

Thai Immigration Deportation Dilemma: An English School Analysis
การวิเคราะห์สภาวะกลืนไม่เข้าคายไม่ออกในการผลักดันส่งกลับของสำนักงานตรวจคนเข้าเมือง
ผ่านทฤษฎีสำนักรอังกฤษ

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to analyse the deportation dilemma caused by the clash between traditional value and the emerging value, namely, national security and human rights when a deportee is a well-founded fear of persecution. By using English School (International Society) as the core theory and raising prominent case studies such as the case of Rahaf Mohammed (formerly Rahaf Mohammed Mutlaq al-Qunun) and Hakeem al-Araibi as well as the cases that were left behind by the international society and deported (aliens who claimed for asylums). Thus, this study will evaluate the contribution of the society, institutions, and the role of media and social media in order to answer the question, "What factors contributed to the change of the Thai Immigration's deportation decisions" and shaped international society toward human rights path.

บทคัดย่อ

การศึกษานี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาสภาวะกลืนไม่เข้าคายไม่ออกในการผลักดันส่งกลับที่เกิดจากการปะทะกันของค่านิยมเก่าและค่านิยมเกิดใหม่ ค่านิยมเรื่องความมั่นคงแห่งรัฐและค่านิยมสิทธิมนุษยชนในกรณีที่ถูกผลักดันส่งกลับเป็นบุคคลที่มีความกลัวอันมีมูลจะกล่าวอ้างได้ว่า จะได้รับการประทัดประหาร โดยใช้ทฤษฎีสำนักรอังกฤษ (สังคมระหว่างประเทศ) เป็นทฤษฎีหลักในการวิเคราะห์ประกอบกรณีศึกษา ราฮัฟ โมฮัมเหม็ด และ ฮาคีม อัล-อาไรบี รวมทั้งกรณีศึกษาคนต่างด้าวอื่นที่อ้างสิทธิลี้ภัยแต่ถูกเพิกเฉยจากสังคมระหว่างประเทศและถูกผลักดันส่งกลับออกนอกราชอาณาจักร ดังนั้น การศึกษานี้จึงประมวลการมีส่วนร่วมของทั้งประชาคม หน่วยต่าง ๆ ในสังคมระหว่างประเทศ รวมทั้งบทบาทของสื่อสารมวลชนและสื่อสังคมออนไลน์ เพื่อตอบคำถามวิจัยที่ว่า ปัจจัยอะไรที่มีส่วนร่วมในการเปลี่ยนแปลงคำสั่งการผลักดันส่งกลับของสำนักงานตรวจคนเข้าเมืองและสังคมระหว่างประเทศให้ไปในทิศทางแห่งค่านิยมสิทธิมนุษยชน

Keywords: Immigration, Asylum-seekers, Refugees, Deportation

คำสำคัญ: ตรวจคนเข้าเมือง ผู้แสวงหาที่ลี้ภัย ผู้ลี้ภัย การผลักดันส่งกลับ

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Introduction

Thai Immigration Bureau, according to its mission, acts as a national frontline which examines individuals and vehicles passing through the Kingdom. In order to maintain national security, Immigration enforces the Immigration Act to bar an inadmissible person from departing and entering, including deporting them back to their port of origins. However, there have been complicated cases of repatriation got mentioned in global newsrooms, headlines, and international attention that made Thai authorities a difficult situation. For example, the case of Saudi Arabian runaway girl in early 2019, namely Rahaf Mohammed al-Qanun, and the case of Hakeem-al Arabi, the Bahraini refugee, the resident of Australia had shined a spotlight over Thai authorities for months.

The two were stopped right at the checkpoint and were considered for deportation (for Rahaf case) and extradition (for Hakeem case). Both of them had appealed to Immigration officers not to send them back to their home country but to the asylums, claiming that they are asylum seekers. Thai Immigration had struggled over the claims and its primary decisions. At that time, several parties got involved and put pressure over Thailand including asylum providers, international organizations and civil societies. Accordingly, deportation and extradition were revoked for both cases and they are not sent back to the port of origin or extradited as requested by a government, at the end of the day. Thai authorities claimed that the decisions were for humanitarian in contrary to their early immigration orders. Moreover, comparing to the other cases that are not internationally recognised, they face different faith. Accordingly, here are the questions, why Thai Immigration obliged to humanitarian reasons, not its security aspect? and what are the factors that contributed to the turn of its policy?

In order to answer these questions, the researcher proposed the English School as a core approach in this paper so as to analyse the dilemma situation of Thai Immigration decision making, whether it be with international society or world society. The theory could explain why Thailand's decision embraces international society and follow the international protocol of extradition and deportation of fugitive and inadmissible person, while sometimes it embraces world society, namely the value of human rights. The researcher will utilise the concept of 'International Society', power politics, security, cooperation between players, institution, and the shared norm that have been crystallized from the three IR paradigms: realism, liberalism, and constructivism to analyse the topic of why Thai Immigration had to consider deportation in the first place. The paper also employs another English School concept, 'World Society' to hypothesise that Human Rights is the prevailing shared norm beyond societies of the state which forms an upper layer of international society over societies. Hence, this will be a key to the answer of why Thailand had changed its mind.

Objectives of the study

The objectives of this paper are, as follows:

1. To analyse factors that contributed to the change of the Thai Immigration's decisions.

2. To evaluate the contribution of community, institution, and the role of media and social media in shaping international society.

Methodology

This paper is a case study that will be focusing on cases from 2018 to 2020. Including the cases such as Rahaf Mohammed al-Qanun resettlement in January 2019, the case of Hakeem-al Arabi Bahrain-fled refugee who has resident status in Australia, and cases that have been ignored and deported. Migrants or displaced persons who entered the Kingdom through the natural channels will not be considered.

The research will be conducted by using qualitative methods as follow:

Document Analysis

By using primary sources, raw resources such as governmental publications, officials, diplomatic publications, speeches. As well as secondary sources, academic literature, theses, and newspapers that related to the issue.

Participatory Observation

The researcher will gain access and participate in Thai immigration procedures in order to acquire in-depth information and to understand what immigration do and think. Also, it will be conducted by interviewing officers or representatives of the organizations, and Thailand high-ranking immigration police officer who is in charge of the cases through open-ended questions and topics.

Results

The study found that various factors had contributed to the change of Thailand and The Thai Immigration's decision-making. Hence, The researcher has grouped those factors, basically, into 4 categories: 1. International Society, States, and Intergovernmental Organisations (State actors) 2. Inter-nongovernmental Organisations, Groups, and Individuals (Non-state actors) 3. Mass Media and Social Media 4. The Bureau and The Thai Executives.

International Society, States, and Intergovernmental Organisations (State actors)

The expansion of international society, particularly the solidarist international society, can apply to the changing pattern of the Muslim world heading to universal values. Like Thailand, the land of weighing its interest, master of diplomacy, and never rely on one power, has to adapt itself with the major international society and be with the society in order to survive. For the immigration dimension, when it hit by the waves of global human rights, it lost its confidence in guarding the borders and has to weigh in the challenging norm into practice. Otherwise, it is going to miss the bandwagoning and will be shamed for misbehaving. The international society, states, international organisations, non-governmental international organisations, including individuals that urging on their platforms, will persuade or manipulate for cooperation. They are what English School scholars called the 'change

agents’ or ‘secondary institutions’ who promote the ‘primary institution’ which is human rights in this case. The pattern of international society extension is similar to ‘indoctrination’. Such as social shaming, sanction, propaganda, diplomatic methods (persuasion), information operation and so on, to show the subject that the value is interest for all. These methods are sheepdog to coerce out-of-the-line sheep into a herd. Eventually, the exclusion will be inclusion. The subjects are forced to recognise ‘the common values’ and act in the same way probably because of fear and/or collective consciousness. State actors, for example, on the condition of power relativity (hard power, soft power, economic power, diplomatic capability, i.e.), the superior can force the inferior to act accordingly. If we look at the players when the case of Rahaf and Hakeem happened, there were democratic nations such as Australia, Canada, some other nation diplomats got involved. There were several official dialogues and unofficial dialogues to urge Thailand to change its behaviour for maintaining and extending society orders and assimilate the others into the same conduct. In this topic, the main power utilisers are Australia and Canada, the two countries that have a long history of refugee reception policy. If we look further at the character of these two countries, we are going to find out that they are the leftist values practitioners and protectors, stand against the authoritarian governments. They willingly offer asylums and accept asylum seekers who fled from persecution in which contrary to Thailand. However, Thailand accepted the change because it pointed out by international attention and pressure. If there is no such pressure or power play, Thailand will be standing firmly on nationalism ground.

Table 1 Secondary Institutions’ (States) involvement in Hakeem case

Secondary Institutions (States)	Hakeem Case
Australia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Australian government called for the Thai government to release Hakeem and asserted, “Mr Araibi is a refugee and a permanent resident of Australia”. - Marise Payne, the foreign minister used her chance while visiting Thailand in early January 2019 raised Hakeem on the spotlight and urged Thailand “for the safe return to Australia”. - Australian prime minister, Scott Morrison had conveyed his concerns directly to the Thai prime minister, Gen. Prayuth Chan o-cha. - Allan McKinnon, the Australian ambassador also used diplomatic channels such as appearing at the court together with other 14 country representatives in order to press the Thai government and the court.
United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Switzerland, Germany, France, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, European Union	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Switzerland, Germany, France, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, and European Union ambassadors to Thailand showed their presences at the court hearing.

Table 2 Secondary Institutions' (States) involvement in Rahaf case

Secondary Institutions (States)	Rahaf Case
Canada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Canada accepted the UN's request. - Canada Prime Minister Justin Trudeau told reporters that, "Canada is a country that understands how important it is to stand up for human rights, to stand up for women's rights around the world, and I can confirm that we have accepted the UN's request,".
Australia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - According to a spokesperson for the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "The Australian Embassy in Thailand has made representations to both the Thai Government and the Bangkok office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to seek assurances that Ms Alqunun can access the UNHCR's refugee status determination process in Thailand". - Australia was her desired destination. The Australia government was following the process of her application right after referred the case by the UNHCR. However, Canada was faster at considering. - "Obviously, the Canadians have stepped in and I welcome the outcome that she will be safe.", Federal Education Minister Dan Tehan.
The UN, and The UNHCR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The lead global communications for the UN, Melissa Fleming underlined the non-refoulement norm over sovereignty, "Non-refoulement is an international principle that prevents States from expelling or returning persons to a territory where their life or freedom would be threatened.", "The principle of non-refoulement is recognized as customary international law, and is also enshrined in Thailand's other treaty obligations." - According to her, the UNHCR team was granted to access the case with Thai authorities and started the process of refugee determination. - The UNHCR asked Australia to take her in. However, because of the unclear of how long Australia would take the UN asked Canada for the asylum and Canada accepted. - The UN High Commissioner for Refugees praises this phenomenon, "overriding values of humanity have prevailed". And admitted that the UN dealt with Ms. al-Qunun's case "on a fast-track 'emergency' basis".

To summarise the tables, these secondary institutions (states) are expanding the common values of human rights through political/diplomatic pressures. Obviously, Thailand's attitude toward cases was changed and Thailand has shown its dances to the international tempo.

Inter-nongovernmental Organisations, Rights Groups, and Individuals (Non-state actors)

For English School, especially solidarists, states are not the only actor who form and expand an international society or a primary institution in world politics. Non-state actors and other secondary institutions cooperatively involved in shaping and implementing international society. English School theorists label this 'Complex Governance', the complex interplay of public and private actors, state and

non-state. (Duune, 2013) In this topic, there were several non-state actors participated and influenced the cases causing Thailand to change its mind. *See table 3 and 4*

Table 3 Secondary Institutions (Non-states actors) in Hakeem’s case

Secondary Institutions	Hakeem Case
Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network, Americans for Democracy and Human Rights in Bahrain and Bahrain Institute for Rights and Democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Amnesty International led an online petition received over 50,000 signatures from supporters around the world contributed to the campaign, with growing media coverage and public interest at the global level to support Hakeem. - Human Rights Watch claimed that it was an initiator of ‘#SaveHakeem digital campaign encouraging concerned athletes and people around the world to write directly to Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha of Thailand.’ - Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network (APRRN), issued an open letter to Prime Minister Prayuth Chan-o-cha on “Civil Society Amplifies Need for Release of Recognised Refugee Hakeem al-Araibi”. - Americans for Democracy and Human Rights in Bahrain and Bahrain Institute for Rights and Democracy addressed to the UNHCR that ‘non-refoulement’ is going to be breached if Hakeem were sent back.
FIFA, Football Federation Australia (FFA), Professional Footballers Australia (PFA), Asian Football Confederation (AFC) Australian football teams	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - FIFA, Football Federation Australia (FFA), Professional Footballers Australia (PFA) called for his release and return to Australia at the earliest possible moment and ask Thailand to adhere to international standards. - Francis Awaritefe, FIFA’s representative, who appeared at the court urged Thailand to do the right thing. He suggested that this issue is internationally recognised human rights abuses. If Thailand does it wrong, it possibly faces sanctions from FIFA. - Australian football teams demonstrated and launched #SaveHakeem campaign at the games.
Local Football clubs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chiangrai United F.C. and Cha-choengsao Hi-Tek Football Club publicly called out and demand the Thai government to meet international standards. #SaveHakeem campaigns were demonstrated.
Individuals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Craig Foster, retired Australian captain, headed to Bangkok and led the campaign himself by calling sports community such as FIFA, “if you want to host the World Cup you must allow the free transit of players and officials through your country.”, “Thailand should know that there are repercussions for taking any decision that is contrary to international law.” and suggested that organising international games in Thailand have to be taken seriously. - There were demonstrations in Australia to show the supports. - Well-known players such as Didier Drogba, Robbie Fowler, and Jamie Vardy tweeted their supports.

Table 4 Secondary Institutions (Non-states actors) in Rahaf’s case

Secondary Institutions	Rahaf Case
The European Saudi Organisation for Human Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The European Saudi Organisation for Human Rights appointed François Zimeray, a lawyer, to defend Rahaf against deportation. - He commented that the attitude of Thai authorities changed completely after the international supports, the call-out on the internet and the mobilisation of diplomacy are the factors. - He added that “if there is no vigilance, she can suffer a terrible fate like others before her.”
Human Rights Watch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Phil Robertson, Deputy Director of Asia Division, had conversations with Rahaf on Twitter regarding how to deal with authorities at Thai airport. Such as, ‘do not surrender mobile phone’
Amnesty International	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Samah Hadid, Amnesty’s Middle East Director of Campaigns stated, “Rahaf is at risk of great harm if Thai authorities deport her back to Saudi Arabia via Kuwait. Reports that a Saudi official confiscated her passport upon arrival in Bangkok are extremely concerning. The arbitrary confiscation of a passport also violates the right to freedom of movement.” - “She has expressed clear fears for her safety if she returns to her family, and could face criminal charges in Saudi Arabia for disobeying laws on male guardianship. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees has requested access to Rahaf. Thai authorities have yet to provide that access – they must do so immediately and ensure that her right to seek asylum is respected.” - “The Thai authorities are bound by the general prohibition not to transfer persons to any place where they would face a real risk of serious human rights abuses. Rahaf is entitled to fair and effective safeguards against any deportation and to international protection.”
Individuals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An activist Mona Eltahawy translated Rahaf’s tweets from Arabic to English. - Australian journalist, Sophie McNeill flew to Thailand and barricaded herself with Rahaf. She tweeted every single step of the authorities, the UN, and Rahaf to ensure Rahaf’s safety.

To summarise the tables, these secondary institutions are expanding the common values of human rights as well as state-type secondary institutions. They are promoting and protecting ‘human rights’ through discourses. They are urging, criticising, and cajoling people, institutions, and states (Thailand in this case) to feel and think the same ‘human rights standard’. For example, promoting that human rights norm is everyone’s interest and benefit us all. It is a globally shared value which everyone can enjoy and entitled to it, and protective actions are required when there is a violation in order to maintain the invulnerable status of this norm. Mutual recognition and repeated practices of the INGOs, networks, groups, and individuals are the factors that caused international society, nation-states, and individuals to adhere to the value. Their activities “have a significant impact on state-society relations in all corners of the globe.” (Duune, 2013) These examples in tables are the clear contribution of Organisations, Rights Groups, and Individuals to the change of the Thai’s decisions.

The role of secondary institutions, non-state actors, is to secure ‘accountability’ by exposing “areas in which transparency is not forthcoming” to the public space, by appealing to state leaders and representatives for the reasons of their actions, by publishing information regarding areas where compliance has not been met via several modes of communication. (Gilson, 2011: 130) In order to merge the incompliances into the compliances, they usually enforce ‘social process’. Firstly, such as exposing and publishing as mentioned above to draw social, attentions, interactions and supports. Secondly, launch a campaign such as petition, boycotting on certain goods or service concerning the issue (i.e. forced labour, rights abuses, and human trafficking in Thailand’s fishery and seafood-processing industry, the effort to boycott Burma in the 1990s of Texaco and Eddie Bauer join hands with Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch in demanding Burma stop repressive practices.), and shaming to influence third countries, consumers, and individuals aware of abuses that happening in the country for example.

Mass Media and Social Media Contribution

Mass media and social media are the factors that ‘facilitate’ asylum seekers to successfully claimed their asylums, as we have witnessed the case of Rahaf and Hakeem. Moreover, there were case studies of social media correlating social movements, such as Arab Spring, and suggesting that “[social media] served to boost international attention to particular events by facilitating reporting from places where the traditional media has limited access to, and by providing a bottom-up, decentralized process for generating news stories.”, “Internet communities serve a parallel function as civil societies in that they connect individuals on the grounds of sharing a common interest, particularly in countries where government repression prohibits the meeting of certain political groups.” (Dewey, 2012)

For example, the #SaveRahaf campaign, she tweeted in Arabic but translated by Egyptian-American activist Mona Eltahawy and shared the story on her account gathering more interest from rights activists and journalists, such as Human Rights Watch, BBC, ABC and so on. Sophie McNeill, ABC reporter (at that time), barricaded herself with Rahaf to launch the campaign, spread the word, and to ensure Rahaf’s safety. Eventually, the story has been heard by the UNHCR, Thai Immigration dropped the guard down and there was refugee status determination. The #SaveRahaf hashtag got tweeted for more than half a million tweets and the followers reached more than 27,000 accounts at the moment of the campaign. Jonathan Head, The BBC’s South East Asia correspondent and Phil Robertson, Deputy Director of Asia Division of Human Rights Watch commented that,

“In building support and response to crisis situations, Twitter was the perfect social media tool for Rahaf Mohammed al-Qunun because it enabled the rapid sharing of information”, “The surge of support on Twitter [not only] caught the attention of reporters and editors, it helped engage the mainstream Thai media.”, “Her tweets also attracted attention from local diplomats as well as the highest levels of UNHCR and governments to the situation.”, “This was all pivotal in prompting Thailand to re-think their approach once it was clear that Rahaf Mohammed al-Qunun would not go quietly.”

Moreover, Saudi Arabia's chargé d'affaires in Bangkok was quoted as saying, “She opened a Twitter account and her followers grew to 45000 within one day. It would have been better if they confiscated her cell phone instead of her passport because Twitter changed everything”. This statement from the Saudi official to the Thai Immigration and the comments from mass media and INGOs who closely worked with the case are quite a reflection of how powerful social media and mass media is. For the #SaveHakeem movement, approximately more than 1 million #SaveHakeem were tweeted during the campaign. The picture of him shackled on news headlines made the international community, Australian government, activists, FIFA, soccer fans, and individuals, to the series of zero-tolerance and ask Thailand to free Hakeem immediately. Recently the #blacklivesmatter campaign and the utilisation of social media in 2020 Thailand mass protests, Free YOUTH. I would like to put, social media and mass media play a part in social movement and values accelerations.

Today, social trends emerged on social media platforms mostly on Twitter and stimulated all around the world because of its interconnectedness characteristic. People are stick together, share the same minds, and urge the same thing. The abundant of individuals, the smallest unit of society, shared a common interest. They utilise the interconnectedness and fastness, such as hashtagging, sharing, and cross-platform sharing to create a social trend to the world and mass media do a job as headline spotlighters. Several, mass media platforms, TVs, newspapers, radios from all around the world echoes the voices to the actual world and it is time for activism to perform, for instance, IGOs, INGOs, groups, and activists. Social media and mass media act parallelly with the activisms of the actual world in order to facilitate and increase the parameter of success, the more the world hear the more success, I argue. There were asylum-seekers cases that the researcher has witnessed that left behind by the global attention. No one heard their voices and no one knows their faith after being deported. If social media and mass media did not involve in the case of Rahaf and Hakeem, definitely, the door of proving and screening of asylum-seeking will be closed. The Immigration enforced the law, honestly, without any doubt.

To conclude my argument, social media and mass media are not just facilitator to the social movements but also initiator and stimulator of contemporary issues. They serve as secondary institutions' tool to promote primary institutions (human rights) by operating and balancing information to the way that agents want international society to be. Yet, the publicised issues that emerged on social media and mass media alone are insufficient for the change in Immigration's policy but it needs support and solidarity from the broader public. Social media, media, and activists need to work cooperatively and simultaneously to urge international society to take their side. Thus, this is the key to a successful social movement.

The Bureau and The Executives

The bureaucrats and the Executives are interdependent. They are intervening and taking part in each other. Thus, Executive intervention is not strange. Orders can be replaced or overridden

hierarchically. A non-commissioned police officer takes order from the commissioned police officer and high-ranking commissioned police officer take order from the Executives.

Executive power and the cabinet involved in immigration decision-making through the chain of commands and legal channels. Such an immigration order can be influenced by the Minister with the approval of the cabinet, according to the Immigration Act, in a direct way. It is also influenced the indirect way. According to Montri Rodpranee (1996, p.139), Executives have power and influence to control Thai Police. The Executives are the person who launches state-policies that the Royal Thai Police has to follow and have authority over the Police appointment and rotation process. Moreover, the cases that got public attention or international attention, the Executives tend to closely take control and keep their eyes on police's operations and police have to reports every step to the Executives. These lead to the direct and indirect intervention of Immigration's internal affairs. Therefore, immigration policy and order may change due to the political core.

This research finds out that international society as a whole is the game-changer and trigger Thailand to change. Secondary institutions, including states, IGOs, INGOs, networks, groups, and individuals involved in checking and balancing Thai immigration administration and the Executives' performances to arrange them in the line with the international society standard.

Discussion and Conclusions

To synthesise the study, we can find out that the emerging solidarist international society is challenging pluralist international society. However, the solidarist international society that we have witnessed is still on the level that I would like to call, 'semi-solidarist international society'. Apparently, it is a solidarist international society that evolved from the Westphalian international society and still not letting go of the 'sovereignty' and 'non-intervention' values but welcomes the emerging 'human rights' values. As well as in the past, states were conscious of common rules and values, cooperated in the working of common institutions, and perceived common interests (Hurrell, 2007: 3) which was to prevent war and intervention by constituting the core value that called 'sovereignty', but we just moved beyond the said values and embrace all of them and balance them on the horizontal level. Accordingly, the dilemma of international political order has emerged when a state that has not yet adopted the new model of international society (or primary institution which is human rights) faces human rights violation within the borders. States still have authority in managing their internal affairs, however, on the human rights issues, it seems to be not someone's business but everyone's business. Secondary institutions including states and non-state actors are regulating their interactions, enforcing, expanding and extending human rights through several modes over the non-membership of the evolving international society. To illustrate, Thailand and the case of Rahaf and Hakeem was regulated in the eyes of international society under the condition of 'Complex Governance'.

Therefore, what I would like to say, 'semi' is the mixture of pluralism and solidarism that tends to develop but not as far as the World Society. It is just another platform of international society that

aims to set international political order and to harmonise ‘anarchical society’, chaos, instability, and unpredictability in that states, organisations, individuals, media, and social media play a part as change agents. In short, ‘semi-solidarist international society’ allows ‘sovereignty’ to exist for the sake of national security while ‘human rights’ is worshipped for the sake of humankind.

Conclusion: States, Non-states, Media and Social Media, the Bureau and The Executives

To answer research questions on what are the factors that contribute to the change of the Thai immigration deportation decision and why does Thailand have to oblige. The factors that gathered from the discussion and analysis as following: States and IGOs, several Non-states actors such as INGOs; groups; and individuals, Mass media and Social media, and the capability of the Executive and the Bureau as well as their mutual recognition of international values . See Figure 1

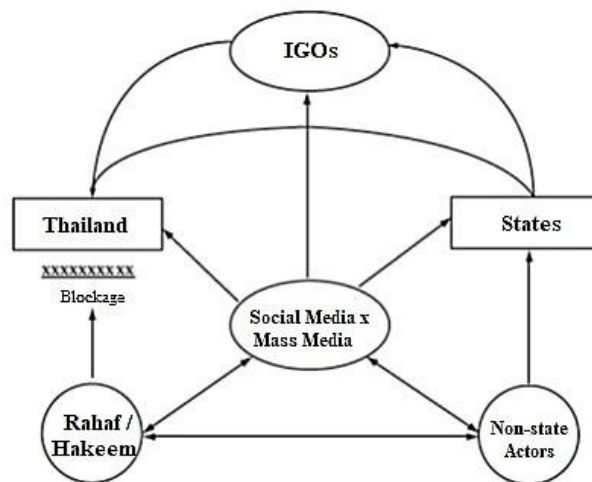


Figure 1 Multiple routes of factors/actors contributed to the Thai’s decisions. (Complex Governance)

Source: Adapted from Multiple routes for the boomerang effect. (Willetts, 2010: 133)

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