

# SINGAPORE



AMY Map by Boyet Rivera III

## A. Total Stock (Number) of Migrants, as of 2005

MIGRANTS ABROAD	
<b>ESTIMATED STOCK: MIGRANTS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY</b>	
<b>TOTAL</b>	-
<b>a. By visa status</b>	Documented migrant workers*
	Emigrants/residents
	Undocumented migrants**
	Refugees***
<b>b. By sex</b>	Male
	Female
<b>c. Top destination countries</b>	1. 6.
(thousands)	2. 7.
	3. 8.
	4. 9.
	5. 10.

\* Non-resident, temporary, or contract workers.

\*\* Includes illegal entrants, overstayed or "jumped" visas, trafficked/smuggled people

MIGRANTS IN SINGAPORE	
<b>ESTIMATED STOCK: MIGRANTS IN THE COUNTRY</b>	
<b>TOTAL</b>	-
<b>a. By visa status</b>	Documented migrant workers*
	Emigrants/residents
	Undocumented migrants**
	Refugees***
<b>b. By sex</b>	Male
	Female
<b>c. Top countries of origin</b>	1. 6.
(%)	2. 7.
	3. 8.
	4. 9.
	5. 10.

\*\*\* As defined by the government, or in accordance with the UN refugee convention.

## B. Annual Socio-Economic Data and Migration Flow

Annual indicators	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000
Population (million; mid-year estimate)	48.42		47.90	48.32	47.70	47.30
% population living below poverty line					4.00	
% population living in rural areas					17.5	
Economic growth: real GDP (%)	3.7	4.6	5.5	6.1	3.0	9.3
Per capita GDP (US\$)			12,634		8,917	16,100
Per capita GDP: purchasing power parity (US\$)	20,300	20,400		19,400	15,090	
Inflation rate: CPI (%; annual ave.)	2.8		3.7	2.8	4.1	2.2
Exchange rate: (Won per US\$; annual ave.)	1,015	1,145	1,191	1,317	1,291	1,131
International reserves (US\$ billion; yearend)					102.82	96.20
Foreign direct investments: actual (US\$ billion; yearend)						9.28
Trade balance (US\$ billion; yearend)						15.50
Foreign (total external) debt (US\$ billion; yearend)	188.40				128.20	134.42
Foreign (total external) debt as % of GNP						29.5
Budget balance (US\$; yearend)						
Budget deficit as % of GDP						
Labor force (million)	23.65	22.90	25		22.48	21.95
Women as % of labor force			41.0			
Number unemployed (million)				0.661	0.819	0.890
Unemployment rate (% of labor force; seasonally adjusted)	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.0	3.7	4.1
Underemployment rate (% labor force)						
Women unemployment rate (% of labor force)			2.50			
Average income (US\$/month)						
Average income: women (US\$/month)						
Adult literacy rate (% of age 15 & above who can read/write)				97.9	97.9	
Net migration rate (net # of migrants per 1,000 popn)	0.00			0.00		0.00
Annual outflow/deployment of MWs						
% women in the annual outflow						
Annual inflow of MWs						
% women in the annual inflow						
Annual migrants' remittance (US\$ billion/yr)						
Reported # of migrant deaths during the year						
Estimated # deported during the year						
Jailed/detained during the year						
HIV/AIDS adult prevalence rate (adult PLHA as % of adult popn)		<0.1		<0.10		
# People living with HIV/AIDS (thousand)			8,300.0			
# AIDS deaths during the year (adults+children)			<200			
Cumulative #: HIV/AIDS cases among migrants (living+died)						

Sources: CIA World Factbook, UN/ILO/UNDP statistical yearbooks/websites.

AMIC Information Bank



Courtesy of Samyodorai Sinapan, Think Centre

While foreign workers comprise a significant proportion of Singapore's construction industry, the government regulates their numbers through a 'dependency ceiling' ratio of 1 full-time local worker per every 5 foreign workers. Singapore.

## SINGAPORE

*This report was compiled with the assistance of information provided by Samyodorai Sinapan, Think Centre, and Bridget Lew, Humanitarian Organization for Migration Economics.*

### Political and Economic Update

Singapore swore in a new Prime Minister, Lee Hsien Loong, in 2004. Lee is the son of former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, considered to be the father of Singapore. Lee replaced Goh Chok Tong, who now serves as both Chairman of the Monetary Authority of Singapore and Senior Minister in Lee's government. Goh Chok Tong had been considered to be merely a seat-warmer for Lee Hsien Loong, but successfully saw the country through the 1997 financial crisis and the SARS epidemic of 2003.<sup>1</sup> The younger Lee is only

Singapore's third Prime Minister and, like both his predecessors, a member of the standing People's Action Party (PAP). He formerly served as both a cabinet secretary and deputy premier. In August 2005, Lee set out his ten-year vision for Singapore, including advances in education, public health, city planning, and a new Research, Innovation and Enterprise Council to develop the economy.<sup>2</sup>

Though he has talked about encouraging political openness, Lee's cabinet retains most of the influential figures from previous administrations, and observers see him as likely to maintain Singapore's strict social controls.<sup>3</sup> In particular, the government continues to allow little space for the free expression of dissenting views. Of 2005 in Singapore, Amnesty International wrote: "The threat of potentially ruinous civil defamation suits against opponents of the ruling People's Action Party continued to inhibit political life and engendered a climate of self-censorship".<sup>4</sup> The government monitors

all internet and computer activity, though unlike China, it does not block unapproved sites. Instead, strict defamation laws mean large fines for web users who express dissent or views that are seen as disruptive to society. The government requires websites that discuss politics or religion to have a license, and internet service providers must monitor the content of websites they host.<sup>5</sup>

In regard to other rights issues, members of local rights groups, including the Think Centre, have continued to call for a moratorium on the death penalty. Despite their efforts an Australian man was executed in December following a drug smuggling conviction. The Australian government issued pleas for clemency, but some activists argued that it could have done more by imposing economic sanctions. According to Amnesty International, Singapore has the highest per capita usage of state executions, and anybody over the age of 18 caught with more than 15 grams (0.5 oz) of heroin, 30 grams (1.1 oz) of cocaine, 500 grams (17.6 oz) of marijuana is automatically sentenced to death.<sup>6</sup>

In 2005, the government took steps to prevent terror attacks, including international agreements and domestic controls. The country's military participated in the United States-led Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). In August a multinational maritime training exercise was held in Singaporean waters. The exercise, titled "Deep Sabre", was meant to ready Singapore to intercept the traffic of illicit weapons of mass destruction through its shipping lanes, which are some of the busiest in the world. The US lent military apparatus to the operation, which also included participation from Japan, New Zealand, Australia and the United Kingdom.<sup>7</sup>

The government also instituted domestic reforms to protect against acts of terrorism. Singapore has begun issuing passports with biometric data chips, and monitors all internet activity.<sup>8</sup> Likewise, the government now regulates pre-paid phone cards, which can be used remotely to detonate explosives. The fundamental Islamist group, Jemaah Islamiyah, is believed to pose the

greatest threat to Singaporean security. In 2005, 30 suspected members of the group were being held in detention.<sup>9</sup>

Singapore's economy proved to be one of the fastest growing in Asia. The continued economic growth in 2005 is taken as a sign of the country's ability to surpass other important regional economies like South Korea and Taiwan.<sup>10</sup> Trade in domestically manufactured goods continued to be the pushing factor for growth. In 2004 the economy grew by 8.1%, its highest growth rate since 2000. In 2005, the economy grew by 6.4%, as manufacturing and pharmaceutical production increased in the second half of the year.<sup>11</sup> Singapore's offshore and marine engineering industry benefited when oil prices rose in 2005; the country is the world's largest manufacturer of offshore oil rigs.<sup>12</sup>

The island's economic growth was also spurred by an increase in tourism. Singapore saw 9 million tourists in 2005, and hopes to double that number in the coming years. To that end, the government agreed to allow the construction of two casinos, amidst significant public protest. Religious and civic groups rallied 30,000 signatures on a petition against the plan, which would allow the government access to the Asian gaming market worth USD14 billion a year.<sup>13</sup> The government, which typically conveys a strong moral tendency, assured these concerned groups that it would impose restrictions to ensure gambling does not cause problems domestically. The casino-resorts will only allow access to local Singaporeans who can pay USD61 a day or USD1,218 a year. Also, casino operators would not be allowed to offer credit to Singaporeans who spend less than USD60,000 a game.<sup>14</sup>

In an effort to lower Singapore's 3.7% unemployment, the Prime Minister announced a plan in March 2005 to subsidize companies who employ Singaporeans in sectors where migrants typically work. The policy gained support from the state labor union, and Singaporean society. The government's Job Redesign Incentive Scheme is intended to give SGD100,000 to

**TABLE 1 : LABOUR FORCE, 1996, 2004 AND 2006 (AS AT JUNE)**

	Number			Change % p.a.	
	1996	2004	2006	1996-2006	2004-2006
Total	2,024,900	2,341,900	2,594,100	2.5	5.2
Resident	1,511,500	1,733,400	1,880,800	2.2	4.2
Non-resident	513,500	608,500	713,200	3.3	8.3

Source: Ministry of Manpower

employers who can redesign low-paying 3D jobs and make them appeal to locals. The program will last two years with a budget of SGD10 million.<sup>15</sup>

### Migration Update

Singapore has around 575,000 migrants, 150,000 of whom are female domestic workers.<sup>16</sup> Migrants make up a quarter of Singapore's workforce, though they account for 18% of workers in the National Trade Union Congress (NTUC).<sup>17</sup> There were 43,000 new permit holders in 2005, the largest increase since 1997.<sup>18</sup> The country enforces strict laws to check irregular immigration and maintains a tiered system of classifying migrant workers, based on profession and skill (*see AMY 2002-2003*). Singapore uses a tiered pass system in tandem with levies to manage the flow of foreign workers. In 2005 the Ministry of Manpower (MOM) implemented a new category of employment pass, the S-Pass, for professionals, technicians and skilled workers. The S-Pass was implemented to fill shortages in these fields, and obtaining one requires minimum standards of educational background, salary history, and work experience. With an S-Pass, a foreign worker may enter the country with their spouse or children, unlike those with the R-Pass. Similarly, unlike the S-Pass, the R-Pass makes no promise of a minimum salary.<sup>19</sup> The majority of workers, including those employed as domestic workers as well as those in construction and

manufacturing, will continue to use the R-Pass.

In 2004, amendments were made to the Immigration Act which gave the Immigration and Checkpoints Authority stronger powers. Singapore already has quite strict immigration laws, but this legislation made them even tougher, in part to counter efforts by traffickers to bring back into the country migrants who have already been deported.<sup>20</sup> The new laws granted immigration officers the right to carry firearms and check biometric identifiers of travelers and migrants. Biometric identifiers, such as fingerprints and photos, allow the department to track who has entered or left the country. The legislation also created stronger penalties for migrants using forged documents. The maximum fine imposed for the offense increased from SGD2,000 to SGD6,000, and jail terms increased from six months to 24 months.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, the act of smuggling an irregular immigrant out of Singapore became a punishable offense. In order to further tighten controls on irregular immigration, Singapore constructed a fence along the coastline near Malaysia. The fence was built two months before two 18-year old Burmese boys were caught trying to swim into the country using inflated garbage bags. 142 migrants had attempted to enter by sea in 2004.<sup>22</sup>

In 2004 and 2005, there was an increase in the number of cases reported where wages were being withheld from domestic workers. Over 260 cases of withheld wages were reported in 2004, up from 214 cases in 2003.<sup>23</sup> Non-payment of wages is not limited to domestic workers, however. One incident

## Singapore Significant Events July 2004 — December 2005

### 2004

#### August

**(12)** Lee Hsien Loong is inaugurated as Prime Minister. The son of Singapore's former Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, his cabinet shows little difference from the previous one.

#### September

**(3)** *The Economist* magazine pays the Prime Minister Lee and his father USD185,000 in response to its article that was seen as defamatory, implying nepotism in the appointment of Lee's wife to lead a state-owned company.

### 2005

#### January

**(1)** A five day work week takes effect, doing away with the half-day workday on Saturdays.

**(14)** Singapore and Malaysian governments agree to end a two year old border dispute. The dispute began at the end of 2002 when Singapore began reclamation work in the Johor Strait, which the Malaysian government argued would impair maritime trade.

#### April

**(17)** Singapore stops a representative of Amnesty International from speaking at a public forum about the death penalty.

**(18)** The government decides to allow casino

gambling following Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong's initiative. The move is an attempt to increase tourism to Singapore, though some sectors of civil society stridently oppose the plan.

#### July

**(12)** Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong meets with US President George W. Bush to discuss security cooperation and East Asian politics.

**(14)** The head of the National Kidney Foundation resigns amid public outcry at revelations that his yearly salary topped USD350,000. Around 3800 donors cancel donations to the charity.

#### September

**(1)** President SR Nathan is declared the automatic winner in the presidential race after three potential opponents were disqualified for running. He will remain in office for another six years.

#### December

**(2)** An Australian man is hanged at Changi prison three years after being convicted of carrying 400 grams of heroin in the Singapore airport. The buildup to the execution saw significant outcries for clemency in both Australia and Singapore.

*Sources: BBC News, Singapore Window, Scalabrini Asian Migrant News*

of non-payment in 2004 involved nearly 400 construction workers. The company they worked for was facing collapse and, in violation of Singapore's labor laws, withheld wages for six months. The majority of the workers refused to accept the MOM-negotiated settlement, which was one-tenth of what they were owed. Instead, the workers protested publicly on two occasions, once at the Indian embassy where they hoped to gain support for

their claims.<sup>24</sup> The workers were sheltered and fed by the NTUC's Migrant Workers Forum and local religious charities while making their claims. This case is an extreme example of non-payment gone unchecked, indicating that the government needs to take more steps to punish errant employers.

In 2004 there was an increase in the number of migrants arrested for working in an industry outside the one for which they were originally



## A HIGH PRICE FOR JUSTICE FOR FOREIGN DOMESTIC WORKERS ACCUSED OF THEFT

Sri, a domestic worker from Indonesia, was accused by her employer of theft. She decided to defend herself from the allegation at the high court, although the decision was not an easy one. During the investigation and court proceedings, foreign domestic workers lose both their right to employment and their right to leave the country. There would not only be a bail, which in Sri's case amounted to SGD10,000, there are also legal and court fees. In light of these factors, foreign domestic workers accused of theft often accept the conviction without fighting for their case.

Sri was fortunate, however, to have a pro bono lawyer from the Humanitarian Organisation for Migration Economics (HOME), Mr. Lim Tanguy. When she was first bailed out of jail by HOME, the counter staff was surprised that as a domestic worker, she had someone to bail her out. Although HOME was able to support her with limited but critical resources, Sri often wanted to resign herself to the imprisonment term, even though sentenced for theft can be as long as seven years for theft convictions. She constantly agonized over her future and her inability to earn for her family. Although Sri eventually won

her court case, the waiting period of 17 months in HOME's shelter during the course of police investigations was a trial in itself.

Sri's story is shared by many others. Domestic workers are often the first to be accused in real cases of theft, and there are also a number of reports of employers making theft accusations under false pretenses. Employers have accused their workers for theft at the end of their contracts to avoid having to pay for their airfare home, for example. Employers have also used such accusations to threaten workers who complain of unpaid wages or abuse. Without assistance from lawyers or from their consulates, many domestic workers are unable to defend themselves legally. As for the employers who make unproven accusations, they do not apologize nor compensate the workers for their losses.

*From "The Price of Justice," an article by Bridget Lew, (HOME) – original article published in OFW Pinoy Star, a Singaporean magazine for the Filipino community. Additional information from "Specific Groups and Individuals: Migrant Workers," Report by Gabriela Rodriguez, Special Rapporteur, Economic and Social Council.*

issued a permit. The year 2004 saw 1,708 workers arrested for this offense, a huge increase from the 710 workers arrested in 2003. The majority were workers registered in the marine sector who were being employed in cleaning. In one incident nine migrants were arrested by employment inspectors while cleaning at a town council.<sup>25</sup> Whether or not these migrants knew they were in violation of labor law is not clear. Scrutiny has been cast on the agencies who recruit migrant workers.<sup>26</sup>

### **Domestic workers**

Around one in seven households in Singapore

employ domestic workers, who primarily come from Indonesia, the Philippines and Sri Lanka.<sup>27</sup> Domestic workers, as a group, got a lot of attention and saw serious changes in 2004 and 2005. They are not covered under the Employment Act and do not benefit from basic protections such as a limited number of working hours, days off, a minimum wage or timely payment of wages. Singaporean citizens employing domestic workers must register a SGD5,000 (USD2,950) security bond with the Work Permit Office, which they forfeit if the worker violates certain conditions (*see AMY 2002-2003*) or if the employer fails to repatriate



Courtesy of Samyodrai Sinapan, Think Centre

A case of non-payment of wages involving migrant workers in the Singapore construction industry led to legal proceedings filed against senior officials in the company, who were found guilty and charged hefty fines.

her. Human Rights Watch has said that the bond acts as “an incentive to employers to tightly restrict their domestic workers’ movements, prevent them from giving workers weekly rest days, and sometimes to lock them in the workplace.”<sup>28</sup> Another law links a domestic worker’s work permit to a specific family, who can then terminate a contract and send a worker home. The policy ignores whether or not workers have earned any money or finished paying their debts.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to the security bond, Singapore obliges employers to pay a monthly levy for the work permits held by their workers. An estimated SGD360-531 million (USD212-313 million) is collected each year from around 150,000 domestic workers and goes into a central government fund, but is not then allocated to any specific migrant services, according to a Human Rights Watch report.<sup>30</sup> The amount of the levy for a domestic worker’s permit was reduced from SGD345 to SGD250 in 2004, for households

with children under 12 or elderly relatives. The government reportedly lowered the levy amount in order to encourage Singaporeans to have more children.<sup>31</sup> Wage inequality based on race is a big problem in Singapore, where Filipino workers are the highest paid, earning around SGD320 a month, while both Indians and Sri Lankans typically earn less than the new amount Indonesians are paid.<sup>32</sup> Following the reduction of the monthly levy, the minimum wage for Indonesian workers was raised by SGD50 to SGD280 in April, as instated by the Association of Employment Agencies in Singapore (AEAS).<sup>33</sup> The MOM had rejected calls by the Indonesian Embassy for a pay hike, but the employment agencies sought change as a way to attract more workers in the wake of stricter recruitment requirements.

The Singapore government promulgated new requirements for prospective domestic workers. The minimum age of FDWs was changed from 18 to 23 years, and will now require that

prospective workers have a minimum of eight years of formal education. Another component of the stricter requirements is an obligatory skills test that a domestic worker must take within three days of arrival. The test assesses knowledge of housekeeping, labor and safety regulations, and English language ability.<sup>34</sup> FDWs already working in Singapore would not be affected by the changes. The workers' rights advocacy group TWC2 had pushed for the minimum age requirement, pointing out that some FDWs were too young to adjust to the conditions of the job.

Employment agencies reported serious declines in the number of workers recruited since the regulations were implemented by the MOM. The number of FDWs from Indonesia reportedly decreased by 80%, while there were 50% less workers coming from India and Sri Lanka.<sup>35</sup> The Association of Employment Agencies in Singapore (AEAS) made visits to high schools in the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh. AEAS also planned to visit Vietnam to recruit workers who meet the new age and education requirements.<sup>36</sup>

Employers are given the power to decide whether to allow their domestic employee to have any days off, and a report by Human Rights Watch noted that more than half of domestic workers do not receive a day off. The report also pointed out that a majority of FDWs work at least 15 hours a day, and thus far more than the 44 hours stipulated by the Employment Act. The Act does not cover FDWs, but in 2005 the issue of a mandatory rest day garnered some support outside the activist community.<sup>37</sup> The AEAS lobbied the MOM for the introduction of four days off per month. Under the proposed agreement, an employer would have the option to either give the worker four days off or compensate them SGD16 per day not taken off. The MOM ruled that this would not become a policy, stating that specifics about rest days are to be specified in individual employment contracts.<sup>38</sup> For this reason, community groups continued to

push for an enforceable law to be passed which would guarantee a day off. The group Transient Workers Count Too (TWC2) argued that such a law would offer more protection to FDWs than a contract which would not be enforceable.<sup>39</sup>

## Responses

### *Governmental*

The Singapore government prosecuted a number of cases involving employer abuses. A new law was passed in May which allows domestic workers to file criminal charges against employers. The law mandates that employers delinquent on payment of wages can be fined up to SGD5,000 or be jailed for up to six months.<sup>40</sup> In the first case of its kind, the MOM penalized an employer for withholding wages from her domestic worker. The employer was eventually ordered to compensate the domestic worker SGD3,580 (USD2,112) for two years' unpaid wages. She was also fined SGD3,000 (USD1,875) for continuing to employ a worker whose work permit had expired, and the court held her responsible for SGD12,075 (USD7,547) for three years of unpaid levies.<sup>41</sup>

Amendments made to the Immigration Act in 2004 did away with the law that automatically sent landlords to jail for harboring irregular migrants. The decision is now left to judges and prosecuting attorneys as to what penalty to seek. Thus, defendants face one of two charges, either "negligent harboring" or "reckless harboring".<sup>42</sup>

At the beginning of 2005, the MOM created a Foreign Manpower Division (FMD) with the stated intent of monitoring employment agencies and enforcing manpower regulations. The agency's new mandate includes the conduct of spot checks on employers of migrant workers.<sup>43</sup> The new rules also state that errant employers can be subjected to fines, jail, and blacklisting from having workers in the future.<sup>44</sup> Human Rights Watch has recognized the creation of the department as a step forward in the realization



of migrant workers' rights.<sup>45</sup>

In September 2005, the Ministry of Health announced plans to end subsidized health services for foreigners to address the overcrowding in public clinics, where one in ten patients is a foreigner.<sup>46</sup> The Health Minister, Khaw Boon Wan, suggested that employers should provide insurance for workers in the contracts they sign. Sunlove Home, a charity, began providing medical services for foreign workers without health coverage. The group, with the help of Western Union, supplied medicine and free consultations on Sundays using a transportable Medmobile.<sup>47</sup>

### NGOs

In 2005, Human Rights Watch conducted an in-depth study on the conditions of migrant domestic workers in Singapore, highlighting the abuses these workers face. When migrant workers have workplace troubles or are faced with abuses by employers it can be difficult to find a safe place to go.

To that end, the Humanitarian Organization for Migration Economics (HOME) initiated a number of efforts to help migrants in Singapore. HOME has three shelters for foreign workers in need, two for women and one for men. In December, HOME held a charity concert in celebration of International Migrants Day and Christmas. The group has also hosted presentations by international human rights advocates and participated in international rights forums. Members of the group have contributed music to a collaborative CD, *Migrant Voices*, with other migrant groups in Singapore.

The December 2004 tsunami did not reach Singapore's shores, but many workers' families were affected. The Humanitarian Organization for Migrant Economics (HOME), along with the MOM, provided grief counseling for affected foreign workers. Phone companies distributed free cards to help workers call home, and two banks temporarily waived remittance charges for sending money to families in affected areas.<sup>48</sup>

TWC2 advocates for workers rights through public education and by pushing for new laws. The group also publishes research regarding the labor situation of FDWs in Singapore. TWC2 continued its rapid response program for domestic workers facing abuse or workplace issues. The group coordinates with volunteers and other community groups to aid FDWs, and in some cases remove them from harmful situations. On International Migrants Day 2005, the group co-hosted a sports carnival in order to "strengthen the bonds between two communities - Singaporeans and foreign workers". That same day, domestic workers who have worked in Singapore for more than ten years were given certificates of recognition.<sup>49</sup>

Another group working in the struggle for migrant workers' rights is the Think Centre. The Think Centre conducts analyses of a number of human rights issues in Singapore, including labor rights and government monitoring of the internet. The group has organized events in opposition to the death penalty, and has published books on a number of issues, including the issue of the rights of families to be together. Think Centre has also assisted migrant workers who were not paid their salaries. In addition, it hosted an exchange with the Vietnamese Women's Union (VWU) in regard to the increasing number of Vietnamese working in pubs and the sex industry.

The St. Francis Workers Centre and the Catholic Pastoral Commission on Migrant work have also organized activities to provide responses to migrant workers' issues. The Migrant Savings for Alternative Investments (MSAI) program, for example, was implemented to help migrants learn about saving and investing for their future.

There are also some groups that do not want their advocacy work on behalf of migrant workers to be known, for example, in regard to the non-payment of salaries. Due to the political climate, they do not want to be seen as seeking policy change, and may even refuse to allow the participation of workers in the process. Instead,

they claim to be doing civic work. While this helps to provide necessary assistance to migrant workers, it may not encourage people to come forward or get involved in policy changes.

### Endnotes

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