abroad have lower- secondary education and lower. While at least 18% have higher secondary education, the rest of the workers, about 7% have bachelor degree and higher.

The impacts of overseas workers on local economy can be measures in terms of skill development and remittances. The skill acquisition from working abroad is ambiguous. The augmentation of skilled labor depend very much type of works. If the returned workers which receive technology from abroad do not work in their previous occupation tend not to use new skills. There has been clearly evidence the returnees do gain confidence and worldly experiences which have impact on their lives and future careers.

The direct impact of sending worker abroad to Thai economy is foreign exchange earnings. The remittances from Thai overseas contract workers have risen over time. In 2001, remittance via banking facilities amounted to USD 1.2 billion and increase to about USD1.24 billion in 2006. The most significant effect is on current account and the balance of payments. It should also have impact on aggregate demand. This contributes to consumption and capital formation. Remittances also induced expenditures on non-tradable goods such as land, houses, and education. It also increases demand for luxury durable goods. Finally, it may lead to overall expansion of output and hence family income (Sussangkarn and Chalamwong, 1994, and Chalamwong, 2007a).

One of Thailand's main concerns has been how to protect Thai workers who seek employment abroad from fraud by labor recruiting agencies, breach of contract between employer and employee, as well as harsh conditions overseas. This may be counted as social costs of Thai emigrant workers

Since Thai Law clearly encourages private sector participation in the form of employment placement agencies. Therefore, since 1973, the export of Thai workers has been almost entirely in the hands of more than 250 private employment agencies. The agency has been motivated by self-interests and profits. Agencies play an important role in matching the demand for labor from abroad and the local supply of labor.

High profits from overseas placement services attracted many new agencies into the market. The number of placement agencies increased from 134 firms in 1982 and reached the highest number 324 firms in 1989. During this period, there were emerging of illegal agencies as well as an increasing number of unscrupulous recruitment agencies. Here were several problems of abuse in recruiting with many horror stories of exploitation of workers, mainly from the poorly-educated with no experience overseas travel. The Department of Labor decided to put strict controls on the number of local job agencies. The new Employment Placement Act B.E. 2528 (1985) allows the government to scale down the placement agencies to a manageable level to avert cut-throat competition. According to this Act, the agencies be responsible for all expenses incurred by a worker and the commission fee to a worker be funded, if the job stipulated in the agreed contract was not forthcoming. With new Laws, the number of agencies has been gradually decreased to 252 firms, a manageable level, in 2006. However, problems of abuse and exploitation of workers have still remained up till now.

3.2 Foreign workers in Thailand

Foreign workers in Thailand can be divided into two different categories: the highly skilled, professional group, and the largest group of low- and semi-skilled and often called "guest" workers from neighboring countries.

The issue of first category of workers has emerged as a "concern" rather than as a "problem" in Thailand. Since 1986 onwards, the period of high growth, the Thai economy has begun to exhibit signs of imminent shortages of both professional and skilled workers as well as fishery and related sector workers. Thai economy has made considerable progress in economic and technological development in the past 20 years. The rapid expansion of industrial and service sectors has led to a rise in demand for highly skilled and highly competency manpower which has slowly matched by available local supply (Chalamwong 2005a).

3.2.1 Documented Alien Workers

So far, Thai economy has still heavily depended on foreign professionals and technicians to fill the gap of shortages. Thailand has facilitated the flow of specific manpower to meet the requirement of the country's industry and service development programs by established procedures to request for entry of expatriates to work in promoted investment firms. The Investment Promotion Act B.E. 2520 (1977) has provided incentives for foreign investors to bring in foreign nationals to undertake investment feasibility studies, and bring in foreign technicians and experts to work in promoted firms.

Insert Table 3

Table 3 shows data on aliens who received work permits during 1997-2006, classified by nationality. It is obvious that this increase in alien work permits is very much related to the industrialization of the country, and that the majority of joint ventures with foreign direct investment under BOI coverage are Japanese, British, and American. In 2006, the number of Japanese with work permits reached 22,976 persons compared to only 10,224 persons in 1996. The annual growth rate of Japanese immigrant during this period is almost doubled. The other important groups are Chinese (7%), British (6%), American (6%) and Indian (6%).

Insert table 4 here

Table 4 indicates data on aliens who received work permits in the entire Kingdom, classified by occupation, which has still reflected the shortages of skilled and professional manpower in various sectors for decades. Shortages of qualified engineers, specialists, and managerial workers are particularly acute. In 2006, the largest share of occupations of alien workers who received work permits are legislators, senior officials and managers (44.1%) followed by elementary occupations (20.2%) and professionals (15.4%).

3.2.2 Undocumented Alien Workers

Due to the increasing affluence brought about by the post-1986 economic boom and civil war as well as lacking of economic development in the neighboring countries, the movement of undocumented workers crossing the border from neighboring countries have grown considerably since 1992.

Foreign workers of the three nationalities (Burmese, Lao, and Cambodian) at present have come into Thai economy since 1988 starting with Burmese. Those from Laos and Cambodian economies followed when Thai economy change its policy from "battle field to trades" in 1989. The first registration of undocumented migrant workers was conducted in 1992, allowing employers in 7 provinces along the Burmese border to bring migrant workers for registration. Later in 1993, there was an amendment of law allowing foreign workers to work for Thai marine fishing boats in 22 coastal provinces, provided that their employers bring them to register.

In 1996, there was another round of foreign worker registration from the three neighboring countries. The government issued a lenient measure on employment of undocumented foreign workers from Burmese, Laos and Cambodian economies for temporary work. The duration allowed was not more than two years. These workers could work in 43 provinces, specifically to eight industry groups including agriculture, construction, marine fishery, fishery related, stevedore, mining, manufacturing, and housemaids. These industries are allowed to employ migrant workers in 36 occupations. There were 293,652 foreign workers reported and granted work permits.

In 1998, the government issued a lenient measure to extend an employment of foreign workers from three neighboring countries for one more year, with a limit of not more than 158,253 persons. This was due to the results of economic crisis towards the end of 1997 that the government tried to alleviate the unemployment problems of Thai workers. But there were only 90,911 foreign workers brought for registration by their employers.

In 1999, the government issued another lenient measure to allow employment of foreign workers in 18 industries in 37 provinces, comprising 10 border provinces, 18 marine fishery provinces, and 9 provinces at early stage of industrial development. There were 99,974 foreign workers reported and registered. In 2000, the Cabinet Decision maintained the previous number, area, and industries permitted. This standpoint suggests a further policy of fixing the number of foreign workers.

The main body in charge of undocumented foreign workers administration is the Committee on Illegal Migrant Workers Administration (CIMWA) established by the Office of the Prime Minister regulations in 2001 and its revision in 2003. The major responsibility of the Committee is to formulate policies, guidelines, work plans, and measures to manage and monitor actions against illegal foreign workers both in the short-run and long-run. Also, the responsibility includes for preventive actions, suppression, and other necessary measures to manage illegal foreign workers.

In addition to the CIMWA, its sub-committee, and working groups, there are other government agencies working hand in hand to regulate and systemize the employment of illegal foreign workers. The key responsible agencies are 1) Minister of Interior 2) Ministry of Labor 3) Ministry of Public Health 4) Ministry of Defense 5) the Royal Thai Police and 6) Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During 2001-2005, a total number of undocumented foreign workers from Myanmar, Lao P.D.R. and Cambodia, receiving work permit was 568,249 persons, 409,339 persons, 288,780 persons, 849,552 persons, and 705,293 persons, respectively. It can be noted that the new registration policy issued in 2001 and 2004 increased the number of foreign workers, while the re-register policy issued in 2002, 2003, and 2005 resulted in a decreased number of registered workers. This was due to problems and difficulties in the process such as unofficial changes in employers, employment lay off, high labor turnovers in agriculture and marine fishery, and perception of high registration cost.

In 2005, the Cabinet allowed foreign workers who received work permit in 2004 and their dependants to stay and work for one more year. A registered person had to undertake medical test and get a work permit. It is noted that there were 705,293 foreign workers extending work permit, while employers requested a quota of 1.77 million foreign low-skilled workers. The government then limited an increase of only 500,000 persons, by bailing 300,000 registered workers under Section 17 and Section 54 of Alien Act and 200,000 importations by the MOU. This resulted in even less number of registered workers total of 256,899 persons. In addition, there was a permission of day workers and seasonal workers along the border. Currently, the Thai government has already reached an agreement and signed memorandum of understanding with Laos, Cambodian, and Burmese governments to facilitate the movement of workers from these three economies and Thai economies (Chalamwong, 2006).

In 2006, there was a total of 668,576 alien workers with work permits in the country, divided into 1) 460,014 alien workers with renewed work permits (405,379 Burmese ; 29,683 Laotians ; and 24,952 Cambodians), and 2) 208,562 alien workers with new work permits (163,499 Burmese ; 21,653 Laotians ; and 23,410 Cambodians). However, there may be a lot more unregistered alien workers who continue to work in Thai economy without work permits.

In 2006, foreign workers administration remained its leniency to those received work permit in 2005, and allowed another year of extension. There were 460,014 foreign workers extending work permit, which apparently decreased from those in 2005. Meanwhile, the Cabinet has cancelled the bailing measure and allowed this group, totaling 208,562 persons, to stay on until 28th February 2007 (Chalamwong and Others 2007 ; Srawooth Paitoonpong and Others, 2007) .

In 2007, the government under recommendation of CIMWA has allowed both groups to extend their work permits to 28th February 2008 and 30th June 2008 as well as those of new open registration in the three southernmost provinces, respectively. There were 546,272 foreign workers extending work permit, which apparently decreased from those in 2007 (Chart 5).

In late 2007, the CIMWA has realized that any measures which government implemented to regulate and manage the undocumented workers in Thai economy have not been effective. The national committee has decided to spend time to assess the situations of hiring undocumented migrants in Thai economy. In addition, the government has passed a new Employment Act B.E. 2552 (2008). This registration recognizes the hiring of low-skilled and semi-skilled workers who seek employment in Thailand in occupation and area specified by the Labor Ministry as well as recognized the use of levy (apply to employer for the first time) and registration fee (apply to employee) to facilitate the work of CIMWA administration.

In preparation for implementing a new Law and finding new guidelines and measures to tackle undocumented workers more effectively, the government decided to extend the existing work permits as well as the undocumented workers who hold registration document (Tor Ror 38/1) between 2004-2007 to register once again and to renew their work permits. The period of granting work permits of any group previously registered will be slightly less than two years, until February 2010.

The stylize facts of the most recent policy measures are as followed.

1) Renewal of existing registered undocumented workers with work permits for another 2 years (until February 2010);

2) Open registration to those workers who are illegally working with Tor Ror 38/1 between 2004 to 2007 to have work permits for another 2 years (until February 2010);

3) Continue to speed up direct import of workers from Laos and Cambodia via MOU and also considering of importing workers from other countries; and

4) Speed up the process of certifying national identity of immigrants from Myanmar.

5) Set up the repatriated fund which enacted by new Law.

6) Review and assess the protect occupations and occupations for alien workers for the sake of national security.

4. A Comprehensive Suggestions and Recommendations for better Management of Alien Workers in Thailand

The principle of solving alien workers problems should align with the three dimensions principles that are combining the national security (nationalism) with economic security (capitalism) and the human security (humanism). To effectively solve the problems, these three dimensions should be appropriately adopted.

4.1 Expectations or Goals of Managing Migrant Workers in Thai Economy

4.1.1 Preventing employers from alien worker exploitation (alien workers' security) and resistance to adopt more advanced technology in order to save costs of labor

4.1.2 Preventing the effect on Thai labor's security (not competing for job opportunity with Thai worker)

4.1.3 Preventing the effect on the health security for Thai people

4.1.4 Enhancing the alien workers' quality of life, easing fear and reducing illegal stay which might lead to crime and social problems

4.1.5 Having enough legal low-level workers for the labor market

4.1.6 Incomes from levies and duties from employing alien workers for the government to further develop Thai labor and provide alien workers' welfare

4.1.7 Avoiding allegation from WTO of slavery and/or human rights or worker rights violation

4.1.8 The principle for alien worker management being "The party employing alien workers takes full responsibility"

4.2 Practical Guideline in Employing Alien Workers

4.2.1 Avoid discrimination that is, treating alien workers in the same manner as Thai workers, for example, in labor protection and social security, especially those legally employed

4.2.2 Transparent and unprejudiced law enforcement, for example, in prevention of human rights violation, skill and knowledge development, and labour union forming, as rules and regulations for alien workers should be aligned with labour and industry situations

4.2.3 Creating cooperation with sending countries in order to provide convenience in sending or deportation at the least cost

4.2.4 Will the employment of alien workers follow the “citizen” principle? If so, long-term effects should be taken into consideration for “integration” and “assimilation” which may lead to granting the nationality. To utilize the labour in economic sense cannot be thought of regardless of the national security or human rights.

4.2.5 To employ alien workers, it is necessary to form a clear direction in the development of “alien workers”, that is how they and their dependents and/or family members are entitled to education and training.

4.3 Suggestions for Economic Migrants

4.3.1 Ministry of Labour should take the findings of the study of real demand for alien workers to specify alien worker quota for each sector.

4.3.2 The Department of Employment should make an announcement for employers to register their alien worker requirement and collect levy from them (giving 30 days for levy collection).

4.3.3 The Committee on Illegal Alien Workers Administration in each province should determine the quota (representatives from various parties to determine the number) (15 days).

4.3.4 The “Working Group for Speeding up on Study of Demand for Alien Workers fro Laos, Cambodia, and Myanmar” of the Committee and the Office of Foreign Workers Administration then join together in determining the quota in accordance to 1) (30 days).

4.3.5 Employers then announce vacancies for Thai workers (during the waiting period of the Office of Foreign Workers Administration).

4.3.6 The employers are notified by the Provincial Employment Office to get the levy return by submitting the number of Thai workers recruited for the deduction of the levy paid (30 days).

4.3.7 Announcement is issued for the employers to register their alien workers within 90 days; 1) Within all areas that alien workers are employed in every province, 2) 2-year permission in general with two renewals for one year each (4 years in total), 3) Annual health check-up together with Health Card purchase (600 Baht + 1,300 Baht),4) Annual work permit fee for 1,800 Baht plus application fee for 100 Baht.

4.3.8 Alien workers who are eligible for registration and work permission should cover the following groups of alien workers; 1) Workers who enter the Kingdom legally, 2) Alien workers with proved nationality, 3) Alien workers who held ID Card 38/1 (since 2004) and still working in Thailand, and 4) New workers, not including their dependents (just this once, and the total shall not exceed the quota)

4.4 Suggestions for better worker Security

4.4.1 The best suggestion for almost all the problems previously mentioned is to "take all the underground alien workers above ground". In other words, a registration should be allowed once again for those who entered the Kingdom illegally and totally prohibit the employment of illegal alien workers. As stated before, if the first-best solution cannot be applied, the second-best solution needs to be put into use, which will be elaborated later.

4.4.2 Stricter border control is required both on ground and water, to prevent smuggling.

4.4.3 The suppression (loosened policy) is the policy of those responsible for arresting and prosecution to continuously proceed during the period when inflexible policy cannot be solved. This is to prevent the registered alien workers from disappearing or running away from employers. If the permission is granted during the year, employers and illegal workers will be arrested and prosecuted.

4.4.4 Deportation is a sensitive issue (and inflexible). It has to be accepted that there is a number of aliens who illegally entered the Kingdom from neighboring economies such as Burmese economy that the Burmese government does not recognized as Burmese. Therefore, strict policy cannot be used with these people. Illegal immigrants should be dealt with separately under the responsibility of the National Security Council with separate registration.

4.4.5 Undocumented alien workers not from the three neighboring economies are to be deported back to their countries only.

4.4.6 Alien worker database at the Ministry of Interior should be developed in real-time fashion for effective verification of workers once they are arrested.

4.4.7 Proactive policies are to be adopted for mass relations and cooperation with local administrative bodies, in order to govern the community to ease the xenophobia and crime among the alien workers and against Thai people.

4.4.8 Community activities between alien workers and Thai people should be encouraged such as cultural activities, traditional recreations, sports, and religious activities.

4.4.9 Projects such as house visit or home stay should be encouraged for alien workers or their children to stay with volunteer Thai families for a short period of time.

4.4.10 NGOs and other volunteer organizations should play more roles in helping and supporting alien workers when they have problems in living in Thai economy such as Rak Thai Foundation or the Word Vision Foundation of Thailand.

4.5 Suggestions for better Human rights

4.5.1 Ministry of Public Health and the Government should set aside an appropriate budget to provide health services for alien workers according to the areas and nature of the problems.

4.5.2 There should be options for health insurance for alien workers, such as individual packages, family packages, and cross-region packages with cooperation with private hospitals and clinics for more healthcare projects for aliens.

4.5.3 The network of health services as cross-border workers should be managed, such as community cross-border services, mobile clinic, special communicable disease clinic, and pediatrics clinic.

4.5.4 There should be cooperation with sending countries for prevention and treating of communicable diseases affecting cross-border workers.

4.5.5 Advisory services should be organized for alien workers on communicable diseases through a hotline system, in cooperation with private organizations in providing interpreters at hospitals or clinics frequented by alien workers. Birth certificate system should be lawfully improved in order to limit stateless children.

4.5.6 There should be cooperation with sending countries for prevention human trafficking.

4.5.7 There should be a sub-committee working on alien worker rights without delay for a stronger role in humanism. Department of Labour Protection and Welfare, Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, Ministry of Education, and Ministry of Public Health should be main players in overseeing the wage, working standards, education and health benefits for dependents, and workers affected from human trafficking.

4.5.8 There should be hotlines in at least three languages for alien workers for them to file violation complaints all the time. Immediate actions are needed for lawful protection, maybe in cooperation with some labour-related NGOs.

4.5.9 Ministry regulations on protection for domestic help workers should be pushed forward, so that these workers, Thai or alien, get lawfully protected.

4.5.10 MOUs between Ministry of Labor with Ministry of Social Development and Human Security and other ministries should be issued for dispatching alien workers and child labor victimized by the human trafficking networks rather than deportation.

4.5.11 Department of Labor Protection and Welfare should play a more important role in giving protection for alien workers according to labor laws. More labor inspectors are needed to frequently inspected employers who hire alien workers. There may be cooperation with some labor-related NGOs and migrant labor networks in reporting the violation of alien workers rights to labor inspectors. This will result in the participation of the society in terms of humanity.

4.5.12 There should be the use of community radio to promote news and information about the legal employment of alien workers and worker rights for both employers and workers in multi-lingual program, under the support of the Department of Employment.

4.5.13 Cooperation with employer organizations should be encouraged for promoting or planning for workplace safety of alien workers, such as those in construction, fisheries, and domestic help, from the beginning of the employment.

5. Regional Cooperation Policies

Countries in Southeast Asia face the same policy challenges. They have to make dependency on foreign workers consistent with changing labour market conditions and priority of overall national development policy while at the same time they have to minimize socio-cultural friction arising from the presence of foreign workers. However, regional cooperation or initiatives may be alternative solutions instead of turning a blind eye on the issues. The regional cooperation may include the following issues.

5.1 Protect Overseas Thai Workers

There has been an effort to solve problem of excessive high brokerage fee by seeking cooperation both receiving and sending country. Taiwan, as a receiving country, is a good example when the Taiwanese government sets rule to limit recruitment and placement fees of sending country to a maximum of NTD 15,540 (THB 19,300) or equivalent to a month salary. While stipulates that Taiwanese brokers may charge a maximum of NTD 60,000 over three-year period for service and transportation fees (Chalamwong and Paitoonpong 2008). While the Thai government also setting up rule to limit recruitment fees to a maximum of THB 70,000 over a term of contract.

In 2002, the bilateral Agreement between the Taiwanese Economic and Cultural Office of Taipei on Employment of Thai Workers allowing employers in Taiwan to directly hire from Thailand’s representative office in Taiwan in order to bypass private employment agencies and cut brokerage fees. But it does not seem to be fully effective when most of workers from Thailand still use the private broker services.

Another good practice in Singaporean economy to protect Thai workers, the Employment of Foreign Workers Act allows low-skilled Asian workers to work in Singaporean economy. The system introduces sector specific restrictions on the sending countries and the imposition of “employer levies” system. To protect Thai workers in this country, the Office of Labor Affair, Department of Employment (DOE), Ministry of Labor has founded the Friends of Thai Workers Association Office aiming to act as the intermediary between Thai government agencies and Thai workers in Singaporean economy and to provide the workers with psycho-medical, recreational and educational services.

5.2 Management of undocumented Migrants [2]

5.2.1 Policy discussion to reduce illegal migration was included in the GMS Economic Cooperation Framework and later under the larger Aerawadee Chaopraya Mekong Economic Cooperation Strategies (ACMECS) in which Thailand works to develop economic cooperation with other GMS member states. Nevertheless, international migration involves for two nation states. Cooperation between governments of sending and receiving countries is needed to protect migrants and minimize negative consequences (Martin, 2007)

5.2.2 To share better management of migration among GMS countries, these countries need to share data on economic contribution of migrants, data related to implementing of the policies such as level of costs of registration fees, levy rates, brokerage fees, and cost of remittances. The data on return migrants (such as best use of remittance, skill transfer, access to local job) are also very important to help returnees integrating into their own communities.

5.2.3 To provide a better protection and quality of lives of migrants, the network countries need to agree on how to secure access to public health services or social security services, social and community services.

5.2.4 To provide better of rights and human rights of migrant workers, there is a need to develop and to implement public awareness and education campaign to all people concern with migrant workers. Assistances to lower income (sending) countries are needed to build up their capacity to provide better management of migrant workers.

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[2] Suggestions in this section are largely drawn from World Bank (2006), chapters 4 and 5.

5.3 Management of Regular Migrants

5.3.1 There is a need to build a regional capacity to facilitate, implement, and assessment of bilateral or multi-lateral agreements which have already been negotiated such as the Mode 4 of GATS under the Uruguay Round which covers the movement of natural persons, ASEAN framework Agreement on Services which aims to move beyond commitments of multilateral under GATS, FTA between Thai government and other governments such as Japanese, Australian and New Zealander governments on labor exchange. There is also a need to develop a database of movement of people in various levels of skills and professionals as results of the above negotiations so that the member countries could manage their migrant workers and families in an efficient, equitable, and sustainable way.

5.3.2 Under the recent agreement of the Japanese-Thai Economic Partnership Agreement (JTEPA) signed in April 2007, there is a section on movement of natural persons. Besides allowing immigrant of professionals, it includes cooks, instructors in Thai dance, Thai music, Thai cuisine, Thai boxing, Thai language and spa service. However, the negotiation between the two countries has not yet completed.[3]

5.3.3 The economies which involve with labor exchange should share data and information to help control and/or facilitate the labor flow to match with their country demand and supply of sending countries. They also need to provide full protection of migrants while they are journeying (to work and back home) and while they are working.

Table 1 Population in Thai Economy, 2000-2030

(Thousand)

	2000	**2010**	**2020**	**2030**
0-14	15,344	14,245	13,455	13,686
15-59	41,026	44,955	45,478	44,328
60+	5,867	7,842	11,888	15,819
Total	**62,237**	**67,042**	**70,821**	**73,833**
Annual Growth (%)				
0-14		-0.74	-0.57	0.17
15-59		0.92	0.12	-0.26
60+		2.94	4.25	2.90

3 See www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-pacific/thailand/epa0704/index.html

Total		**0.75**	**0.55**	**0.42**
Dependency Ratio	**0.52**	**0.49**	**0.56**	**0.67**

Source: National economic and social development board

Appendix Table 1 Macro economic indicators in Thai Economy, 1995-2006

	1996	**1998**	**2000**	**2002**	**2004**	**2006**
GDP (billion baht)						
(At current market price)	4,611.0	4,626.4	4,922.7	5,450.6	6,489.5	7,830.3
(At constant 1988 price)	3,115.3	2,749.7	3,008.4	3,237.0	3,688.2	4,052.0
Share of agriculture in GDP (%)	9.50	10.78	9.02	9.43	10.31	10.74
Share of manufacturing in GDP (%)	29.72	30.87	33.59	33.69	34.45	35.10
GNP per capita						
(Baht)	75,145.5	72,979.2	77,862.6	83,337.9	96,553.5	115,097.8
(US $)	2,965	1,764	1,939	1,940	2,400	3,038
Real GDP growth (%)	5.9	-10.5	4.8	5.3	6.3	5.1
Real GNP growth (%)	5.4	-11.0	6.1	3.3	5.5	6.5
Real GDP per capita (baht)	51,919.7	44,928.7	48,338.6	51,265.3	57,451.1	62,115.9
(% change)	4.84	-11.39	4.03	4.53	5.45	4.35
Savings ratio (% of GDP)	33.8	33.3	30.4	29.3	31.0	
Headline consumer price index	84.1	96.0	97.8	100.0	104.6	114.4
(% change)	5.92	8.11	1.66	0.60	2.75	4.67
Exchange rate (baht/US$)	25.34	41.37	40.16	42.96	40.22	37.88
Exports (f.o.b., million baht)	1,378,902	2,181,082	2,730,943	2,837,663	3,822,802	4,838,242
Imports (c.i.f., million baht)	1,796,549	1,677,953	2,513,501	2,719,439	3,764,009	4,803,918
Trade balance (million baht)	-417,647	503,129	217,442	118,224	58,793	34,324
Current account balance (million baht)	-372,159	592,170	371,512	202,224	110,129	79,210
External debt (Long-term, billion US$)	61.00	76.64	65.02	47.54	39.14	41.83
External debt (Short-term, billion US$)	47.74	28.42	14.69	11.92	12.17	17.81
Debt service ratio (%)	12.3	21.4	15.4	19.6	8.5	11.3
Government finance						
Revenue	853,201	717,779	745,138	876,901	1,109,422	1,389,545
(% increase)	9.85	-15.33	4.50	13.03	9.56	11.95
Expenditure	819,083	842,861	853,193	955,504	1,109,332	1,279,713
(% increase)	27.44	-9.54	2.42	5.16	11.36	0.23
Minimum wage A[2] (baht/day)	157	162	162	165	170	184
Minimum wage B (baht/day)	128	130	130	133	137	140

Sources: Bank of Thailand (BOT) and National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB).

Remark: P Preliminary 1 Classified by product group (CPA)

2 "Minimum Wage A" is the highest level, which is applied to Bangkok, and surrounding provinces and "Minimum Wage B" is the basic minimum wage,

Chart 1 Growth Rates of GDP Classified by Sectors, 1971 to 2006.

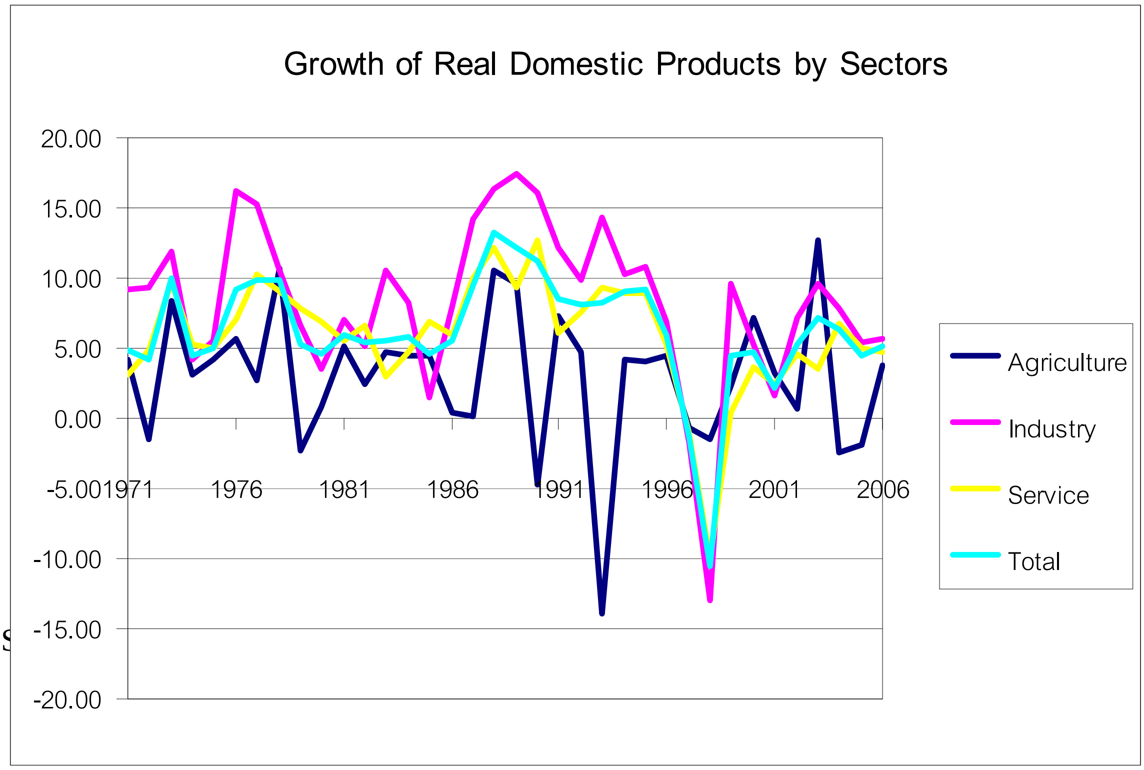
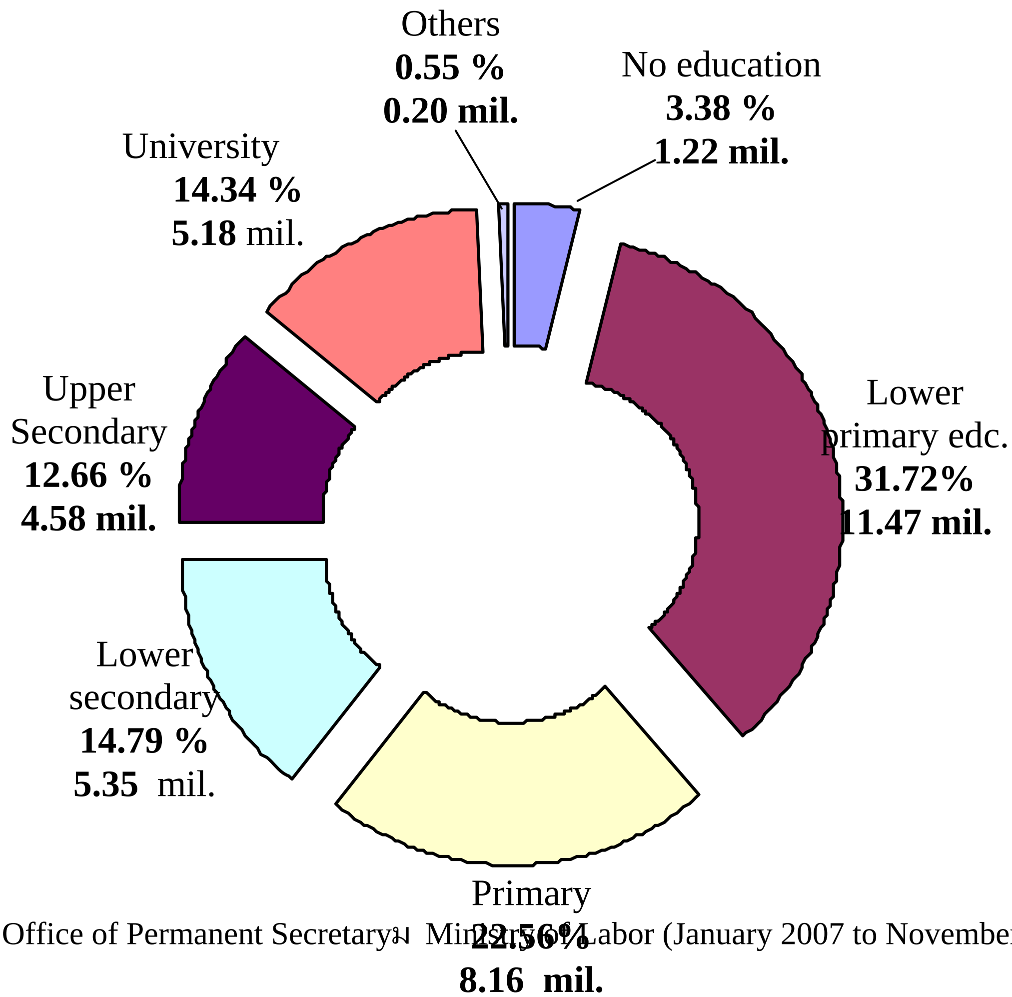


Table 2 Domestic Employment Indicators, 1995-2007

	1995	2001	2003	2005	2007
Total population	59,450.9	63,001.1	64,062.6	64,884.0	65,800.1
Total workforce	32,621.3	34,380.0	35,220.1	36,798.2	37,611.6
Number of employed persons	32,258.9	33,483.7	34,676.4	36,302.4	37,122.0
By industry: [1]					
Agriculture	16,688.1	15,409.0	15,561.3	15,448.6	15,491.8
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	16,338.9	14,933.8	15,146.0	15,007.7	15,081.8
Fishing	349.2	475.2	415.3	440.9	410.0
Non-agriculture	15,570.8	18,074.8	19,115.1	20,853.7	21,630.2
Manufacturing	4,036.1	4,750.1	5,086.3	5,350.1	5,593.0
Electricity, gas, and water supply	150.2	101.0	105.1	106.8	104.9
Construction	1,840.8	1,409.2	1,614.0	1,853.0	1,938.7
Wholesale and retail trade	4,098.5	4,630.9	5,057.2	5,297.0	5,525.4
Hotels and restaurants	1,134.3	1,964.7	2,103.3	2,300.1	2,302.4
Transport, storage, and communications	985.9	977.3	987.4	1,075.9	1,026.5
Financial intermediary	237.5	297.0	279.2	339.7	350.2
Real estate, renting, and business activities	274.3	501.3	567.4	651.7	717.3
Public administration and defense, compulsory social security	980.2	1,032.9	902.8	1,095.6	1,286.8
Education	876.8	1,005.9	957.1	1,122.3	1,085.0
Health and social work	303.7	513.0	518.0	611.0	647.2
Other community, social and personal service activities	392.4	585.8	621.1	718.8	717.9
Private households with employed persons	208.4	246.7	254.7	241.5	229.2
Others [2]	51.7	58.9	61.5	90.0	105.6

Sources: National Statistical Office, Labor Force Survey

Chart 2 Employment classified by education level, 2007



Source: Office of Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labor (January 2007 to November 2007)

Chart 3 Average Private Employee Monthly Wages, 1994-2007 (Urban Area)

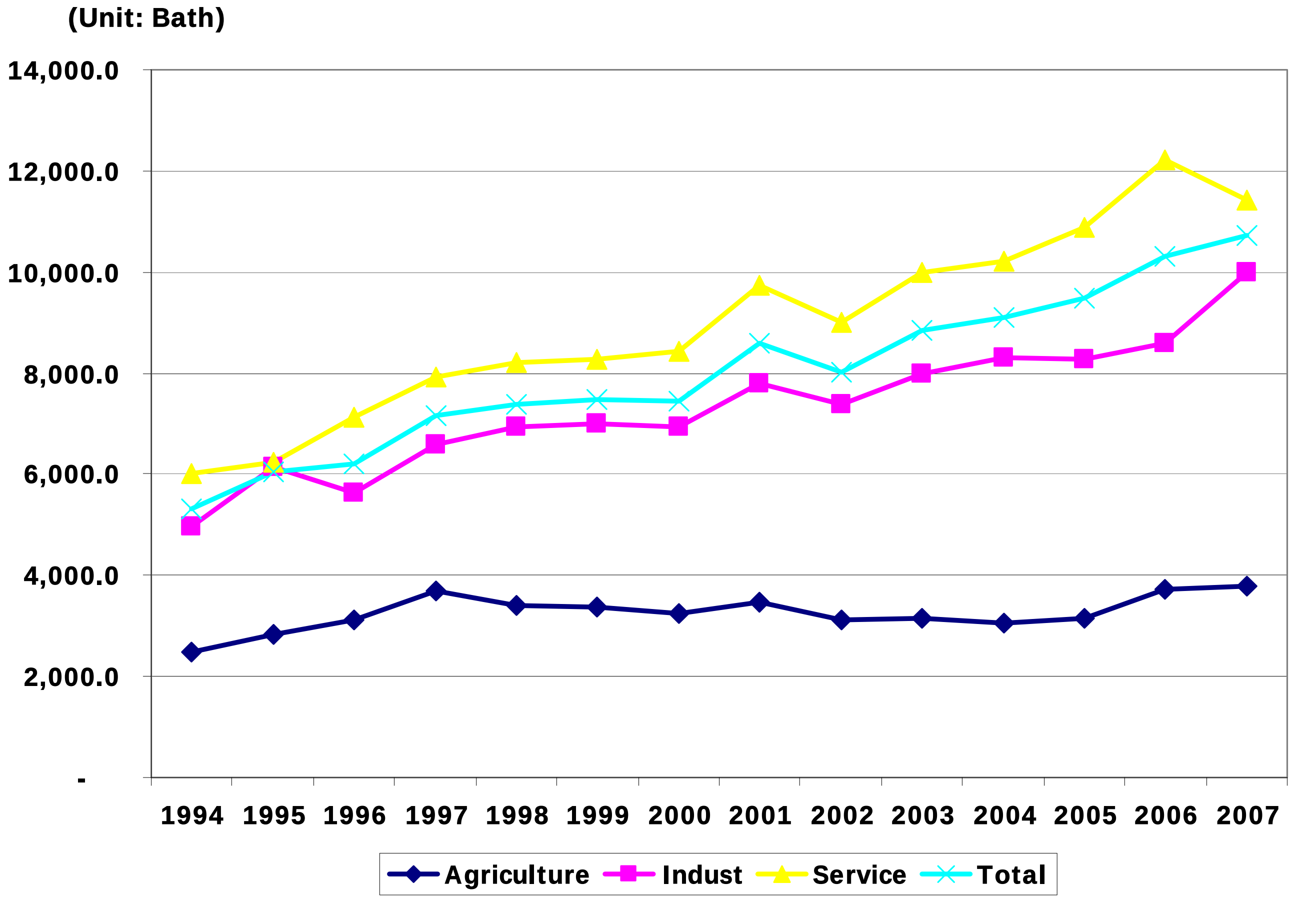


Chart 4 Average Private Employee Monthly Wages, 1994-2007 (Rural Area)

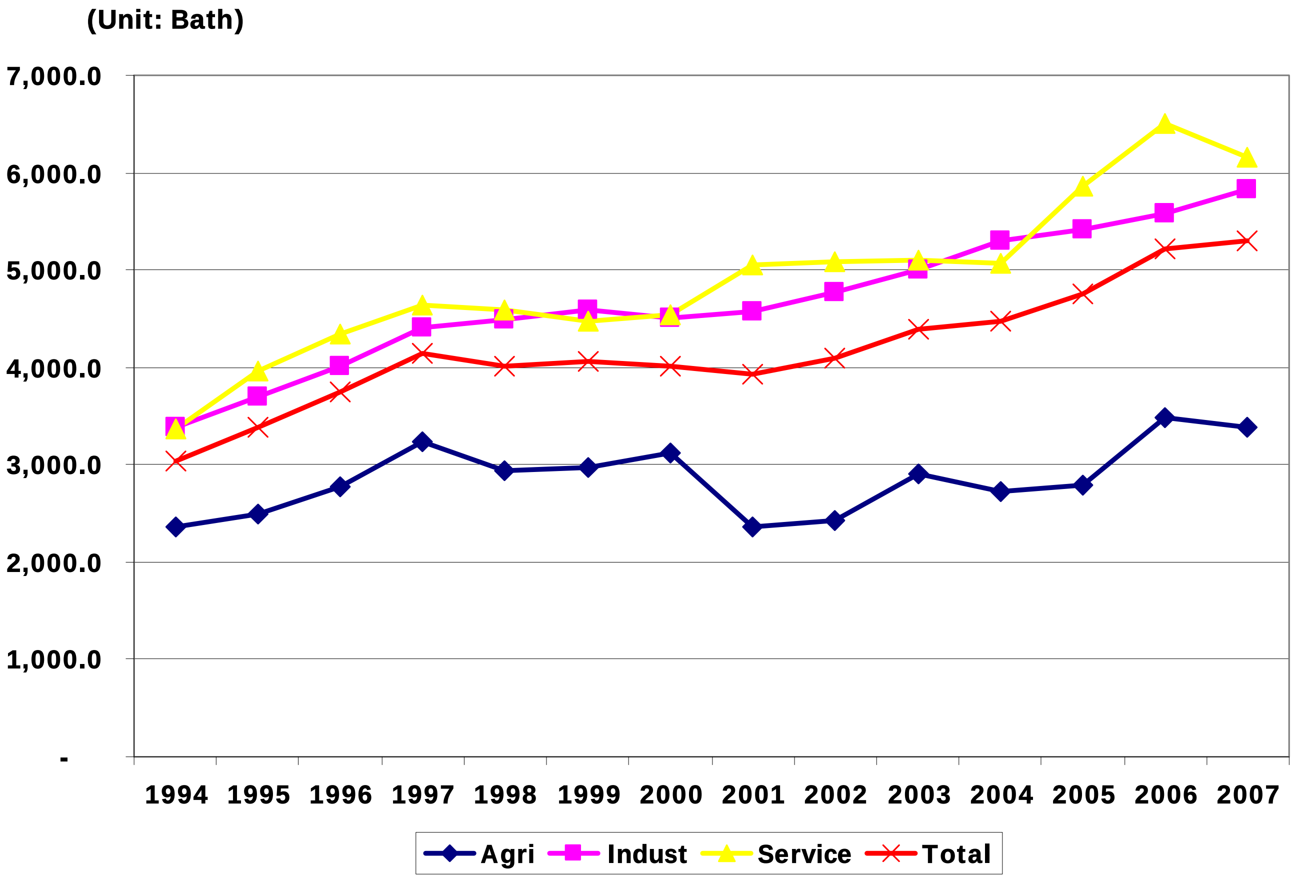


Table 4 Aliens Who Received Work Permits in the Whole Kingdom by Occupation

Occupation	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Legislators, Senior Officials And Managers	33,797	42,438	50,395	59,435	67,993
Professionals	11,851	14,221	17,069	20,339	23,809
Technicians And Associate Professionals	4,147	5,292	6,645	7,431	8,404
Clerks	763	839	1,025	1,149	1,236
Service Workers And Shop And Market Sales Workers	2,645	3,403	4,624	5,831	6,249
Skilled Agricultural And Fishery Workers	1,339	1,834	2,970	6,493	6,833
Craft And Related Trades Workers	2,002	2,160	2,540	3,130	3,685
Plant And Machine Operators And Assemblers	710	875	1,105	1,360	1,407
Elementary Occupations	7,869	10,032	16,237	26,970	31,183
Occupations Unidentifiable	5,914	4,958	4,169	3,631	3,175
Training	128	153	209	215	246
Total	71,165	86,205	106,988	135,984	154,220
Share (%)					
Legislators, Senior Officials And Managers	47.5	49.2	47.1	43.7	44.1
Professionals	16.7	16.5	16.0	15.0	15.4
Technicians And Associate Professionals	5.8	6.1	6.2	5.5	5.4
Clerks	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.8
Service Workers And Shop And Market Sales Workers	3.7	3.9	4.3	4.3	4.1
Skilled Agricultural And Fishery Workers	1.9	2.1	2.8	4.8	4.4
Craft And Related Trades Workers	2.8	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.4
Plant And Machine Operators And Assemblers	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9
Elementary Occupations	11.1	11.6	15.2	19.8	20.2
Occupations Unidentifiable	8.3	5.8	3.9	2.7	2.1
Training	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Growth rate (%)					
Legislators, Senior Officials And Managers		25.6	18.7	17.9	14.4
Professionals		20.0	20.0	19.2	17.1
Technicians And Associate Professionals		27.6	25.6	11.8	13.1
Clerks		10.0	22.2	12.1	7.6
Service Workers And Shop And Market Sales Workers		28.7	35.9	26.1	7.2
Skilled Agricultural And Fishery Workers		37.0	61.9	118.6	5.2
Craft And Related Trades Workers		7.9	17.6	23.2	17.7
Plant And Machine Operators And Assemblers		23.2	26.3	23.1	3.5
Elementary Occupations		27.5	61.9	66.1	15.6
Occupations Unidentifiable		-16.2	-15.9	-12.9	-12.6
Training		19.5	36.6	2.9	14.4
Total		21.1	24.1	27.1	13.4

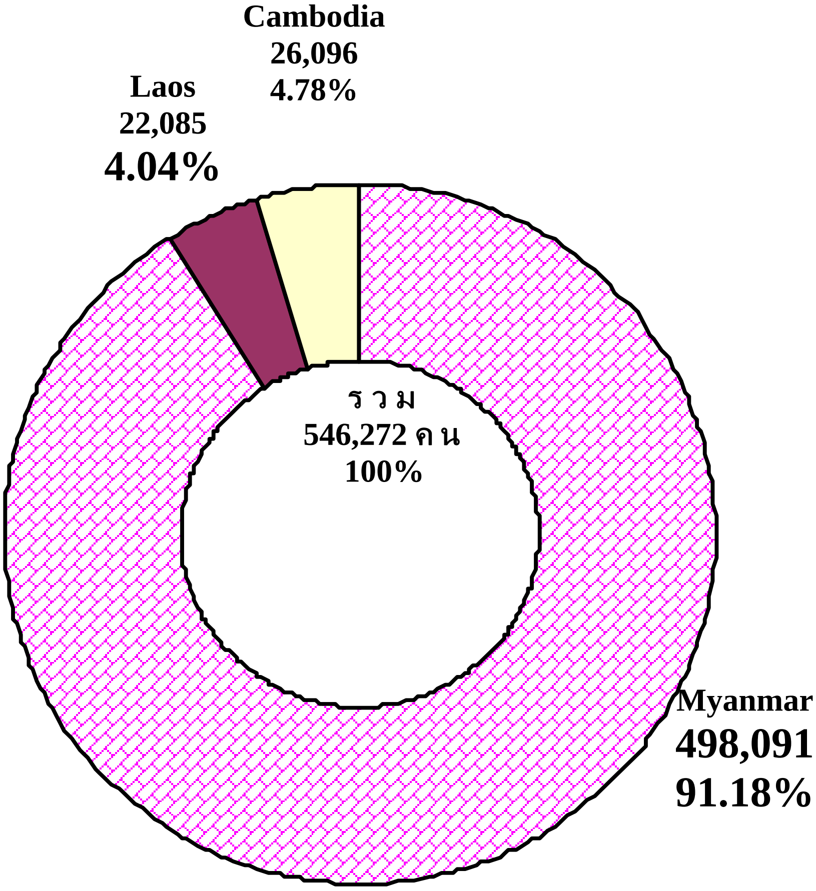
Source: Office of Overseas Employment, Department of Labor, Ministry of Labor.

Table 3 Number of Aliens Who Received Work Permits During 1997-2006

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	
Total	63,582	69,751	73,613	76,796	59,978	71,165	86,205	106,988	135,984	1
- Japan	10,224	11,368	13,608	13,355	14,144	13,677	16,738	19,467	21,098	
- British	7,903	8,934	6,144	5,694	5,166	5,150	6,216	7,392	8,485	
- American	7,128	8,023	6,090	4,683	4,185	4,099	4,827	5,541	6,429	
- Chinese	5,964	6,648	5,656	5,890	5,458	4,883	6,008	6,520	9,573	
- Indian	6,237	6,937	6,506	5,083	5,555	5,144	5,917	6,752	8,263	
- Filippino	2,117	2,397	3,135	2,725	2,777	2,337	2,819	3,501	4,709	
- Australian	2,480	2,764	2,093	2,106	1,916	2,090	2,399	2,723	3,125	
- Myanmar	na.	na.	na.	na.	na.	4,559	5,247	6,117	7,818	
- Others	21,529	22,680	30,381	37,260	20,777	29,226	36,034	48,975	66,484	
Share (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
- Japan	16.1	16.3	18.5	17.4	23.6	19.2	19.4	18.2	15.5	
- British	12.4	12.8	8.3	7.4	8.6	7.2	7.2	6.9	6.2	
- American	11.2	11.5	8.3	6.1	7.0	5.8	5.6	5.2	4.7	
- Chinese	9.4	9.5	7.7	7.7	9.1	6.9	7.0	6.1	7.0	
- Indian	9.8	9.9	8.8	6.6	9.3	7.2	6.9	6.3	6.1	
- Filippino	3.3	3.4	4.3	3.5	4.6	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.5	
- Australian	3.9	4.0	2.8	2.7	3.2	2.9	2.8	2.5	2.3	
- Myanmar						6.4	6.1	5.7	5.7	
- Others	33.9	32.5	41.3	48.5	34.6	41.1	41.8	45.8	48.9	
Growth rate (%)		9.7	5.5	4.3	-21.9	18.7	21.1	24.1	27.1	
- Japan		11.2	19.7	-1.9	5.9	-3.3	22.4	16.3	8.4	
- British		13.0	-31.2	-7.3	-9.3	-0.3	20.7	18.9	14.8	
- American		12.6	-24.1	-23.1	-10.6	-2.1	17.8	14.8	16.0	
- Chinese		11.5	-14.9	4.1	-7.3	-10.5	23.0	8.5	46.8	
- Indian		11.2	-6.2	-21.9	9.3	-7.4	15.0	14.1	22.4	
- Filippino		13.2	30.8	-13.1	1.9	-15.8	20.6	24.2	34.5	
- Australian		11.5	-24.3	0.6	-9.0	9.1	14.8	13.5	14.8	
- Myanmar							15.1	16.6	27.8	
- Others		5.3	34.0	22.6	-44.2	40.7	23.3	35.9	35.8	

Source: Office of Overseas Employment, Department of Labor, Ministry of Labour

Chart 5 Workers from Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar Who were Granted Work Permits in 2007



Source: Department of Employment (at 23 August 2007)

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