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กรณีศึกษาเต็กรับใช้ในบ้าน



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ศูนย์วิจัยทรัพยากร จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

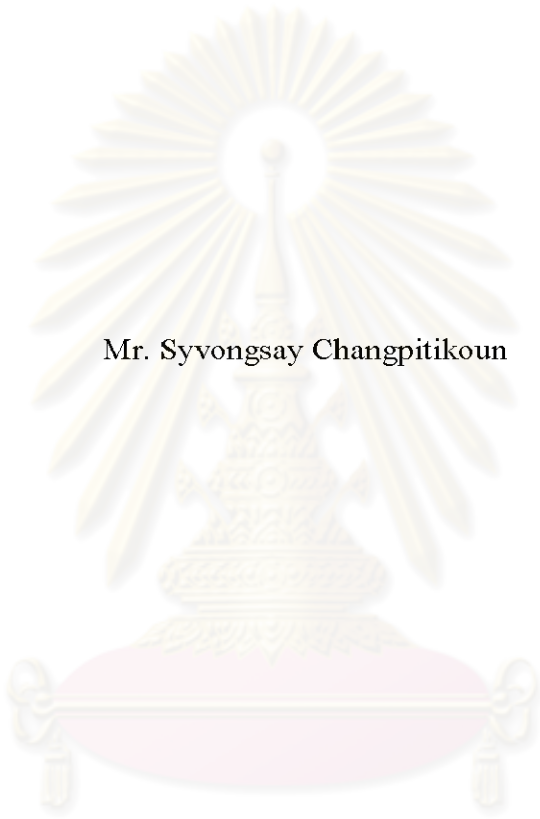
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FACTORS INFLUENCING CHILD WORKERS' MIGRATION FROM
LAO PDR TO THAILAND AND ITS CONSEQUENCES:
A CASE STUDY OF CHILD DOMESTIC WORKERS



Mr. Syvongsay Changpitikoun

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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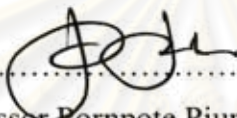
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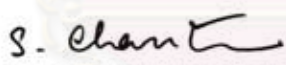
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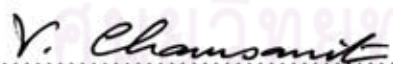
Accepted by the Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree

 Dean of the Graduate School
(Associate Professor Pornpote Piumsomboon, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE

 Chairman
(Assistant Professor Theera Nuchpiam, Ph.D.)

 Advisor
(Professor Supang Chantavanich, Doctorat en sociologie)

 External Examiner
(Varaporn Chamsanit, Ph.D.)

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

ศิววงศ์ไช ข้างปิติคุณ : ปัจจัยที่มีอิทธิพลต่อการย้ายถิ่นของแรงงานเด็กชาวลาวสู่ประเทศไทยและผลที่เกิดขึ้น: กรณีศึกษาเด็กรับใช้ในบ้าน (FACTORS INFLUENCING CHILD WORKERS' MIGRATION FROM LAO PDR TO THAILAND AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: A CASE STUDY OF CHILD DOMESTIC WORKERS) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก : ศ.ดร.สุภางศ์ จันทวานิช, 112 หน้า.

ความสัมพันธ์ทางภูมิศาสตร์ วัฒนธรรมและภาษาระหว่างประเทศลาวและประเทศไทยนับเป็นปัจจัยสำคัญที่มีอิทธิพลต่อการอพยพย้ายถิ่นของคนลาวเข้ามาในประเทศไทย แม้กระนั้นเหตุผลหลักที่มีผลต่อการย้ายถิ่นของคนลาวคือโอกาสในการแสวงหารายได้ที่ดีกว่า วัตถุประสงค์ของวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้จัดทำขึ้นเพื่อวิเคราะห์ปัจจัยที่มีอิทธิพลต่อการตัดสินใจในการย้ายถิ่นของเด็กจากประเทศลาวที่เข้ามาทำงานเป็นผู้ช่วยแม่บ้านในประเทศไทย และเพื่อศึกษาผลกระทบที่มีต่อเด็กเหล่านี้หลังจากที่พวกเขาได้กลับสู่ภูมิลำเนาเดิม และศึกษาทัศนคติของผู้ปกครองที่มีต่อการย้ายถิ่นของเด็กเหล่านี้

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ มีการเก็บข้อมูลในพื้นที่ ที่นครเวียงจันทน์ จังหวัดบอลิคำไซ และจังหวัดสะหวันนะเขต ประเทศลาว โดยมีการสัมภาษณ์บุคคลที่เคยทำงานเป็นผู้ช่วยแม่บ้านในประเทศไทยจำนวน 101 คน (ผู้หญิง 96 คน และผู้ชาย 5 คน) นอกจากนี้ได้มีการสัมภาษณ์ผู้ปกครอง ผู้ใหญ่บ้าน และเจ้าหน้าที่ส่วนอำเภอจากกระทรวงแรงงานและสวัสดิการสังคมด้วย ผลของงานวิจัยพบว่าปัจจัยหลักที่มีผลต่อการย้ายถิ่นของแรงงานเด็กจากประเทศลาวมายังประเทศไทยนั้นคือความคาดหวังส่วนตัวที่จะได้รับรายได้สูงขึ้นในขณะที่สภาพการทำงานของเด็กเหล่านี้ค่อนข้างแย่ 66 เปอร์เซ็นต์ต้องทำงานถึง 12 ชั่วโมงต่อวัน 61 เปอร์เซ็นต์มีวันหยุดพักผ่อน 36 เปอร์เซ็นต์ต้องทำงานโดยไม่มีวันหยุด 62 เปอร์เซ็นต์ของแรงงานเด็กเหล่านี้ได้รับเงินเดือนเป็นจำนวน 3000 - 5000 บาท และอีก 39 เปอร์เซ็นต์ได้รับเงินเดือนต่ำกว่า 3000 บาท ในกรณีที่เด็กประสบกับการละเมิดในทางใดทางหนึ่งนั้นมีถึง 14 เปอร์เซ็นต์

ผลจากงานวิจัยยังพบว่าผู้ปกครองมีทัศนคติทางบวกต่อการอพยพย้ายถิ่นของเด็ก เนื่องจากพวกเขา นอกจากจะนำประโยชน์มาสู่ต่อเศรษฐกิจของครอบครัว แล้วยังสามารถนำความรู้และทักษะใหม่ๆกลับมาด้วย อย่างไรก็ตามผู้ปกครองของเด็กเหล่านี้รู้สึกไม่เห็นด้วยกับการที่เห็นเด็กบางคนได้นำวัฒนธรรมใหม่ในการดำเนินชีวิต พฤติกรรม และการแต่งกายเข้ามาในหมู่บ้านซึ่งขัดกับประเพณีและวัฒนธรรมท้องถิ่น แต่โดยรวมแล้วสภาพชีวิตของเด็กเหล่านี้หลังจากที่กลับสู่ภูมิลำเนาที่พัฒนาขึ้นจากเงินออม ความรู้และทักษะใหม่ที่ได้รับจากการไปทำงานในประเทศไทย ซึ่งมีความสำคัญมากต่อเขาและครอบครัว

สาขาวิชา เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา

ปีการศึกษา 2551

ลายมือชื่อนิสิต.....

Synergy Say

ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก.....

สุภางศ์ จันทวานิช

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The geographical, cultural and linguistic links between Laos and Thailand are factors for people migration. However, seeking better income opportunity is the reason for migration. The objectives of this study are to examine factors influencing the decision of child domestic workers from Lao PDR to migrate to Thailand, to examine the work conditions of child domestic workers, and to study the consequences of child domestic workers after returning and parental attitudes of child migration

The study was conducted in Vientiane Capital, Bolikhamxai and Savannakhet provinces. 101 (female 96 and male 5) who used to work as domestic workers in Thailand were interviewed. In addition, parents, village headmen and district officials of the Ministry of Social Welfare were included. The study found that the main factor influencing child worker's migration from Laos to Thailand is personal expectations to earn more incomes. Their working conditions are relatively poor; 66 % have to work for 12 hours a day, 61% have a day off while 36% have no day off. 62% received 3000-5000 Baht while 30% received less than 3000 Baht. 14 % experienced some kinds of abuses. The study also found that parental attitudes of child migration are positive since they do not bring back only economic benefits but potentially some new skills and knowledge. On the other hand, parents have seen a few child returnees imported a new culture in term of living style, behavior and dress which is contradicted with local norms and culture. Their living conditions after returning are better improved because of savings, new knowledge and skills they gained, which are more significant for them and family.

Field of Studies: Southeast Asian Studies.....Student's Signature: 

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List of Abbreviations

ADB:	Asian Development Bank
ARCM:	Asian Research Center for Migration
ASEAN:	Association for South East Asian Nations
CDW:	Child Domestic Worker
FHI:	Family Health International
ILO:	International Labor Organisation
IOM:	International Organisation for Migration
LFNC:	Lao Front for National Construction
Lao PDR:	Lao Peoples' Democratic Republic
LWU:	Lao Women's Union
LYU:	Lao Youth Union
MoH:	Ministry of Health
MoLWS:	Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare
NGO:	Non-Government Organization
NSC:	National Statistic Center
SCN:	Save the Children Norway
SC UK:	Save the Children UK
UN:	United Nations
UNIAP:	United Nation Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking in the Greater Mekong Sub-region
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of population migration is old as the history of mankind itself. People and whole societies have moved across continents, regions, and within nations, in search of the basic necessities of life: food, shelter, clothing and other resources. In the modern period, migration, or at least some of its aspects, has come to be viewed as a “problem” and a multidimensional one at least. As demographic problem, migration influences the size and composition of a population, which in turn may challenge nationalist notions of historical origins.

Socioeconomic problems of migration revolve around socioeconomic development imbalances and the subsequent population shifts they engender (Goldscheider, 1969). Different economic growth rates in a region can be the cause of population movements; such is the case in China, where the population moved from island area toward the west and from rural toward urban areas and open zones because those areas had industrialization, employment, and high income (Cindy, 1999). Cross-border migration from Laos to Thailand has been occurring for decades, especially among migrants from provinces along the Mekong River. The most commonly cited causes underlying such population movement include: low incomes at the place of origin and expectation of higher earnings at the destination; unemployment; underemployment or dissatisfaction with present job at place of origin and expectation of better employment opportunities at the destination; search for fertile land; and relative poverty of rural areas in the hills and mountains (N.C.P. Nepal, 1984).

1.1 Introduction to Lao P D R

Lao People’s Democratic Republic (Lao P. D. R) is a land - locked country in Southeast Asia, located in the heart of Greater Mekong Sub-region, is susceptible to irregular migration and human trafficking as it is situated in the fast developing region of Asia, has a relatively low economic indicators and a young population. The opening of the borders, impacts of globalization, modernization and the widening gap

in economic development within and between the developed and developing countries, and exposure to media and communication all have encouraged people to pursue a more materialistic lifestyle.

Lao PDR shares its prosperous borders with China to the north, Cambodia to the south, Vietnam to the east, Thailand to the west and Myanmar to the northwest. Laos shares its longest border with Thailand along the length of the Mekong River which forms the boundary between nine Lao provinces. It has a total land area of about 236,800 sq. km, of which over 70% consists of rugged mountains and hills. The Mekong River is one of the great features of Lao PDR which flows from the north to the south for almost 1,900 kilometers. The River has a great impact on the livelihoods and lifestyle of the population living along it. Lao PDR has 16 provinces. The major cities are Vientiane (the capital), Savanakheth, Champasack and LuangPrabang.

Lao PDR has a total population of 5.8 million (2004) with 46 ethnic groups in three major categories, commonly classified as Lao Lum, Lao Soung and Lao Thueng and Buddhism is the predominant religion. Lao PDR ranks 130th out of 177 countries in the UNDP Human Development Index, (UNDP, 2007).

Lao PDR is administered chiefly by provincial and local authorities. In addition Lao PDR also possesses a number of mass organizations such as: Lao Front for National Construction (LFNC), Lao Women's Union (LWU), Lao Youth Union (LYU), and Federation of Trade Union. They fulfill important roles as channels for bringing to the forefront, the specific needs and concerns of Lao society (Save the Children Norway, 2005). These organizations play a crucial role in community development activities. The LYU, LWU and LFNC have representatives in every village. They work closely with the village office which is the administrative authority at village level.

After taking power in 1975, the Lao people's Revolutionary Party attempted to reorganize the economy along socialist lines. In 1986 however Lao PDR introduced "The New Economic Mechanism" which marked a shift away from a centrally planned economy and toward a market oriented economy. Since then Lao PDR has achieved a degree of economic development, some macro-economic stability, and a

considerable increase in foreign direct investment. Lao PDR joined ASEAN in 1997, and has begun the World Trade Organisation accession process. The transition is clear. Lao PDR is not only opening up internally, but is also achieving a closer integration with the Southeast Asia region

The opening of the economy has contributed to the relaxation of barriers to cross-border travel for people and goods, both legally and illegally, which is leading to uncontrollable cross-border trade and movement. These rapid socio-economic changes are reflected particularly among the youth, who are now facing a new set of difficulties in gaining a livelihood and maintaining social values. “Without the certainties of the past, young people have now to struggle not only for employment but learning to live in a consumer society, which is in contradiction with many values they grew up with” (Save the Children, UK, 2005).

Among the social effects of this new situation are the effects on an increase in unemployment, youth migration, child trafficking, as well as a rise in numbers of young people involved in crime, and substance abuse (Save the Children UK, 2005; UN, 2006). At the same time, there is growing evidence of an increase in child migration in search of work or exploration internally and externally, especially in Thailand.

1.2 Brief history of migration from Lao PDR to Thailand

The wave of international migration from Lao PDR to Thailand has been in two major categories. The first wave of movement was in the form of refugees after the victory of the communist over the royalty in 1975. This wave included the Lao professionals, elites, royalist, Hmong people and others who fled to Thailand because of fear of repression. Between 1975 and 1992, 10% of the population (360,000) migrated to Thailand while most of these people (300,000 people) moved further to the third countries like the United States, Canada, Australia and France (Asian Migration Centre, AMC, 2002, p.123).

Since the Lao government came to power in 1975, it has pursued a centrally planned economy. However, the country's economy nearly collapsed by the mid

1980s (AMC, 2002, p.117). By contrast, between 1984 and 1994, Thailand had one of the world's fastest economic growth rates and the Thai economy was transformed from an agricultural to an industrial base (Martin, 2003, p15). As a result of strong economic growth, there was a high demand for labor, attracting a number of laborers from Laos, and other neighboring countries. Therefore, the second wave of international migration from Laos to Thailand began to be noted. This wave of migration was categorized as a seasonal, low-skilled and unskilled labor migration.

The Asian financial crisis drove the Thai economy into recession in 1997 and 1998. Likewise, although the Lao economy showed some strong gains after the government adopted an economic reform process in 1986, Lao PDR was also seriously affected by the crisis in 1997. Some Lao migrant workers did return home during the crisis. Moreover, the dramatically decreased value of Lao Kips compared to the Thai Baht made significant flows of Lao workers eager to find fortune, seeking employment and better wages in the Thai economy soon after the crisis. In addition, the Thai employers also looked to hire the cheap labor of Lao workers and other migrants from the region. Thus, the outflow of low skilled and unskilled Lao laborers to Thailand increased significantly in mid 1990s to early 2000s, at the same time when there was a shift of labor and employment patterns of the labor flows in the Asian region. The Chinese and Vietnamese migrant workers came to Laos while the Lao migrant workers migrated to seek employment in Thailand, and the Thai workers migrated to work in the Middle East and other Asian countries like Japan, Hong Kong, and Singapore, etc.

Most Lao laborers migrate to Thailand illegally or legally a cross the border with border passes issued at the border checkpoints, but overstay their border pass and work illegally. The majority of the migrant population is female and relatively young, aged between 10 and 35 (MOLSW/ILO, 2004; IOM, 2004; Phetsiriseng, 2003). They are mostly from the regions of the country situated along the Mekong River, which share a border with Thailand. The vast majority is from the southern part, particularly from Khammoun, Savannakhet and Champasak (see Figure 1: the map of migration routes, p.5). As the porous geographical condition shows, it is not surprising to see the significant flows of Lao laborers to Thailand. Moreover, Lao PDR and Thailand share

much in common in their culture and language, the people are divided by the political border and governed by the different set of laws, yet many freely cross over the political boundary to visit family members and friends during religious and seasonal festivals (IOM, 2004, p.5). The ability to speak and understand the Thai language, and the cultural similarity between the two peoples have enabled Lao migrants to blend into the Thai community easily, and avoid detection by the authorities.

The migration flow has grown in volume and an increasing movement of young women and girls has been significant. Today, Thailand is still the most important destination for employment opportunities for many Lao laborers. More than a hundred thousand Lao migrant workers are working regularly and irregularly in Thailand. Since the authorized migration channels have not been well developed, people still migrate illegally. The irregular movement is continuing to grow and expanding although it is not possible to estimate the volume. The migration networks have become well established and along with them, the operation of irregular migrant trafficking and smuggling has become a problem of great concern.



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Figure 1: Map of Migration Root, Lao P.D.R



1.3 Migration of woman and children

Lao PDR, like other Asian countries, has experienced the feminization of migration since the mid 1990s. In the out-migration system of Lao PDR, female migrants to Thailand, particularly young women and girls have been significant. They outnumber male migrant workers and the volume has been increasing. Migration researches and reports in Laos have revealed that from communities where there is a

high level of migration to Thailand, female migrant workers comprise more than fifty per cent of the migration population and are relatively young.

Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare and International Labour Organization MOLSW/ILO (2004) claim that among the migrating population in the three southern provinces of Laos - Khammuane, Savannakhet and Champasack, there are more females migrating than males. In particular, the study finds that in the population, aged between 10 and 17, there are significantly more girls migrating than boys. The study of IOM (2004, p.13) also indicates that among 124 return trafficked girl and women victims to Lao PDR, the majority are very young; almost half of them are between 15 and 17 years old while one third of them are between 12 and 14 years old; leaving only just over one fourth older than 18 (Table 1)

Table 1

Trafficked victims repatriated from Thailand by IOM, 2001 – 2002

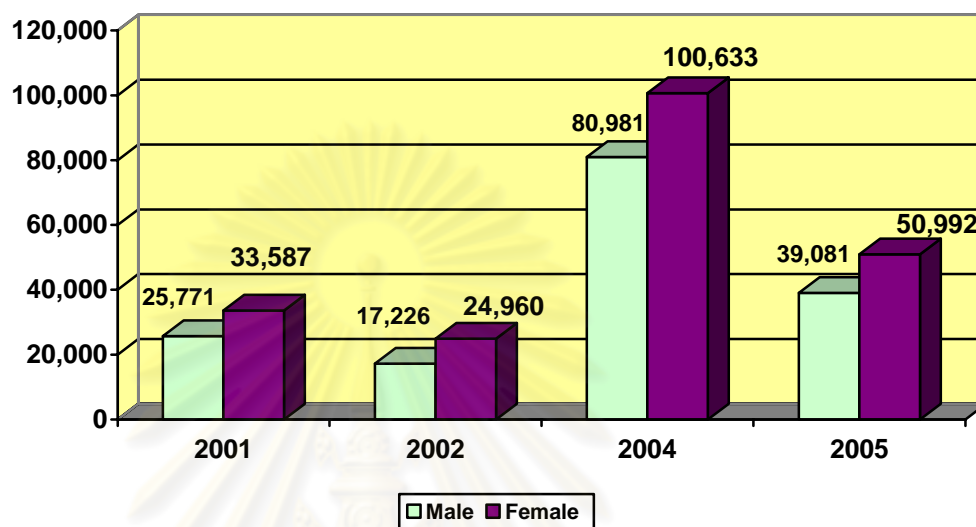
Age	Cases	Percent
12 – 14	34	27.4
15 – 17	58	46.8
18 – 21	28	22.6
Over 21	4	3.2
Total	124	100.00

Source: IOM (2004), From Lao PDR to Thailand and Home Again

In addition, according to the registration statistics of irregular Lao migrant workers from the Ministry of Interior (MOI) of Thailand, the majority of registered Lao migrant workers are female (Figure 2)

Figure 2:

Number of Lao migrant workers registered by sex between 2001 and 2005



Source: Data adapted from Lao Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, 2003; and Office of Foreign Workers Administration, Department of Employment, Ministry of Labour, 21 September 2005)

However, the actual figure of female migrants and children from Laos to Thailand is not possible to determine due to the fact that the majority of them, if not all, have migrated through irregular channels and the registering programs do not cover the entertainment sectors and sex industries where they may employ some Lao female migrants.

The migration of young women and girls is generally understood to reflect the situation and circumstances of their status and family. The productive and reproductive demands combined with the lack of professional and educational opportunities Lao women are faced with play a definite role in making them migrate to Thailand (AMC, 2002, p.129). Especially, in the rural areas and among some ethnic minorities, traditional customs limit the chances and opportunities of girls to attend schools as they are required to help their mothers in household chores and taking care of other sibling (Gender Resource Information and Development Centre, GRID, 2003, p.24). Importantly, the economic situation of the family often determines that many young women and girls have to migrate in order to earn money for their family. Many of them choose to migrate as a family survival strategy when the family has faced

extreme poverty. Some of them are encouraged to leave by their parents, family members and friends while others go because of modernization and curiosity. Mostly they are lured to try their luck by false promise of good jobs in Thailand.

Migration studies have shown that women and girls can be more easily lured to migrate and they are also more vulnerable to physical and sexual abuses and exploitation by employers, traffickers and middlemen in the migration process (AMC, 2002, p.128). Admittedly, while some of them can improve the living standard of their families from migration, many Lao female migrant workers have experienced problems ranging from small abuses of wages, working hours, and freedom of movement to a greater extreme of physical and sexual abuses and exploitation. The majority of them concentrate in jobs regarded as 'typically female' work. Often they are offered poor pay, conditions and status, and are generally associated with patriarchal stereotypes of female docility, obedience and willingness to give personal service such as domestic workers, restaurants and entertainment business, while others are in fish production, other industries, and prostitution. Similarly, according to AMC (2002, p.121), child migrants fill a range of occupations such as farms, factories, construction sites, restaurants, entertainment centers, domestic workers, and in the sex industry. In addition, it is interesting to note that child domestic worker is the largest number and high demanded by Thai employers.

1.4 Situation of Child Domestic Work

In Thailand, according to official figures an estimated 300,000 children aged 15-17 years are legally employed, but these statistics do not include the many migrant children under 15 who work illegally. Many of them are poor, un-registered or improperly registered from Lao People's Democratic Republic, Myanmar and Cambodia. These children are likely to be exposed to dangerous situations that leave them open to exploitation from various works. Domestic labour is one of those and is highly in demand by Thai employers (ILO 2008).

As we all know, domestic work is considered time-consuming, involved numerous of different tasks, and required continuous work from early morning until

evening. The timing and scope of domestic work is not definite and is dependent on the need of the employer. Working as domestic worker meant no friends or social life, and the wages and benefits largely depended on the employer's decision¹.

However, some people may argue that a child working in a household as a domestic worker has a much better life than those children who work in other labour situations, such as selling flowers or begging on the street. Some say that at least these children, who are working as domestic workers, are being fed and have a shelter to stay that can protect them from the danger from the outside world. However, it is rather too simplistic to presume that child domestic workers are better off, as it is fairly difficult for us, an outsider, to truly know the actual situation of their living and working conditions. Behind the closed doors of house, these children may be waiting for help without knowing how to reach out for it.

It is true that not every child domestic worker is exploited by his/her employer. Some employers take care of these child workers as if they were their own children, providing food, shelter and education. However, and unfortunately so, some available information confirms that exploitation does occur in many households more often than one might imagine. The problem is that a wall of privacy and secrecy prevents the flow of information to and from each household, leaving these child domestic workers isolated from outside contact.

Child domestic workers are often subjected to verbal, physical, emotional and, in some cases, sexual abuses. Their inferior status and negative treatment by employers inhibit the development of their self confidence. Furthermore, their days are repetitive, monotonous and lack any opportunity for personal development. With no, or limited opportunity for education, child domestic workers stop dreaming about their future. These are clear violations of their human rights.

¹ Chantavanich, Mitigating exploitative situations of migrant workers in Thailand, the Asian Research Center for Migration, Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2007

The United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the International Labour Organization's Conventions 138 (Minimum Age) and 182 (Worst Forms of Child Labour) together provide a strong policy framework for addressing child domestic work. The UNCRC provides for the civil, economic, social, and cultural rights of children under the guiding principles of non-discrimination, regard for the best interests of children, encouragement of their participation, and ensuring their survival and development.

Child domestic workers share in the rights of all children, and are entitled to protection and enforcement of these rights where their situation as domestic workers constitutes or contributes to violation of those rights. ILO Conventions 182 and 138 are two of the eight core labour standards of the ILO. ILO Convention 138 (Minimum Age) stipulates no person under 18 years of age should be employed in work that jeopardizes their health, safety, or morals. Children between 17 and 15 should not be made to work, but where they are compelled to do so, provision must be made to protect their health, safety and morals as well. With respect to domestic work, children under 15 should be prevented from engaging in this work.

ILO Convention 182 (Worst Forms of Child Labour) states that work which presents a hazard to children, constitutes slavery, involves prostitution, or deals with the drug trade must be eliminated as a matter of priority. Insofar as domestic work can and often does involve at least one of the first three, it can be considered a worst form of child labour. All governments which have ratified these treaties are obligated to enact laws and other measures to protect children and ensure their rights.

1.5 Statement of the problems

As mentioned above, Lao PDR and Thailand share a largely uncontrolled border of 1,730 km along the Mekong River. Informal cross-border traffic has always been a way of life. Journeys across the border from both sides of the river have been part of life of the two peoples with close cultural and linguistic links. Given the long border and many crossing points, the majority of the migration is through irregular

channels. Keeping close surveillance of the border to prevent irregular border crossing is challenging².

Currently Lao PDR is, primarily, a source area for victims of trafficking, labour and sexual exploitation, particularly child domestic labour. Poverty is the main cause for child migration in search of work in Thailand. In addition, the lack of education and vocational training is another significant factor, influencing child crossing borders to Thailand.

Limited economic opportunities in Lao PDR are the strongest push factor for labor migration abroad. With a relatively low per capita income, and nearly half of the population below the age of 18, Lao PDR lacks economic capacity to provide employment for this large demographic entering the workforce. Only 6% of the Lao PDR labor force is paid employees, while the vast majority is self-employed. Despite the fact that there are job opportunities in the country, and a set minimum wage which offers some level of protection (albeit at a low value), many Lao workers, particularly those working in unskilled sectors, do not acquire written employment contracts and fixed term employment. Most workers are employed as short term temporary workers on a daily, weekly or monthly wage with no guaranteed job security. As a result, many young Laotians, especially girls see more economic opportunities in jobs in Thailand and look for work there, usually through social and irregular recruitment networks. About 7 % of households in border provinces of Lao PDR had family members working in Thailand (ILO 2006).

Based on the population projections during 2000 – 2005 and the data on the number of school ‘drop outs’ in lower and secondary schools during academic year of 2001-2002; an average of 25,000 youth (age15-18) enter the labor market each year. This includes illiterate and out of school youth looking for work. Almost two thirds of these Lao girls aged six and over have not completed primary school education and

² Inthasone Phetsiriseng, Migration Mapping Study: A review of trends, policy and programme initiatives, a study conducted for UNIFEM , Lao PDR, 2007

about one third cannot read nor write. With very limited jobs available in the country, women and girls who are illiterate and with low education seek for self-employment by migrating to urban areas and/or crossing the border, looking for work in Thailand. The main occupation those girls perform in Thailand is domestic work³.

In Thailand, economic development and an increasing level of education, particularly in Bangkok, its vicinities and other major provinces, has led to a higher proportion of the population engaging in non-agriculture-related activities. In addition, there has been a shift in family structures from an extended family structure to nuclear families. Within newly-established middle class families, where both couples often work outside the home, there is an increasing demand for childcare and household assistance. Bangkok, as the capital of the country, is therefore a magnet for migrants in Thailand. The availability of migrant workers in turn fuels a large supply of domestic workers in Bangkok and its surrounding areas⁴.

Having a foreign child work as a domestic helper is a common desire among Thais. The cost of hiring an immigrant child is much less than hiring a Thai worker. These children must do housework. Some of them will take care of children or elderly people in the household. Sometimes they help with the family business such as selling goods from a store front. They will work about 18 hours/day, though they may have time to rest during the day. Their wages are not insured and they have few protections under labour laws (Chantavanich 2007). This provides employers a greater chance to have migrant workers with illegal status working for them, as they are easy to control and are kept in hidden places, leaving them being vulnerable to labour exploitation.

Being faced with increasing problems of irregular migration resulting from the absence of an authorized migration channel, the Lao government has been working to

³ ibid

⁴ Elaine Pearson: Underpaid, Over worked and Overlooked, the reality of young migrant workers in Thailand, 2006

control and channel labor migration through bilateral cooperation with the destination country of Thailand. In October 2002, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on Employment Cooperation was signed between the government of Lao PDR and the Royal Thai Government (RTG). The purpose is to cooperatively manage the flows, facilitate migration, and to ensure better protections of the migrant workers by providing a legal channel for migration. Initially, the two governments have focused on regularizing Lao migrant workers who are currently working in Thailand.

The MOU will offer an opportunity for some Lao nationals of legal working age to live and work in Thailand through a lawful channel, which grants them better protection. The effective implementation of the MOU will lead to the reduction of the irregular labor migration flow from Laos. However, the impacts of bilateral labor agreements on the sending countries are debated widely, bringing both benefits and disadvantages. In addition, a number of illegal migrations have reported highly 96,000 which included young woman and girls (MOLSW, Laos, 2008).

Finally, it is important to sum up that the two thirds of Lao workers have been found in domestic worker by previous studies, but many studies have not focused on child domestic workers alone due to difficulty in access information from child domestic workers. They are always in hidden, invisible and inaccessible from their employers' houses. Moreover, employers are hardly ever willing to provide information since they employ illegal children. Furthermore, domestic work is not included in Thai labour law. Currently there is news in the media spreading about the abuse and mistreatment of foreign workers by cruel employers.

1.6 Objectives of the study

The aims of study are: (1) to examine factors influencing the decision of child domestic workers from Lao PDR to migrate to Thailand; (2) to examine the work conditions of child domestic workers; (3) to study the consequences of child domestic workers after returning and families' attitudes of child migration.

1.7 Hypothesis of the study

- The poverty, limited job availability, economic factors in Lao PDR and better opportunities of getting work and higher wages in Thailand are important motivations for many child migrants to leave home, the combined effects of several economic and non-economic factors are the main causes. These are important push and pull factors influencing child migration which falls into three main categories: (1) income disparities and job opportunities; (2) Curiosity, adventure and exploration; and, (3) the existence of migration networks that promote cross border movement.
- The working conditions of child domestic workers, they have to work several hours with low wages or without payment. Moreover, they may face verbal abuse, scolding from the employers for several reasons or without reasons.
- Returnee's conditions, their conditions are improved because they acquire and learn new skills from their employment in Thailand; this skill acquisition is significant improvement in particular area for their livelihoods. Parental attitudes of child migration are positive because their children can earn high wages, gain knowledge and skills after returning.

1.8 Scope of study

The study will be conducted in Vientiane capital, Bolikhaxai and Savannakhet, three border provinces of Lao PDR with Thailand, where there is a large flow of Lao migrants into Thailand (FHI, NCCA, Chulalongkorn, 2005: 22-24).

1.9 Contribution of the study

- **Significance of the study**

It is hoped that the findings of this study will be important for recipient countries and present the knowledge of child domestic workers in Thailand in general. Moreover, the study may provide preliminary findings for further studies on child domestic worker.

- **Expectation of the study**

This study is expected to enhance

- A better understanding of factors influencing the decision of child domestic workers from Lao PDR to migrate to Thailand
- A better understanding of the working conditions of child domestic workers
- A better understanding of study the consequences of child domestic workers after returning and families' attitudes of child
- Future migration projects will meet the needs of target group more effectively



ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER II

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter aims to provide some theories and literature reviews of migration. It first gives an introduction to the concept of migration and its theories and the end of the chapter focuses on relevant literature review.

2.1 Meaning and definition of migration

2.1.1 Meaning of migration

Based on the glossary of refugee and migration terms of the Asian Migration Research Center of the Asian Studies Institute, Chulalongkorn University (2000:36- 37), migration is the movement of a great number of people from their living place to another place which is far from their original place to some extent. These migrants intend to stay in that new place temporarily or permanently. Migration may be international migration (from one county to another) or internal migration (from one region to another region). The internal migration means people move within a country, maybe from rural to urban or from urban to the big cities or from agriculture areas to industrial areas in the country. The external migration which is called international migration is when people move from one country to another country, either legally or illegally depending on the policy of each country.

Migration is a permanent or semi-permanent move to live in another place with unlimited distance or place. However, Lee (1966:49) claims that migration should be limited within distance or place. Based on Lee's concepts, migration, therefore, refers to specific migration.

Faist (2000:18) defined migration as a permanent or a semi-permanent change of residence, usually across some type of administrative boundary. A migrant is refers to a person who moves from one country to another with the intention of taking up residence there for a relevant period of time. A return migrant is a person who moves back to the

original country of emigration with the intention of taking up residence again there for a relevant period of time.

2.1.2 Definition in the context of this study

According to International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines as a movement of a person or group of persons from one geographical unit to another across an administrative or political border, who wish to settle definitely or temporarily in a place other than their place of origin.

However, the glossary of refugee and migration terms of Asian Migration Research Center of Asian Studies Institute, Chulalongkorn University (2000:36-37) is the most appropriate in the Lao context; because Lao people are considered to be temporary migrants (Raks Thai Foundation, 2004). Migration definition is labor movement from one particular place to other place or from one particular place across border to another country. The purpose of the movement is to find a job or earning a living because the job opportunities in their home town are limited.

For more specific terms of this study are defined as following;

Migrant worker defines as a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national¹.

Migrant with irregular status is a person entering, traveling through or residing in a country without the necessary documents or permits².

¹ Source: Article 2.1 of the UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and

Members of Their Families, 1990

² *ibid*

Domestic work refers to those tasks in the household, performed by men and women that are needed to keep it going from day to day, including cooking, cleaning, and child care and looking after the sick and elderly.

Child is a person younger than 18³.

A child domestic worker is defined as any child younger than 18 who performs domestic work chores in the household of people other than her or his parents, regardless of the amount or kind of remuneration they receive.

2.2 Migration theories and its evolvments

In order to consider the efficacy of management schemes, it is first necessary to know and understand the reasons why people migrate.

2.2.1 Causes of International Migration

Different people have different circumstances, motivations, hopes and plans to leave home to work in a foreign country. With the world economy moving toward more and more globalization, human movement between borders, most notably in the movement from poor to wealthier nations, has increased both legally and illegally (King, 2004; p.75-76). The movement is getting more complex with more temporary travel and circulation. It is not only a simply individual action, but the migration decision is driven from different factors and involves diverse actors. This section tries to focus on some important theoretical and literature works dealing with international migration to understand descriptive accounts responsible for international migration and allow us to understand the migration process of Lao migrant workers to Thailand.

³ A child is defined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child as a person younger than 18

2.2.2 Why International Migration takes place

The reasons to explain causes of international migration are varied and complex. There are numbers of different explanatory models to look at the reasons why people move. Some scholars look at “push and pull” conditions in the sending and receiving countries as factors to make people migrate while others examine individual motivations and the structures within which people make their migration decision. The dominant theoretical models and frameworks used to explain the migration causes and process come from different fields of economics, sociology, and politics. Those theories include neoclassical migration theory, new economics of migration theory, dual labor market theory, world system theory, social capital theory, and cumulative causation theory (Massey et al., 1996; 1998; p17-59).

However, among these theories, there are two main concepts chosen to be reviewed and drawn together as part of my thesis framework. These are neoclassical migration theory and social capital theory.

According to the neoclassical theory, the international migration process is the result of differences in the supply and demand for labor in sending and receiving countries. The theory sees the movement as individual decision responses to high wage rates in destination countries and for income maximization - by migrating abroad, migrant workers expect that they will earn higher wages return to their labor than at home.

The neo-classical approach originated in the 19th century from geographical theory and is still popular among geographers as well as economists⁴. The “Push and Pull” model is sometimes referenced by this approach because it sees migration flows as being caused by push factors (poverty, lack of land, natural disasters, overpopulation, etc) in the sending countries, and the pull factors (economic opportunities) in the host countries. This theory argues that labor will migrate from the low wage countries to the high wage countries until

⁴ Castles, S, Causes and Consequences of Asia's New Migration (Bangkok: ARCM, Institute of Asian Studies, 1995)

the real wages are equalized, with the assumptions of the corporative static framework, homogenous labor, constant returns of scale, zero migration costs, and perfect competitive labor markets⁵. This theory is essentially individualistic and historical. It emphasizes the individual decision to migrate, based on rational comparison of the relative cost and benefit of remaining in the area of origin or moving to various alternative destinations.

Social capital theory considers migrant networking – kinship, friendship, and shared community in the origin and destination – as major forces facilitating and sustaining the flow of population movement across national borders. Migration takes place because there are networks providing a valuable source of capital that acts to lower the costs and risks of international migration. According to the Social Capital perspective, in addition to migrant networks, there are networks of migrant supporting institutions. Such networks are networks of more formal structures of profit organizations, which include labor recruitment agencies, travel agencies, professional traffickers, and other actors who gain benefits and profits in supporting migration.

The fact is that migration does not only result from the situation in the home country, but it is often a result of the play of supply and demand (Monzini, 2005, p.65). The movement of workers from poor countries with low capital incomes and rates of economic development is in response to employment opportunities provided by labor shortage countries at higher levels of economies. Yet, the decision to leave is often not the result of hunger or extreme poverty, but rather of a clash between what the individual expects from life and what is actually available (Monzini, 2005, p.59). Therefore, unemployment, lack of employment opportunities, or low wages in the home countries are not only potential factors, the pull of relative affluence and opportunities of jobs and higher wages in destination countries also account for the buildup of migration potential.

Nonetheless, Wickramasekera (2002, p.6) argues that “the traditional explanation of migration as a movement from poor to rich nations is too simplified”. Economic disparities are insufficient to explain international labor migration. At best they constitute a

⁵ Savitri, G.G, Internal Migration into the Bangkok Metropolitan Area (University of Pittsburgh, 1974)

necessary but not a sufficient condition for emigration. There are a number of other factors that motivate individuals to move. For instance, in recent years, developments and expansions in global communication and transportation as well as the development of an international migration industry have encouraged the flow of migrants (Stalker, 2000, p.117). Through better communications, mass media and improvement in transportation, migrant workers are offered chances to learn about other places and good images of wealthier nations. Many are thus interested and curious to take adventure and exploration. Although the media flows have no direct connection with migrant flows, they nevertheless sustain the idea of an increasingly globalized society (Stalker, 2000, p.117).

Importantly, international migration today occurs from, is promoted by, and involves a diverse range of stakeholders that have different interests. The state interventions, the migration industry and social networks are crucial in determining and facilitating actual migration flows as well as access to legal or unauthorized channels (Asis, 2004, p.6).

Facilitating and managing the movement are the migrant networks and the networks of intermediary institutions. The “networks of friends and relatives already working in destination countries serve as sources of information and anchor communities for newcomers” (Wickramasekera, 2002, p.8). Stalker (2000, p.120-121) states that the human networks are probably of greatest value when it comes to finding work as once immigrants become established in a particular worksites or locations, they generate further job opportunities for those who follow. Networks of migration can become valuable. Employers can count on the network to provide additional workers, and families in the sending countries rely on the network to provide jobs abroad that pay five to ten times prevailing local wages (Martin & Straubhaar, 2002, p.7).

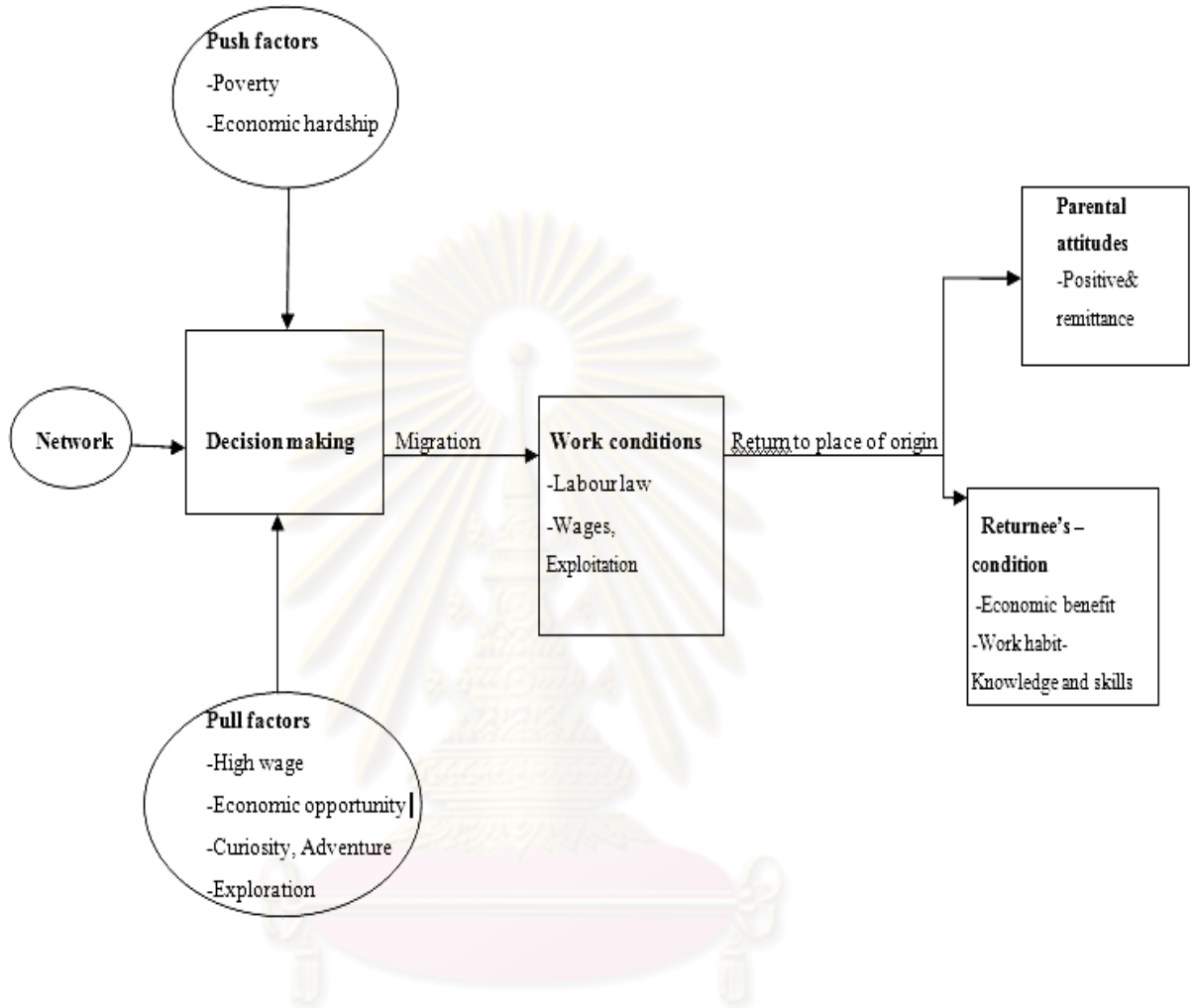
Moreover, social networks, the temptation for irregular migration is likely to be greater when the existence of networks provides migrant workers easy access to employment in destination countries. It is argued that a significant cause for loss of government control over the flow of migration is the role of ‘migration networks’. These informal linkages between migrants, their families and their communities of origin help to organize migratory movements and sustain them once they have got under way (Castles, 2001, p.193). The link between sending and receiving countries established by previous

generations of migrants plays an important role in lubricating and perpetuating irregular movement of labor; as quote in Boyd (1996, p.304), “Kinship and personal ties across space are created with the potential for inducing more migration and/or for creating dynamic processes of migration, emigration and remigration”. Ghosh (1998, p.69) also argues that irregular migration creates its own internal dynamics to encourage further irregular inflows in the receiving country - resident irregular immigrants are often found to be a source of help and attraction for new irregular flows from the same ethnic and geographical community in the country of origin. This is evident in the irregular migration process of Lao migrant workers to Thailand where the circulation of irregular movement is sustained by the strong linkages of former irregular migrant workers with friends and relatives.

The above discussion has shown that major causes of international migration are rather diverse and complex. Thus, it is inadequate to draw a single reason to explain why people migrate. Different variables from push and pull factors for international migration to take place should be taken into account. While movement is often viewed as a result of economic reasons and as an individual's or household's decision, other factors also have considerable influence on the decision of an individual. For instance, since local workers reject menial tasks, migrant workers come to fill the gaps. Communication improvement and access to media is another significant influence that leads people to take the risk and start the journey of their adventure.

Although, Lao also enter Thailand for reasons other than labour, such as for curiosity, adventure and exploration, economics is the key motivation for migration (Kabmanivanh, 2007, p 279). Most migrations start with young, economically active people. They are target-earners, who want to save enough in a high-wage economy to improve conditions at home by buying land, building a house or setting up a business. After a period of time in Thailand, these migrants return home. This may be because of relative success; they find the working conditions in Thailand to be better than in the homeland. Moreover, not only their savings or remittances, skills and knowledge that they gained from employment experiences significantly contribute to improve their livings after returning. Furthermore, families or parents' attitudes are positive to those who contributed to improve conditions at home through remittances.

Conceptual Model



2.3 Review of literature

There have been some studies which are related to Lao labour migration which are focused on various sectors such as agriculture, construction, domestic helpers, fisheries, service jobs and other sectors related, but it is rare to find studies on child domestic worker, in the aspect of factors influencing migration, working conditions at destination country, living condition of child returnees and parents' attitudes of child migration. Nevertheless, these studies are significant references for this study.

2.3.1 Factors influencing Lao migrants to Thailand

What drives many Lao workers to migrate to Thailand and makes them easily lured to trafficking? There are theoretical explanations of the root causes of international migration in assessing the context of the migration from Laos to Thailand. While poverty, limited job availability, economic factors in Laos, and better opportunities of getting work and higher wages in Thailand are important motivations for many Lao migrants to leave home and in making them the targets for smuggling and trafficking, the combined effects of several economic and non-economic factors are the main causes. Those important push and pull factors fall into three main categories: (1) income disparities and job opportunities; (2) Curiosity, adventure and exploration; and, (3) the existence of migration networks that promote cross border movement.

- **Job Opportunities and Income Disparities**

The migration literature tells us that economically motivated potential for migration takes place when varying levels of economic development and of incomes exist between the source and destination countries. Therefore, job opportunities and the disparities in incomes between the rich and the poor countries are the most fundamental causes of the labor migration. These are, in fact, a major cause for the outflow of Lao labor migrants to Thailand. While there are different motivations, economic compulsion remains a major factor that triggers the irregular movement across the border.

Development disparities, different levels of wages and the lack of employment opportunities have caused many Lao laborers to migrate in search for work and higher wages in the Thai businesses. The differences in economic and demographic features between Lao PDR and Thailand can clearly illustrate this. In Laos, the gross national product (GNP) per capita is a mere US\$ 500 while the population growth rate is 2.3 per cent. In comparison, per capita GNP in Thailand is more than 6 times greater at US\$2,990 while its population growth rate is 0.9 per cent (UNDP 2006).

Lao PDR officially introduced the New Economic Mechanism in mid 1980s. The economic renovation represents a shift from the centrally planned, subsidized system to a more market oriented economy and integration with the international community. Lao PDR, internally, is geared towards transition to a market system, privatization and the use

of market based means for macroeconomic management while the country has adopted an outward oriented growth strategy that actively seeks foreign direct investment and trade liberalization internationally. However, although Laos has pursued the economic reforms and the government has paid attention to the economic development, the focus of the economic growth and development of the country is only in a few major cities.

The disparities between the cities and rural areas are noticeably widening. While the majority of the Lao population, more than eighty per cent, live in the rural areas and pursue subsistence farming, the availability of facilities and infrastructures are poor and inadequate, particularly in the remote areas. After harvesting, people have nothing to do or no alternative way to earn money and even if they have an agricultural product, there is no market to sell it (UNIAP/UNICEF, 2004, p.25-26, Phetsiriseng, 2003, p.26).

In addition, even though rice farming and agriculture are the main activities for many communities, relying on these sources of living can be unpredictable and dangerous, especially during the rainy season when bad road conditions present access to markets and to the communities, by the customers. Men, women and children in rural areas have emphasized the difficulties involved in living. In particular, women who must perform domestic, reproductive and agricultural work find the agrarian lifestyle especially harsh (AMC, 2002, p.124). In searching for jobs and income generation, many young people leave their home villages for employment in Thailand. For many rural communities, particularly those bordering with Thailand, migration for employment in Thailand is considered as another source of income. It provides migrant workers, their children and relatives with opportunities to work and to earn income. It also gives them financial security and hopes for the future (GRID, 2003, p.3).

The development gaps between the cities and rural areas stimulate both high rate of rural urban mobility within the country and international migration. The growth of labor movement has been very striking. Those who do not go to Thailand, go to other cities or provinces for employment. Thus, for many communities with migration outflows, remittances sent back home by the family members are very significant for their livelihood.

In contrast, Thailand is considered to be one of the so-called “tiger economies” in Southeast Asia. It has the highest economic growth and the lowest unemployment rate in

the sub-region (Pearson, 2005, p.18). Its per capita GNP was much greater than that of Lao PDR. Although it was hit hard by the regional financial crisis in mid 1990s, its recovery was far better than that of Lao PDR. After the effect of the crisis on Lao PDR, in 2002 inflation rates and the drastic drop in the value of the Lao Kips, in combined with the recovering value of the Thai Baht (THB), have meant that even with the low wages in Thailand, it is still more attractive for Lao laborers to cross the border to Thailand for work (MOLSW/ILO, 2004).

The migrant workers can earn between two to five times more working in Thailand than in Laos. For example, some Lao migrant workers working in agricultures, restaurants, constructions, and domestic services in some northern provinces of Thailand are reported to earn around US\$ 45 – 150 for a monthly salary. In comparison, the average monthly income in Laos is US\$ 27 (Family Health International, FHI, et al., p.17-19).

Moreover, the labor shortages in Thailand have also created a demand for cheap labor of foreign workers from other neighboring countries, including workers from Laos. Hence, a key demand pull factor underlying economic emigration pressure from Laos has been the wide gaps between wages and income levels in Laos and in Thailand, the major cause of Lao labor migration flows. In the view of the currently existing considerable differences in wages, it can be expected that significant numbers of Lao workers will continue to migrate for employment in Thailand. What a villager from a community where there is high rate of migration to Thailand said below gives a clear picture.

“I can earn 300, 000 to 400,000 Kip per month (US\$ 30 – 40) working in a shoe factory in Vientiane (the capital of Laos), or I can go 50 kilometers to the other side (Thailand) and earn 2,000 - 3,000 Baht per month (US\$ 50 – 75). The border does not matter to me.” (UNIAP/UNICIF, 2004, p.24)

- **Curiosity, Adventure and Exploration**

While economic disparities are the major causes of the labor movement, the impetus to make people move actually takes more than just the economic reasons. The migration literature explains that strong linkages is the areas of economic and cultural ties through common use of languages and the flow of information, such as the mass media between the emigration and immigration countries, are considered to create favorable

conditions for the emergence of population flows among the countries (Faist, 2000, p.68). This is also evident in the case of Laos. The language and cultural similarities between the two countries allow people in Laos to easily access to Thai media. This is clearly visible in many urban and rural communities in Laos where there is equal access to news of events in Thailand via radio and television, especially in locations where reception is not a problem and where alternative electrical sources are available, such as small generators or car batteries (MOLSW/UNIAP, 2001, p.3).

Dissemination of information and image portrayed by the mass media of Thailand has greatly penetrated in Laos, which causes migration flows of young people. Exposure to Thai news of events and entertainment is especially powerful motivation for young Lao population towards the idea of exploration and adventure. The images on television portraying the relative wealth of the Thai economy spur young people to dream of a beautiful life which leads to increasing in willingness to leave. The media also portrays life in Thailand as affluent, easy, 'trendy' and modern promoting motions of consumerism and materialism which many young people aspire towards (AMC, 2002, p.124). Thus, the young Lao migrants generally migrate to escape the prospect of a life of subsistence farming and to take advantage of the wealth and opportunity they believe Thailand offers (Phetsiriseng, 2003). In some communities, the idea of going to Thailand also becomes an exciting thing for young people (MOLSW/UNIAP, 2001, p.18)

- **The Existence of Migration Networks**

Apart from the strength of wages in the relation to the income generation opportunities at home and the curiosity of youths in search for adventure and exploration, individual's reasons to leave home are also influenced by people who are involved in the migrant's movement. These are people who, for various reasons of their own, hold information regarding the options and opportunities across the border, and who help others to be smuggled out of the country. While some Lao migrant workers make their own migration decision, others are persuaded by their parents and family members. Several of them are lured by friends, relatives and traffickers. Therefore, the social and migration networks discussed helpfully to explain the background of the Lao migrants' movement to Thailand.

The relationship and family ties between Lao and Thai people living along the Mekong River have been historically evident. Some people have family members and relatives living in across the river. Crossing the border, visiting friends and relatives, attending festivals, going and coming are not uncommon for people living along both sides of the river. The study report of IOM (2004, p.15) finds that almost all of the repatriated trafficked women and girls to Laos have family members in Thailand. Since most migrant workers can obtain work through their friends and relatives in the destination country and send money home, or at least they do not experience exploitation, the successful stories of these migrants inspire others to migrate. Some returned migrants started to act as recruiting agents in the village using their familiar status to build trust and confidence for the potential migrants.

In addition, the migration theory recognizes the significance of social networks in facilitating migration. Such networks assist migrants by providing capital and information about the place of destination, first residence and access to jobs. According to the network theory, migrant networks are interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas. The migrant networks have been well established and played a potential role in facilitating the flows of Lao migrant workers throughout the past decade. A research report of UNIAP/UNICEF (2004, p.47-48) notes that in some communities with a high level of migration to Thailand, the migration channels are considered to be safe and what many villagers can count on are the well established migration systems/networks developed on both sides of the border. The migration systems are described as networks with contacts, ways to track people, to know who to trust or not to trust, and to know where to go and not to go. This can clearly show that migration networks are important for Lao migrant workers in facilitating the movement and finding employment in Thailand.

As we saw, migration networks do not only link friends and family members across the borders, but they often include employers. Over time, networks come to embrace not only employers, but also traffickers, and smugglers. This holds true in the labor migration system of Lao laborers to Thailand. Migration study finds that some communities and districts in Lao PDR have long-established links with employers or industries in Thailand. With their own networks to find employment in Thailand, some of them did not need to work with intermediaries (Phetsiriseng, 2003, p.40).

In addition, migration process is also lubricated by illegal recruitments of strangers or traffickers. Through the migratory process facilitated by the traffickers, the movement is fairly well organized. The strangers or traffickers looking for workers may have recruited workers themselves and also offered potential migrant workers initial fees to pay for travel costs and other expenses, and required migrants to agree to enter into debt in order to migrate. Some migrant workers turn to offers from those strangers and traffickers to help them migrate. In some cases, employers pay brokers to bring in migrant workers, and then deduct the cost from the wages. In this case, the migrant workers are unpaid for several months to years as employers often mentioned the high cost they paid in advance for the broker. The study of IOM (2004, p.18-19) notes that although traveling to the border was not a long journey or difficult for the migrant workers, many of them used brokers to get them to the border and then to move across to Thailand. The reason why they used brokers, IOM adds, may be because of their young age. The brokers smooth the way for migrant workers, making their journey to the destination relatively straightforward.

The networks often provide the additional services of carrying remittances and communications between migrants and their families and friends back home. Because well-established trafficking networks facilitate the illicit border crossing and onward migration, the migrants often know exactly where they are headed and the terms of employment they can expect (Phetsiriseng, 2003). Unfortunately, a number of migrants often find the conditions of work in Thailand very different from what they have been told before leaving. Many times, in the worst cases, they are forced to work in a slave-like condition without any payment. In another attempt to help their family, nevertheless, even those who have had terrible experiences may migrate again (IOM, 2004, p.38).

However, the survey of MOLSW/ILO (2004) in three provinces of Laos where there is a high level of migration to Thailand indicates that beside poverty, there are some other push and pull factors that urge people to migrate. A number of researches also find that the interesting push and pull factors that drive Lao young people to cross border to look for better life in Thailand are among the reasons of village location, modernization, lack of education, lack of employment, materialism, existing links to Thailand, popularity of migration, curiosity, boredom in the home town, hardship, lack of a market for productivity, lack of jobs in locality, no electricity, lack of food in the large family and the

migrant's desire to have more money and to look "beautiful" (UNIAP/UNICEF, 2004, IOM, 2004, Phetsiriseng, 2003, AMC, 2002).

Moreover, to compete with friends and others from their villages or people from other villages who have gone to and returned from Thailand with money, new consumer appliances and financial resources to build a house, some parents encourage their children to migrate (AMC, 2002, p.124).

The above discussions have illustrated that although each migrant worker holds different circumstances and motivations for out-migration, there are also common features and patterns, and for most people the main reason is the prospect of earning more money. While there are many motivations behind individual decisions to migrate, it is evident that limited job availability and lack of satisfactory opportunities at home are the main driving forces behind the growth of migration pressure. The young people are left with no alternative ways of earning incomes after their rice farming.

Migration to Thailand in search for incomes is an available choice or the only alternative for many people. Stories told by others of job vacancies in Thailand tempt people to try their luck. The close linguistic and cultural ties between Lao PDR and Thailand, improved socioeconomic conditions, and easily access to the media, have allowed an enabling environment for cross border movements in general and for smuggling and trafficking in particular.

The border crossing is facilitated mostly by the well-established migration networks and the illegal recruitment brokers. The porous geographical favorable condition facilitates traveling back and forth across the border, in which becomes common for the people of the two countries for business, marketing, shopping, visiting relatives, entertainment, and so on. Clearly, the differences in employment opportunities or living standards between the two countries, increased broader access to information on living condition and employment opportunities in Thailand, and established inter-country networks of family and illegal recruitment operations will ensure the perpetuation and increase of labor migration.

2.3.2 Working conditions in Thailand

The working conditions of domestic workers, including working days, wages and vacation days, depended on the employers. Some migrant workers were well treated and taken good care of by their employers. They lived together as relatives and were not taken advantages. These domestic workers did not face a lot of problems working with their employers and therefore, had served their employers for a long time. On the other hand, there has been a group of domestic workers who have been abused and taken advantages of by their employers. The majority of these mistreated domestics were woman and child migrant workers who have been abused and harassed, both physically and emotionally. The mistreatment ranged from minor abuses such as verbal harassment, to major abuses such as physical assault, no freedom of movement, and sexual harassment. In addition, the Labour Protection Act B.E.2541 Clause No.4 does not protect the rights of domestic servants, causing employers to continuously take advantage of and abuse the rights of their employees (Chatavanich 2007).

The studies by Foundation for the Promotion of Children (2001) made on the working conditions of children in the domestic service sector revealed the high demand of child domestic servants. Thai children do not like to work as domestic workers and therefore often change jobs. As a result, migrant child workers are recruited to work as domestic workers because they are easy to find, the wages are lower, they stay longer, and are more hard-working. These migrant child workers are recruited through brokers, and they do not have any available options in choosing the jobs they would work for. In addition, they do not have any information concerning the working terms for each sector and therefore are taken advantage of in different ways, such as getting low wages and having to work without days off.

Chantavanich Supang et al. (2006) have made a study on the worst form of child labour in the domestic service sector. In Samut Sakhon province, 100 people were found to be hired for short-term period. The responsibilities included a variety of tasks such as having to sell goods as the shop, cleaning the house, doing the laundry, cooking food, taking care of children, old people, or the disabled, and taking care of house pets. Most of the workers were paid on a daily basis and in cash. The payment of wages ranged from being occasionally delayed to regularly delayed, while the rate ranged from less than 1,000

Baht per month to more than 5,000 Baht, which was only for a small portion of the workers. Most of the workers lived in with their employers and the daily working hours mostly did not exceed 8 hours. 5.83% of the workers have to work at night and the early morning, in which 32.5% have no days off. 0.83% of the workers working in illegal or unethical business are violently abused, and harassed in different forms, such as sexual harassment, while 10% were verbally abused.

Elaine Pearson et al. (2006) have studied on young migrant labour in Thailand with 320 domestic workers in the provinces of Chiang Mai and Tak. Results showed that 8% have been imprisoned by the employers, 60% reveal that their employers restricted them from socializing with other people, and 82% worked more than 12 hours a day. More than half of employers believe that migrants should not leave the work premises during working hours without prior permission, 7-9% have been violated by their employers, and more than half have been verbally abused. The wages that 89% of workers receive is 3,000 Baht or less per month, in which 41% receive 1,000 Baht or less per month. 79% of the domestic staff do not get any day off work. A portion of the domestics are children (age under 18).

Maliwan Kruemanee (2003) has surveyed the living conditions of migrant domestic workers from Myanmar. The study reveals that when they migrated to Bangkok, the workers had to adjust largely to the environment, such as the culture, food, cooking food for the employer, familiarizing themselves with kitchen tools. None of the workers has made a work contact with their employers but everyone gets paid as agreed. Their wages ranged from 1,500 -10,000 Bath per month, depended on their qualifications. Most of them have to work during their sick days while some were allowed to rest when done with their main tasks.

2.3.3 Parental attitudes of child migration

So far, there has been a limited study on Lao families' attitudes on child migrant work as domestic workers in Thailand. However, the discussion of factors influencing child migration above confirms that families are positive to child migrant workers who have contributed to improve family economic status through remittances.

Kabmanivanh (2007) who has conducted a research on consequences of migration for Lao migrant workers in Thailand claims that Lao migrant workers send remittances to their parents approximately two to three times per year. The percentage of families claiming their circumstances have improved with remittances is 76.6%. Families use the remittance money in the following way:

- 46.6% build or repair houses
- 26.7% buy domestic materials, small tractors or motorbikes
- 10% improve family relationships and have better living conditions

Remittance is an important factor leading to an increase in living standards, and one which directly affects household income. On the other hand, some Lao migrant workers, especially children, have faced exploitation by Thai employers, as mentioned earlier

2.3.4 Returnees' living conditions

There are not many studies on the condition of returned migrants, especially in the area of domestic work from Lao PDR, which fully assess the impacts of the return of migrant workers. However, the return of temporary labor migrants could, in theory, benefit economic development in their home country (Ruhs, 2005, p.17). Particularly, as Ruhs asserts, the knowledge and skills obtained from their overseas working experience can be transferred and used productively after returning home.

In contrast, Ghosh (1996, p.109) argues that the use of skills acquired by the migrant workers in the host country back home could be significant, yet it should not be overestimated. Typically temporary labor migrants are employed in low-skilled positions with (relatively) low wages and low status, and are thus socially undesirable positions (Stahl, 1989, p.175). In such positions, as stated by Stahl, it is not likely that migrants will have the opportunities of learning the industrial discipline of working in large-scale industrial plants. To illustrate the labor emigration from Bangladesh to the Gulf States, according to Ghosh (1996, p104), only one per cent of the workers held jobs requiring higher skills than they had possessed before departure.

Therefore, several studies have suggested that the benefits of returned migration can be fulfilled and realized only when three conditions and criteria in the migrants' country of

origin are fully met - when migrants return home with new skills that are more productive than what they would have learned home; the skills learned abroad are relevant to the needs of the home country; and the willingness and opportunity of the returnees to use the skills upon return (Ghosh, 1996; Stahl, 1989, p.380).

In conclusion, the return of migrant workers and their contribution to the country would be significant because, according to some experiences, it has shown that some Lao migrant workers have acquired and learned new skills from their employment in Thailand. This skill acquisition has made significant improvements for Lao laborers in these particular areas.

To sum up, limited job availability, economic hardship in Laos, and better opportunities of getting work and higher wages in Thailand are important motivations for many child migrants to leave home. Working conditions which child domestic workers are facing from Thai employers is relatively poor, as it can be seen from low wages and no day-off. Moreover, they are vulnerable to be verbal and physical abused by their employers with several reasons or without reasons. These have been violated to the UNCRC on child labour prevention and ILO convention No 182 as mentioned earlier. The return of migrants do not bring only economic benefit ,but the knowledge and skills obtained from their overseas working experience can be transferred and used productively after returning home. Moreover, parental attitudes are positive to child migrant workers who have contributed to improve family economic status through remittances. In contrast, it is argued that the benefits of returned migration can be fulfilled, the skills learned abroad are relevant to and the willingness and opportunity of the returnees to use the skills upon return.

Finally, it is important to note that there has been limited number of academic literature dealing directly and comprehensively with the topic. The study, therefore, will contribute to academia as well as provide further understanding on child migration from Lao PDR.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents methods used for this study. In addition, the limitations and the lessons learnt from the methodology will also be discussed.

3.1 Method of the research

This research applied both quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to study the factors influencing decision making to child migration, working conditions of child domestic workers in Thailand, conditions of child domestic workers after returning and families' attitudes towards child migration.

The procedure of research methodology consists of the following four steps:

- 3.1.1 Literature review which includes data and information gathered from secondary sources, i.e. government organization, international organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and educational institution.
- 3.1.2 The study was conducted in Vientiane capital, Bolikhaxai and Savannakhet, three border provinces of Lao PDR with Thailand, where there is a large flow of Lao migrants into Thailand (FHI, NCCA, Chulalongkorn, 2005: 22-24). The sampling and case studies cover approximately 101 child migrants, Vientiane capital (34), Bolikhamxay (33) and Savannakhet (34). In addition, 4 parents of the child migrants, 6 village headmen, 3 districts officials of social welfare and some key international organizations and NGOs were interviewed (refer to appendix for more details).
- 3.1.3 Field research on primary data collection through interview question guide with child migrants (101), parents, community leaders, teachers, officials of district labour and social welfare (39) and focus group discussion with child migrants. Moreover,

observations of households of returnees were included and some key international organizations and INGOs agencies were visited

3.1.4 Data analysis

3.2 Data Collection

To provide context to the analyses and assessment in this study, both primary and secondary data were commonly collected and compiled for examining and analyzing. The potential sources are the following:

3.2.1 Primary Data Collection

The primary data was mainly collected through personal observations, discussions and interviews with key informants who are working with governmental and international organizations in Lao PDR.

The field research on primary data collection took place from January to February 2009. It was collected through interview questionnaires with child migrants (101), parents, and village authorities, officials of district labour and social welfare (39). Moreover, observation of households of returnees was made. In addition, some international organizations and INGOs in Lao PDR namely ILO, Friend International, Norwegian Church Aid, Save the Children Norway, World Church Service, and World Vision International were visited.

The main discussions were about the factors influencing decision making to child migration, working conditions of child domestic workers in Thailand, conditions of child domestic workers after returning and families' attitudes towards child migration. Apart from these topics, the questions such as what the situation is to date and why it is happening, what their responses are to the issues, and what need to be done for better intervention on migration issues were also raised with the discussants.

3.2.2 Secondary Data Collection

This study also relies on secondary data and information gained and collected mainly from different sources:

Previous research studies were collected from the concerned government, nonprofit organizations, and international agencies dealing with migration and trafficking issues such as the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare especially at district and community levels, Friends International, Church World Service Norwegian Church Aid, Save the Children Norway, World Vision International, the International Organization for Migration, the International Labor Organization, UNIAP, the Asian Research Center for Migration, and others; in Lao PDR.

Official documents of statistics, numbers and data relating to labor and trafficking issues were also collected. These documents come mainly from the decree of the prime minister, statistics, surveys, research reports, agreements, and law books;

The information was also gathered from libraries, internet websites, journals, newspapers, and books. Besides, I attended the workshops and conferences related to this topic.

3.3 Collaboration and coordination

With the support from Lao Embassy in Bangkok and Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) in the Lao PDR in partnership with Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (MOLSW) and Lao Youth Union in Vientiane Capital; this study was conducted in three provinces.

In collaboration and coordination with Lao Youth Union (LYU), the researcher worked closely with the Labor and Social welfare in district office.

Village authorities actively coordinate the identification of respondents in looking for the main samples for the study. Clear research objectives were introduced to the

communities by village headmen and the district officials who helped facilitated smooth implementation of the research.

3.4 Limitations of the Research and Solutions

Since illegal migration to Thailand especially for girls is a sensitive issue in Lao PDR, it is the main constraint in conducting this study. The following are the main limitations of this research:

3.4.1 Main Samples

As is known in Lao PDR, most of young people crossed the border to Thailand illegally; they are not confident to let the public know that they worked in Thailand. In addition, when returning home, they were fined by the police on both sides and their community authorities. As a result, they did not want to actively participate in this study. In fact, many of them refused to take any participation in the discussion.

In general, community people's attitudes toward illegal migrant worker, especially girl who works as a domestic helper is rather negative. Since it is a sensitive issue in Lao PDR; it was quite difficult to work with the target samples, particularly child migrants and their parents.

To solve this problem, this study spanned for few days in every single target area, so as to explain and discuss about the possibility to work with the main informants. The study started with the village authority group because they are the only group trusted by the people. Then village authority acted as a key communicator in explaining the objective of this study to the main samples. Parents were the second groups to work with, friendly discussion and clear objectives were introduced to this group. Eventually the discussion among parents and children was made and child migrants became confident to participate in this study. However, key informants were not confident to talk about their experiences on illegal migration issue which was the main discussion of this study.

The strategy worked relatively well in the fields. However; some female migrants did not participate in the study. They ran to hide in the forest and friends' houses during the research because they thought researcher is the government officer who would arrest and fine them. With the support from the village authority, researcher was accepted as their friends and they felt confident to work with the researcher.

The returnees and people who are dealing with the issues in Lao PDR were interviewed, but unfortunately the migrant workers who are currently working and concerned organizations that are working and dealing with the issues in Thailand were not, due to the limited time.

3.4.2 Timing

The research was conducted in January to February 2009 which is the dry season of rice production and gardening harvest in Lao PDR and it has become another constraint for this study. The researcher worked in the field in the evening after people were back from their farms. As a result, it was sometimes impossible to make observation in the target areas, as it was rather dark. Due to this circumstance, this study spent one week in collaboration and data gathering at the central level; 3 weeks for field data collection.

Although it was easier and more suitable to interview the respondents in the evening, however, sometimes, respondents were not available for interview so the researcher had to wait for the following day. The research found it easier to work with people on Buddhist day "Van Sine" because Buddhist day is the day off for the farmers. The researcher had more choice in choosing the respondents.

The researcher had to invite the district officers from Labor and Social Welfare and Lao Youth Union to be the moderators to help on data collection. However, it was not comfortable for respondents to answer every question since they were reticent to speak about their experiences in Thailand in front of officials.

3.4.3 Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data related to migration are limited in Lao PDR and the existing data are not accurate and not updated. Because of the limited resources and relatively small observation of this study, it would be technically correct to say that the result of this study therefore was based mostly on field research in the respective villages.

However, the studies conducted on migration issues among Lao, Burmese and Cambodian migrants in Thailand were used as reference for this study; particularly the studies and researches of the Asian Research Center for Migration, Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University. Furthermore, researches conducted from various International Organisations in Lao PDR, Thailand and internet websites were also main resources for this study.

3.4.4 Data Collection

I worked in three districts of three provinces in Lao PDR, focusing on the village authority group; followed by parents group and ended with returned migrants. Among these three groups; returned migrants were the most difficult group to work with because they were afraid of being arrested or fined. The researcher spent a certain period of times in explaining the objectives of the study to the returned migrants before the research was conducted.

The questionnaire had to be revised and focused mainly on the consequences of the returnees' living conditions. It was found to be too sensitive and time consuming to ask about how they migrated and the experience of working in Thailand. To solve this problem, informal conversation was conducted among child migrants. The difficulty of conducting informal conversation was that the researcher could not take notes as conversation was held. As a consequence, the researcher was unable to record all the information down because they lost track of the conversation.

3.4.5 Interview guide

A questionnaire was developed into 4 parts and each part is designed for each objective of the study. Specific questions were asked in order to gather data and

information from the returnee migrants. In addition, the interview guide was designed for each target group which was slightly different; depending on what data to be collected from each group (please see appendix).

As the respondents were not confident to discuss about the sensitive issues, the questionnaire and interview guide were revised accordingly during the research, to focus mainly on returnees' living conditions and parental attitudes of child migration (Table 2).

Table 2: Objectives of the interview guide

No	Description	Objective
Part 1	General background	To find out the family and personal background of respondents which includes family's education level, occupation, incomes, and family members
Part 2	Factors influencing child workers' migration from Laos to Thailand	To examine factors influencing the decision of child domestic workers from Lao PDR to migrate to Thailand
Part 3	Working conditions	To examine the work conditions of child domestic workers. This includes wages, working hours, working holidays and other benefits.
Part 4	Consequences after returning and parental attitudes of child migration	To study the consequences of child domestic workers after returning and families' attitudes of child migration. In addition, to identify suggestion and recommendation from communities for

		project implementation.
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In spite of these limitations, this study is significant because it highlights some important theoretical and practical related insights on migration issues in general and specifically in Laos and Thailand. The findings are important for recipient countries and present the knowledge of child domestic workers in Thailand in general. Moreover, the study may provide preliminary findings for further studies on child domestic worker in Lao PDR, which is rarely explored.



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CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The main purpose of this chapter is to present the findings of the field research, in which consist of four parts: the factors influencing child migrant workers from Lao PDR to Thailand, working conditions, returnees' living conditions and attitudes of their parents. The presentation of the findings is divided into quantitative and qualitative parts. Before presenting the findings, it is necessary to know the demographics of the returned migrant workers who used to work as domestic workers.

4.1 Demographics of child migrant workers

The study was conducted in Vientiane Capital, Bolikhaxay and Savannakhet provinces, a sample size of 101 respondents. 61.4 % of respondents are at the age of 17; 22.8% are at the age of 16; 12.9 % aged 15 and 3% aged 14 (Table 3), when they first migrated to seek a job in Thailand. The majority of the respondents are female (96 %), while 4 % are males.

According to the survey, it is found that all key informants are Lao Loum people who live along the Mekong River and nearby the river bank. Neither Lao Soung nor Lao Theung ethnicities have been found in this study.

Table 3

The Survey Group Categorized by Age

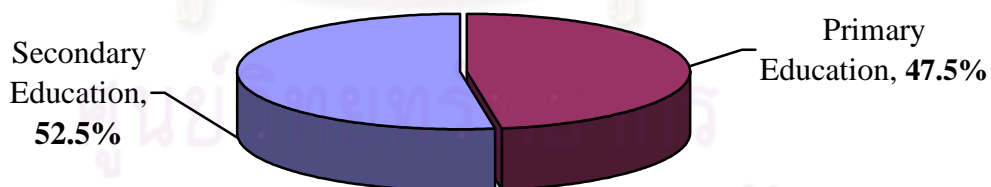
Ages	Respondents	%
14 Years Old	3	3

15 Years Old	13	12.9
16 Years Old	23	22.8
17 Years Old	62	61.4
Total	101	100.0

In terms of education level, 101 of respondents reveal that 52.4 % finished or dropped out during secondary education, while 47.6% completed or dropped out at primary educational period (Graph 1) when they first migrated to Thailand. The lowest level is Grade 3 in Primary education and the highest level is Grade 10 in secondary education.

Graph 1

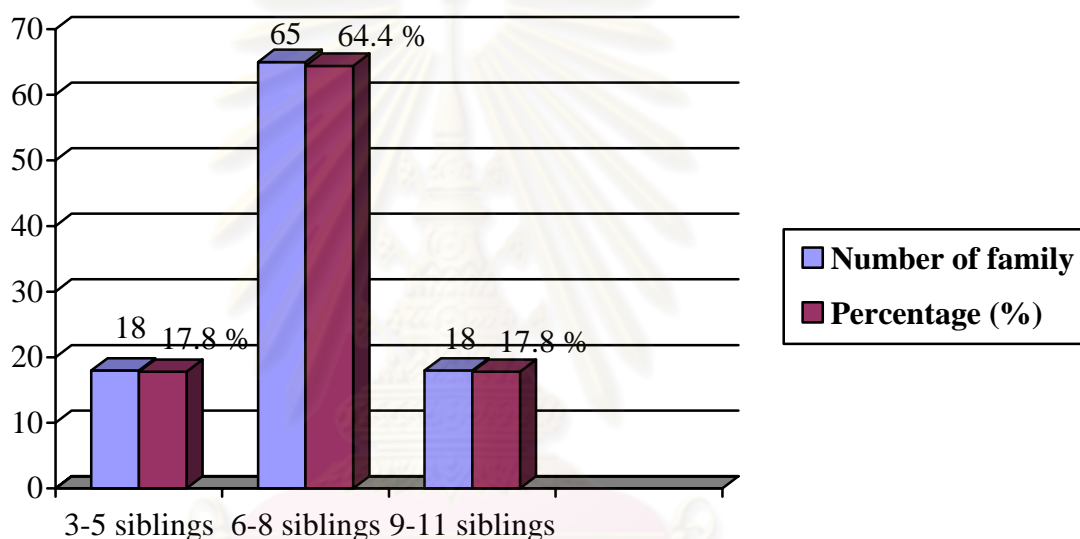
The Survey Group Categorized by Educational level



In terms of family size, the result reveals that 64.4% of the responses had 6 to 8 of their family members migrated to Thailand. While the families with 3 to 5 and 9 to 11 siblings migrated to Thailand both have the same percentage of 17.8% (Graph 2).

Graph 2

The Survey Groups Categorized by Family Size



Regarding the occupations of the families of respondents, 61.4 % are engaged in rice cultivation, 32.7% are involved in gardening, and 3.0 % are employed in general labour (Refer to table 4 for other categories). This indicates that majority of the occupations are based on agricultural work

Table 4**The Survey Groups Categorized by Family Occupation**

Family Occupation	Respondents	%
Rice Cultivation	62	61.4
Gardening	33	32.7
Laborer	3	3.0
Rice Mill Service	1	1.0
Sewing Clothes	1	1.0
Animal Raising	1	1.0
Total	101	100.0

In terms of the length of stay in Thailand, the largest number of respondents had been in Thailand for 2-4 years (78.2%). 14.9% and 5.9% of the respondents had resided in Thailand for 5-7 years and 8-10 years, respectively. 1 respondent had stayed in Thailand for less than 1 year (Table 5).

Table 5**The Survey Group Divided by Time Spent in Thailand**

The lengths of stay in Thailand	Respondents	%
2-4 years	79	78.2

5-7 years	15	14.9
8-10 years	6	5.9
Less than a year	1	1.0
Total	101	100.0

4.2 Factors Influencing Child Migration from Lao PDR to Thailand

4.2.1 Poverty, economic hardship and debt

This study attempted to discover whether the respondents have faced any difficulties in finding jobs in local or nearby communities prior to their migration. The majority (96.0 %) stated that they could not get other jobs after completing rice paddy fields. Only 4.0% of the respondents explained that there are other job opportunities, such as general labour, but the wage was low. It can be seen that, therefore, many preferred to work in Thailand

When asked the respondents whether their families have debts which might have caused their migration, 83.2% stated that they have no debt, while 16.8 are in debt before migrated to Thailand.

4.2.2 Job opportunity

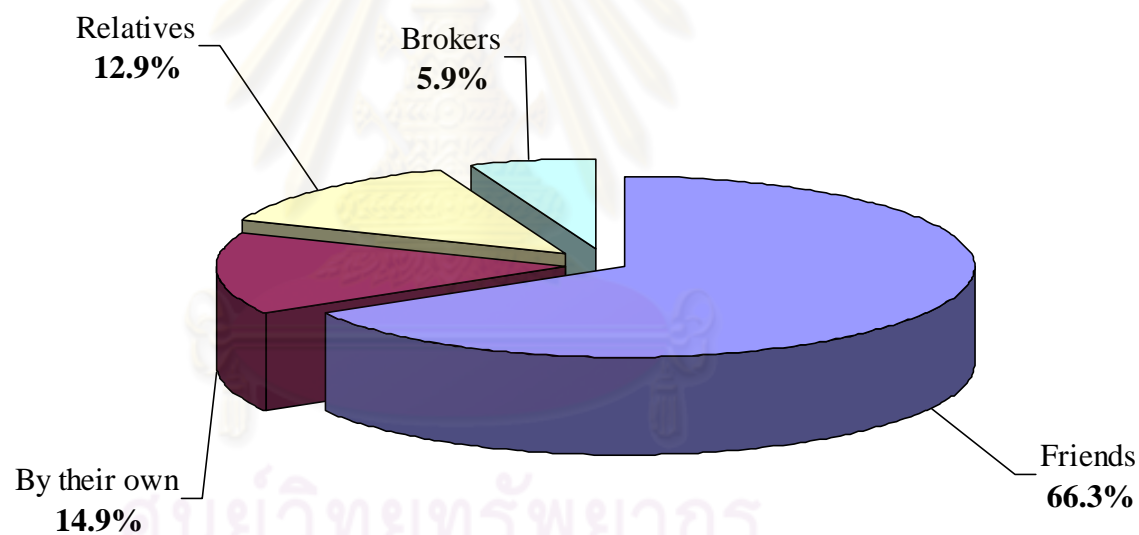
As for the information sources of working opportunities which they can earn more in Thailand, the result shows that the largest number of respondents (85.1%) received this information from friends; 9.9 % were reported by relatives and the smallest number of respondents (5.0 %) got the information via watching TV.

4.2.3 Social network

Graph 3 shows that friends are the main factor (66.3%) in supporting the respondents to seek jobs in foreign soil and many received job positions through their friends, while 14.9 % of the respondents had no support from others when traveling to Thailand. 12.9 % of respondents were approached by relatives and only 6 respondents reported that they were convinced by brokers and agents (Graph 3)

Graph 3

While being in Laos, who got the jobs in Thailand for you?



The study also tried to explore that whether the respondents knew the destination of their workplace. The result shows that 61.3% knew their future workplace, whereas 38.7% did not.

When asked about whereabouts of the workplace in Thailand, 55.4 % of the respondents were hired in Bangkok, while 45 respondents (44.6 %) worked in other provinces.

4.2.4 Reasons for going to Thailand

To work in Thailand, respondents still need to spend a certain amount of money on traveling and paying fee to the brokers or employers. Why do they insist on coming? Economic reason is at the top of the list. As many have a desire for property, other material possessions and modernized cities, yet, the work in Laos only pays little. Thus, in the end, an overwhelmingly majority of Lao migrants, especially children and young people, flood into Thailand for the sake of earning more money.

According to 101 of respondents, 81.2% held personal expectations to earn a lot of money. 7.9% of the respondents were curious to modern cities and/or night life. 6.9% stated that both to earn higher incomes and curiosity of big-city experiences were the factors that pushed for their migration. 3 respondents (3.0%) claimed that poverty caused them to migrate, and 1 respondent ran away from broken home (Table 6).

Table 6 Reasons for going to Thailand

Reasons going to Thailand	Respondents	%
Earning more money wish and higher wages	82	81.2
Curiosity and adventure to modern cities	8	7.9
Both earning money and curiosity	7	6.9
Poverty and economic hardship	3	3.0
Run away from family	1	1.0

Total	101	100.0
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4.2.5 Decision making to migration

The study also attempted to explore who influenced the decision making of the migrants. Most respondents (87) revealed that they made their own decision. 11.9% of respondents were influenced by friends who had successfully worked in Thailand, and 2 respondents replied that they were persuaded by parents (Table 7)

Table 7 Decision making to migration

Who influenced migrants' decision?	Respondents	%
Own decision making	87	86.1
Influenced by friends	12	11.9
Persuaded by parents	2	2.0
Total	101	100.0

4.3 Working Conditions

4.3.1 Working Hours

In terms of working hours, more than half of the respondents (66.3%) said that they had to work for 11 -13 hours per day, 16.8 % had to work for 14-16 hours and 7.9 % had to work for 8-10 hours. However, many respondents further explained that a lot of tasks have to be done in the morning and evening, they were probably free in the afternoon. About 8.9 % did not state clearly of how many hours they had to work for

each day as they just said that they had to work from early morning to the evening (Table 8)

Table 8 Working Hours

How many hours per day	Respondents	%
8-10 hours	8	7.9
11-13 hours	67	66.3
14-16 hours	17	16.8
Early morning to evening	9	8.9
Total	101	100.0

4.3.2 Wages

In the case of wages, it was usually paid by monthly salary, many (30.7 %) received less than 3,000 Bahts a month, more than half respondents (62 %) got paid between 3,500 -5,000 Bahts per month and 5.0% could earn more than 5,000 Bahts. Only 2 respondents had not been paid, but their employers bought them what they wanted especially new clothes. Most child migrant workers stayed with the employers' houses where they had not paid any single Baht for accommodation and food (Table 9).

Table 9 Wages of child domestic workers

Monthly wages received by child domestic workers	Respondents	%
Less than 3,000 Baht	31	30.7

3,500-5,000 Baht	63	62.4
More than 5,000 Baht	5	5.0
No paid	2	2.0
Total	101	100.0

Asking about the savings and remittances while they were working in Thailand, the majority replied that they preferred sending remittances home instead of savings. 40.6% of the respondents had remitted home between 1,000 and 3,000 Baht every month, 18.8 % quarterly remitted between 4,000 and 10,000 Baht, 10.9 % sent money home twice a year between 5,000 and 10,000 Baht and 11.9 % sent annually between 9,000 and 15,000 Baht. On the other hand, 17.8 % of the respondents, however, just earned for themselves and never sent remittances home.

4.3.3 Days off

Concerning working holidays, the majority of the respondents (61.4%) had day off around 1 day per week, 2.0% had 1-2 days per month and one respondent replied that her working holidays depending on events or festivals, especially Chinese' New year. 35.6% revealed that they had no day off, however, they were sometimes treated well by their employers such as going to the sea, shopping malls and other places (Table 10).

Table 10 Day off

Number of days off	Respondents	%
1 day per week	62	61.4
1-2 days per month	2	2.0

Day off depending on festival days	1	1.0
No day off	36	35.6
Total	101	100.0

4.3.4 Experiences on verbal or physical abuse

Once working as a domestic worker in Thailand, 9 respondents revealed that they were verbally abused, 4 experienced physical abuse and 1 was burnt by hot water. The rest, 86.1% did not experience any verbal or physical abuse (Table 11).

Table 11 Experiences on verbal or physical abuses

Experiences on verbal or physical abuses	Respondents	%
No experiences on verbal or physical abuses	87	86.1
Experiences on verbal abuses	9	8.9
Experiences on physical abuses	4	4.0
Severe case of abuse	1	1.0
Total	101	100.0

4.3.5 Health Issue

When asked about the health issues, whether their employers had provided any health-care services, 35 respondents had been received annual medical check-up and 2 out of these 35 respondents had ID cards for health-care services. More than half (65) of

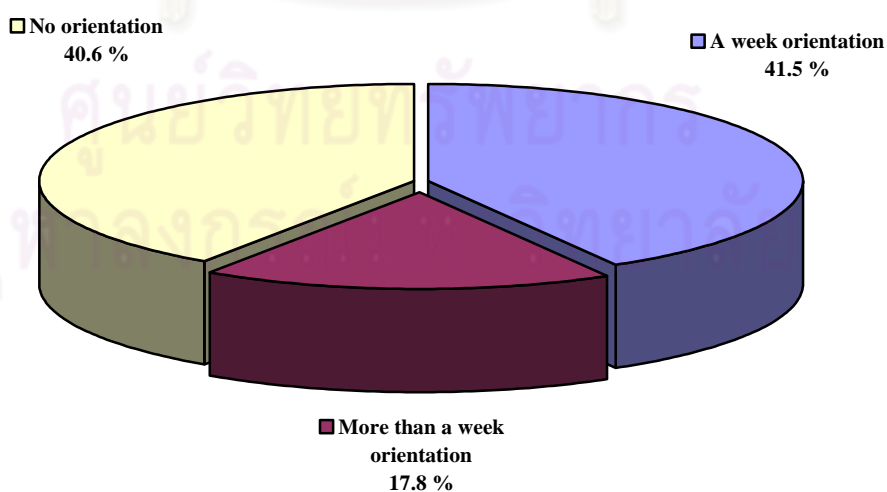
respondents had never received any medical check -up, however, they were free to take medicines whenever they were sick or unwell.

4.3.6 Prior knowledge on working conditions of child migrant workers

As for child migrant workers' awareness on working conditions prior to entering Thailand, 57.4% of the respondents received some partial information regarding this, while 31.7% did not receive any information, and only 10.9% of the respondents fully received proper information.

When asked the respondents whether they receive any job orientation before employment, 41 respondents (40.6%) revealed that there was no such orientation, while 41.5% of the respondents had been oriented but for less than a week and 17.8 % had job orientation for more than a week. The job orientations were generally related to housework such as cleaning, washing clothes, assisting during cooking and electronic appliance usage. (Graph 4)

Graph 4 The survey groups on job orientation prior to employment



As to whether child migrant workers keep contact with families back home, the largest number, up to 83.2% of the respondents had contacted families home every month, while 7.9% contacted home 2-3 times a year. Another 8.9 % of the respondents had never contacted families back home (Table 12)

Table 12 Child Migrant Workers' contact with families

Contact with families	Respondents	%
Yes/Monthly	84	83.2
Yes/2-3 times a year	8	7.9
Never	9	8.9
Total	101	100.0

4.3.7 Opinions on working conditions

When asked about their opinions on working conditions, 57.4% of the respondents stated that the working condition was acceptable though they had to work all day long, while 27.7% revealed that the working condition was relatively poor and 10.9 % of the respondents said that they had good working conditions. Only 4.0% expressed that they experienced ill working conditions.

4.4 Parental perceptions and attitudes of child migration

4.4.1 Parental perceptions on Child Migration after their return

Most parents found it difficult to understand what their children did in Thailand. There were doubts among them to know of their children' work and lives. They were concerned that children did not take their job seriously or work hard enough. They were

also worried about their child's consumable habits, in which they may receive contagious disease. In addition, the parents feared that their child might be arrested by the police as they were illegal migrant workers. Most parents, thus, felt relieved and expressed that they were happy to see their children coming home safely and would not let them re-migrate to Thailand.

“I was so concerned about my daughter, she cried when she called me so I told her to come back” told by a mother of a young female migrant in Phonesavanh

4.4.2 Parental Attitudes on Child Migration after their return

In general parental attitudes see both positive and negative consequences of child returnee migrants.

The study shows that most parents perceived that child migrants do not bring back only money but potentially some new skills and knowledge. Most child migrants believed they had learnt something from their experiences in Thailand such as household work, cooking, hospitality and electronic appliances usage. In addition, they might gain other skills, for example beauty treatment skill, weaving and generally broadened their knowledge of the world.

“Fortunately she came back safely, brought some savings and beautician skills which she applied for her own business. Our house had been renovated and family circumstance got improved” said by a father of a returnee migrant in Veunthat

However, the parents see the negative impact of child migration on individuals after returning back home.

“When young boys and girls go to Thailand, they are away from the eyes’ of their parents. On returning, many of them become addicted to drugs and influenced by bad culture” told by a mother in Phoumajady village

In addition, it also appears that crossing the border to Thailand could result in a stigma, and/or negative reputations, especially for girls.

“When girls went to work in Thailand, people think that they did something bad, that they were prostitutes” said by a mother in Phonsavanh village

Child migrants are seen largely as agents for importing a “new culture”, in terms of living style, behavior and dress. Most parents see contradictions with local norms and culture.

“Whether young people return with money or not, what is most obvious is the fact that my daughter brings back a new social culture, reflecting on dyeing hair and dressing inappropriately, all of which contradict to our culture” said by a mother of a returnee migrant

“My daughter is not as active and she usually gets up very late, so I have to educate her on that again” told by a father of a returnee in Hinlap village

4.4.3 Parental attitude toward the remittance

Remittance is an importance factor leading to an increase in living standard, and one which directly affects household incomes, improves family relationships, provides better education opportunity and pays off debts.

“She remitted us about 1,000-1,500 Baht a month, that amount helped purchase agricultural tools and supported her younger siblings’ education. Now, she also teaches young people in our village sometimes on how to preserve food and fruits for a long time, which I have never known before” said by a mother of a female returnee in Hinlap village

“She remitted home regularly for building a new house and support education for her younger brothers” said by a mother of a returnee in Phoumajady village

In spite of parents' positive attitudes to remittances, they always worried about their beloved children working in Thailand.

“I am so happy to see her back home safely and I will not let her re-migrate because I love to see all family members living together, though our family economic may not secure enough” said by a father of a migrant in Hinlap village

4.5 Returnees' living conditions

4.5.1 Economic benefits

As mentioned above, most child migrant workers had not saved while working in Thailand. They usually remitted back home for parents or spouse to take care of and use for renovating or building houses; purchasing land, electronic appliances, agricultural tools, other household materials; and so on. However, when asked about savings in which they brought back to Laos after their return, many (73) were able to save between 1,000 and 10,000 Baht, 21.8 % of the respondents had between 11,000 and 20,000 Baht, and 5.0% even saved more than 20,000 Baht. Only 1 respondent was not able to save any money (13).

Table 13 Amount of savings after returning back home

Amount of savings	Respondents	%
1,000-10,000 Baht	73	72.3
10,000-20,000 Baht	22	21.8
More than 20,000 Baht	5	5.0
None	1	1.0
Total	101	100.0

4.5.2 Skills or knowledge gained in Thailand

When asked about what kinds of knowledge and skills they learned in Thailand, the largest number, up to 40.6 % of the respondents said they were equipped with work disciplines. 23.9% gained cooking skills and 13.9% received housekeeping lessons (Please refer table 14 for other additional skills)

Table 14 Knowledge and skills gained in Thailand

Kinds of knowledge and skills	Respondents	%
Working Disciplines	41	40.6
Cooking skills	24	23.8
House keeping	14	13.9
Hospitality	4	4.0
Sewing clothes	4	4.0
Beauty treatment skill	3	3.0
Gardening	3	3.0
Experiences in modern city	4	4.0
No answer	4	4.0
Total	101	100.0

Asking about whether child migrant workers can find jobs easily after returning back home, 16 respondents said easy to find jobs and the rest, 84.2% of the respondents revealed that it was difficult to find jobs with the same salary they earned in Thailand in the local communities (except working in rice paddy fields, growing vegetables, planting and poultry raising).

4.5.3 Current Occupation of returnees

Concerning current occupation after returning back home, nearly half (42.6%) of the respondents said that they help parents on rice cultivation, gardening and animal raising, 16.8% run their own business at homes or at district markets and 5.9 % work as a cook and open up their own restaurants. 20 respondents had no jobs after marriage and moved to her spouse's families.

5.0 % of the respondents do weaving and sewing clothes and bamboo baskets, 4.0% own beauty parlors and 2 participants work in foreigner's house as a maid (Please refer to table 15 for all types of jobs).

Table 15 Current Occupation of returnees

Types of Occupation	Respondents	%
Rice cultivation, gardening and animal raising	43	42.6
No Jobs	20	19.8
Own business	17	16.8
Cook and own restaurants	6	5.9
Weaving and sewing clothes	5	5.0
Beauty Parlour shops	4	4.0

Maids at foreigner's houses	2	2.0
Own motorbike repair shops	2	2.0
Work in factory	2	2.0
Total	101	100.0

4.5.4 Employment Satisfaction

When questioned on employment satisfaction, 41.6% the respondents satisfied with the improvement of their economic status. 24.5 % were happy to be independent and had freedom, 19.8 % were equipped with new knowledge and experiences and 14 respondents revealed that they had a good relation with their employers (Table 16).

Table 16 Employment Satisfaction

Employment Satisfaction	Respondents	%
Economic status improved	42	41.6
Be independent and freedom	25	24.8
New knowledge and experiences on modern city	20	19.8
Kindness of employers	14	13.9
Total	101	100.0

In contrast, what the respondents were not satisfied with employment in which more than half (57.4%) expressed that they had to cope with work overload for many

hours, 17.8 % missed their families (parents) back home in Laos, 12.9% did not enjoy the crowded city and 10 respondents were afraid of being arrested by the police when they go out. Besides, 1 respondent had to work even when she got sick and 1 participant did not answer.

4.5.5 Living status of the migrants after the migration

The study also probed into whether respondents' living conditions get better or worse after their return back home. The majority of the respondents (88.9%) answered that their lives have become better than before going to Thailand, not only because of their savings, but they also have their own houses and have gained new knowledge and experiences.

5.9% responded that their lives have remained the same as before migrating to Thailand, while 4 respondents said living conditions did not improve as they expected because they could not earn as much like others. 2 participants were reluctant to answer, however

4.5.6 Will you recommend other people to take up the same job?

When asked the respondents whether they would like to recommend people who are seeking jobs in Thailand to be a domestic worker, about one-fourth (26) of the respondents replied positively because of the economic opportunities, knowledge, skills and experiences they could earn from engaging in this job, while 75 respondents strongly said no because of the hardship they may experience when taking up this job. This includes long and tiring working hours, vulnerability to exploitation, and the similarity of the wage they could earn in Laos and Thailand due to the current economic crisis.

4.6 Case studies (4 cases)

4 out of 101 respondents were selected for an in-depth interview during the field data collection. The findings of case studies are divided into two parts; 1) the profile of case study; and 2) comparison of case studies

Case study One: Ms. Khamkeo (alias) is a girl who went to work in Thailand at the age of 16. Her main push factor was family debt.

“My family had a debt around 5,000,000 Kip (20,000 Baht) which was spent on medical treatment for my mother so I wanted to earn that amount of money to release it and at the same time”

Although it was possible for her to find a job in the village during the rice production period, the problem is that the length of work is rather short, while she preferred to have a permanent job. The wage was also relatively low. After hearing that there were a lot of job opportunities with high wages in Thailand from her friend who used to work in Thailand and improved family status, this gave an incentive to Khamkeo to seek for a better fortune in Thailand.

“Earning more money is my main purpose of going to Thailand”

Khamkeo expected to release the debt of her family. She felt that she should take the responsibility to support her parents who have always worked hard on the farm for the benefits of the family. Another reason that pushed her to migrate to Thailand was the curiosity and the rush of the excitement in experiencing the city life in Thailand.

Khamkeo decided to go to Thailand by herself without having any consultation with her parents. They did not even know when she first migrated to Thailand, until Khamkeo called them three months later. The route in which Khamkeo took to cross over to Thailand was through the local border which is called “Thaa Tham Maa Saad” (local

border check point) in Sangthong district. At that time she was assisted by a friend who used to work in Thailand. The travel cost about 1,000 Baht.

“I did not know what type of work I was going to do in Thailand, but I was lucky that I was given a clear instruction about the job before starting to work”

Khamkeo had to work from early morning to evening (with the total of 14 hours per day). Her work chores include cleaning the house, washing clothes, watering garden and helping with the cooking.

“My working condition was rather hard because I had to work for long hours and had only a short break for relaxation”

Khamkeo had to work for seven days without a single day off. She received about 3,000 Baht as a monthly salary excluding food and accommodation. She remitted home about 1,000 - 1,500 Baht every month.

“I had faced a few abusive experiences from my employer as my forehead was hit by an object”

She had never been to a clinic or a hospital for health check-up; she only took free medicine when she got sick.

Using 20,000 Baht to pay off her family's debt, Khamkeo could also save 25,000 Baht after returning home.

She said that, *“I have not only earned money, but I also gained new knowledge and skills while working in Thailand, including cooking skills and work disciplines”*.

Khamkeo also mentioned that her parents were so happy to see her return back and were proud on efforts which she made in order to release the debt.

Khamkeo also mentioned that she was satisfied with the salary which she considered higher than in Laos even though her job was strenuous. Despite the benefits gained while migrating in Thailand, she was always homesick and missed her parents. Khamkeo is currently in Laos helping her parents on rice field cultivation. When asked whether she would recommend other people to engage in the same type of job she had in Thailand, her reply was ‘no’.

‘The job was rather exhausting with small amount of time for relaxation’

Case study Two: Ms. Champa (alias) is a girl who went to work in Thailand at the age of 17. Her main push factor was not economic hardship because Champa’s family did not suffer from economic difficulties, but she still went to Thailand after she left school in 2002.

“At that time I did not think about being able to earn money there, but I was rather curious to experience the life in Thailand after leaving school”.

It was a trend for young people in her village to go to Thailand. This had motivated her with anticipation to follow this trend to experience the electrifying city life.

Champa decided to go to Thailand by herself. She did not even tell her parents because she knew that they would not let her go if they knew about this. Eventually Champa informed them after she got a job for her living and also remitted home every three months. She crossed “Thaa Tham Maa Saad” (local border check point) in Thaphabath district, accompanied by her friends. The travel cost was about 800 Baht.

Champa did not know of the work before going to Thailand. However, she was kindly taught by her employer for three days as an orientation before she started working.

“I worked for 13 hours a day. The tasks are cleaning a house, washing clothes, and ironing. I was not responsible for cooking or food preparation,”

Chamapa's working condition was fine because she had one day off per week. Her monthly salary started from 2,800 to 5,000 Baht.

Champa stayed at her employer's house so she did not have to pay for the accommodation and food. She remitted home about 10,000-15,000 Baht every three months. She had never had any experiences on verbal or physical abuses and she also had an annual medical check-up which was covered by her employer.

Champa brought back another 13,000 Baht when she returned home; this amount of money was invested on a sweet potato garden. She has also been equipped with beauty treatment skills. Besides, she also gained modern city experience. Her satisfaction from working experience in Thailand was new knowledge and savings. However, she complained that tiring job with time consuming made her feel depressed.

At the moment, Champa is running a beauty parlor and sweet potato gardening at her village. She can earn around 5,000,000 Kip (2,000 Baht) every month. Champa recommends other people to take up the same job if they want to work in Thailand because of economic opportunity and new knowledge. However, she emphasized that the job needs high effort and energy.

Case study Three: Ms. Sengchan (alias) is a girl who went work in Thailand at the age of 17. Her main push factor was family's economic hardship which made her decide to migrate to Thailand is to earn enough for family living. Her family could not earn enough for a living as their main source of income is from selling charcoal and weaving. Therefore, Sengchan went to seek for a better job opportunity in Thailand. She was told by her friend that the wage in Thailand was high and Sengchan could earn enough money for a living of her family.

"It was quite easy to find a job related to agricultural work in my village but labour fee was low"

“Though, I made my own decision, I told my parents that I wanted to go and find a job in Thailand after I heard that my friend who went to worked in Thailand came back with some money”

She crossed “Thaa Tham Maa Saad” (local border check point) in Thaphabath district which is opposite Nongkhai province of Thailand. She travelled together with her friend and the travel cost about 1,000 Baht.

Sengchan did not know anything regarding the work which she would do in Thailand, except the location of where they were heading to. Fortunately, she was instructed for a few days prior to first day of her work. Working hours was not defined so she just worked from early morning to evening, mainly dealing with all house work except cooking. Although, she had no day offs, she was tolerable with the work condition.

Her monthly salary was 3,500 Baht with free food and accommodation provided. Sengchan, nonetheless, never remitted home because she spent all of her payment.

“My employer was kind and never got angry with me, so this left me with a great impression.”

In addition, her annual health check-up was covered by her employer. Sengchan returned back home with 3,000 Baht which she could not invest on any business with this little amount. In terms of new knowledge and skills, she has gained cooking and housework skills, which she can utilize on her part time job as a cook at the district restaurant. Sengchan is satisfied with her work experience because of her kind and friendly employer, although she could not save much like other people did when they returned back home. She was rather hesitated in recommending this type of job for others, as she thought the job is quite grueling and required a lot of patience and commitment.

Case study Four: Ms. Pany (alias) is a girl who went to work in Thailand at the age of 15. Her main push factor was family's debt.

“My family had a debt around 7,500,000 Kips (30,000 Baht) so I wanted to earn that amount of money to pay it off”.

In her village, many young people had been to Thailand and made the changes to improve the economic status of their household after their return. It is difficult to find a job in her village once the work at the rice paddy field is over, except gardening and poultry raising, since there is no factory in the village.

“My main reason of going to Thailand is to earn more money in order to wipe off the debt”. In her village, *“many people who had been to Thailand brought back some money and built a house so this inspires me to seek a job in Bangkok”.*

Pany made her own decision by herself, but she told her parents that she wanted to find a job in Thailand, after she saw the great outcome of her friend who used to work there and remitted home regularly. She crossed “Thaa Tham Maa Saad” (local border check point) in Xayphouthong district which is opposite Mukdaharn province of Thailand. She travelled in groups by pick-up car. The travel cost about 3,000 Baht

Pany was doubtful regarding the work which she would take up in Thailand. However, she was lucky to be oriented in advance before the work started.

“I had to work for 12 hours a day for cleaning a house and sewing at home. My working condition was not good as expected because I had a lot of tasks to complete every day, though I had a day off a week”

Her monthly salary started at 4,000 Baht with free food but 300 Baht was deducted for the accommodation. She remitted home about 1,000 Baht every month. She had never had any experiences on verbal or physical abuse and she had an annual health checkup which was covered by her employer.

Pany came home with 30,000 Baht and bought a motorbike with that amount of savings.

“Right now, I am happy with my living status because I have my own house which is almost completed and a motorbike”.

Moreover, Pany paid off her family’s debt from remittances she sent back monthly, in which made her very satisfied of her work experience in Thailand, even though her work was overload. She currently runs her own business as a merchant in the village. Regardless of her gratification towards her migration in Thailand, she stated that she does not want to recommend other people to migrate into Thailand because the amount of wages paid in Thailand and in Lao PDR is, in fact, quite similar and it is rather easy to simply find a job in the village and nearby communities.

4.7 Comparison of case studies

Table 17 Profiles of case studies

Cases	Age When leaving	Current Age	Education	Ethnicity	Family members	Family occupation
Khamkeo	16	21	Grade 5	Lao Loum	6	Farmer
Champa	17	24	Grade 7	Lao Loum	5	Business
Sengchan	17	23	Grade 10	Lao Loum	5	Farmer
Pany	16	23	Grade 8	Lao Loum	8	Farmer

Source: individual interview with returnees

Table 18 Comparison summary of case studies

Descriptions	Ms. Khamkeo	Ms. Champa	Ms. Sengchan	Ms. Pany
Factors influencing child migrant workers from Laos to Thailand	Family had debt. Job available during rice production but low wage. She was told that there were more jobs which she could earn more in Thailand. She decided to go to Thailand by herself	She was curious about Thailand rather than earning money. In her village, many young people went to Thailand. She made her own decision	She seeks for a better job opportunity after her friend reported that she could earn enough cash for a whole family. She decided by herself	Family had debt. In her village, many improved household status from working in Thailand. It was also difficult to find jobs in her village. She decided herself.
Working conditions	She worked for 14 hours a day without day off. Her wage was 3,000 Baht. Few abusive experiences	She worked for 13 hours a day with a day off per week. Her wage was 5,000 Baht. No abusive	She worked from early morning to evening without a day off. Her wage was 3,500 Baht.	She worked for 12 hours a day with a day off per week. Her wage was 4,000 Baht. No abusive

		experiences	No abusive experiences	experiences
Returnees Living conditions	She could save 25,000 Baht and paid a debt off. She gained work disciplines. Current job is in rice paddy field	She could save 13,000 Baht, renovated a house, bought a motor boat and invested on gardening. She gained beauty treatment. Current job is a beauty salon owner	She could save 3,000 Baht. She gained cooking and housework skills. Current job is a part-time job as a cook at district restaurant	She could save 30,000 Baht, paid off a debt, bought a motorbike, and built a new house. She gained work disciplines. Current job is a merchant

Source: individual interview with returnees

Agriculture is the predominant livelihood for rural Lao PDR families; and 4 respondents consider farming as a job for children and young people. Girls found it was difficult to find jobs in the community after the harvesting period is over, so weaving and planting are their only alternatives. In addition, the study found that although there are jobs available in the village, however the wages are relatively low. In contrast, Thailand is not only similar in terms of language and culture; it is also easy to go back and forth from Laos. In addition, there are more job opportunities with higher wages in Thailand, comparing to Laos. Besides, child migrants had witnessed the success of their neighbors

who went to Thailand through the improvement of their economic status. Thus, this inspired them and gave them an incentive to reach out for a better fortune in Thailand. According to the information given above, 3 out of 4 respondents expressed that their main aim of going to Thailand is earn more money.

The decision to migrate appears to be an individual decision made by child migrants themselves rather than a household decision, i.e. 4 child migrants in the case studies decided to go to Thailand by themselves. Their reasons for going are often related to their roles in household livelihood strategies and targeting to earn more money. However, one (out of four cases) expressed on the excitement and anticipation for city life experience in Thailand.

The findings suggest that migration is a means for a household to diversify their livelihood strategy and improve their living standard (e.g., to pay off the debts, renovate or build a house or buy a motorbike or motorboat); to accumulate money for investment (such as starting small business); and as a safety net in time of crisis (flooding, sickness or debt).

In terms of working conditions, the four respondents revealed that they did not know about what types of work they would take up in advance before going to Thailand. However, most of them were instructed for 2 to 14 days before starting their job.

Their working hours are between 12 to 14 hours a day. One out of four had to work without a day off and the rest had one day off per week. The wage varies between 100-170 Baht a day. The estimated monthly wages ranged from a minimum of 3,000 to a maximum of 5,000 Bath. However, working conditions are usually much worse than what the child migrants expected. Two out of four returnees mentioned that they had good experiences (coming back homes with savings and skills), and were pleased with wages which was appropriate to their ability.

Regarding exploitation and abuse experiences, there is no any severe case reported on verbal or physical abuses from the four respondents. Three out of four returnee migrants revealed that they had a good relationship with their employers. On the contrary, one respondent explained that she used to have some experiences on minor physical abuse.

The study shows that child migrant workers found it difficult to access public services particularly health-care service. This is largely due the lack of knowledge on their work condition and their legal status. Because they were illegal migrant workers, their health condition depend solely on the employer's decisions. However, the study found that child migrant workers were provided medicines or saw the doctor when they became seriously ill, and the payment was the responsibility of their employers.

Reasons for returning to Laos were to helping families with paddy farm, homesickness, work overload and low salaries. However, two said that they had some savings, new skills and work habits in return, and upon their return they could set up their own business and pay off the family's debts. The study found that one returnee is running her own business and gardening.

It is also common for migrants to return and visit families and relatives during festivals and traditional celebrations. When traveling back from Thailand, there was no case reported on police arrestment. However, they were fined and had to sign a pledge. They were charged between 50,000 Kip to 100,000 Kip (200-500 Baht) per time per person depending on different regulations of the village. In some villages, they collect money from returnees as an income tax rather than fines.

In terms of employment satisfaction, the most common response from the interviewees is money and skills they gained. Besides, the good relationships between employers and employees were mentioned as well. However, they expressed some dissatisfaction towards their work in Thailand. These are tiresome job, homesickness, time consuming and limited break during the day.

The occupations that they did after returning back from Thailand were farming, gardening, plantation and poultry raising (3 out of 4 respondents), except one young female who is running now her own business. The lowest pay is approximately 20,000 Kip (80 Baht) per day and the highest is 40,000 Kip (180 Baht).

Moreover, the majorities of returnees stay in the village and work in the fields or do casual work, although some of them want to take time off from the farming jobs, such as starting a small-scale business. In some cases, lack of jobs causes remigration. One household reports that after returning home their child has gone back to work in Thailand without any consent from the other family members.

Overall, from all the results above, it can be seen that there were both positive and negative feedbacks in regarding the migration to Thailand from the returnees. Economic factor seems to be one of the main impetuses for child migrant workers to work in Thailand. In accordance to the result from the case studies, it seems that there is a considerable change in the attitude of these migrant returnees towards working in Thailand. In the beginning all the respondents were, to some extent, eager to go to Thailand to seek for a better opportunity, and most of them did earn some money from working there in the end. However, once having returned home, they did not want to re-migrate and seemed reluctant to recommend other people to take on this adventure like they did. This gives the impression that working as a domestic worker in Thailand is not something they desire for, and they were repelled by the job which requires a lot of commitment and energy.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents conclusion, discussion and recommendations which are reflected from the research findings.

5.1 Conclusion

5.1.1 Demographics of child migrant workers

101 returnees who were key informants (96 females and 5 males) are between the ages of 13 and 17 when they first migrated to Thailand. Most are Lao Loum ethnicity, one half of these child migrants finished or dropped out during secondary educational period and another half completed or dropped out at primary educational year. In term of family size, 64.4% of the responses had 6 to 8 of their family members migrated to Thailand. While the families with 3 to 5 and 9 to 11 siblings migrated to Thailand both have the same percentage of 17.8%. The majority occupations of returnees' families are rice cultivation, gardening and general laborers, respectively. The length of stay in Thailand, the largest number of respondents had been in Thailand for 2-4 years (78.2%). 14.9% and 5.9% of the respondents had resided in Thailand for 5-7 years and 8-10 years, respectively. 1 respondent had stayed in Thailand for less than 1 year.

5.1.2 The factors influencing child migrant workers from Lao PDR to Thailand

As for the factors influencing child migrant workers from Lao PDR to Thailand, The majority (96.0 %) stated that they could not get other jobs after completing rice paddy fields. Only 4.0% of the respondents explained that there are other job

opportunities, such as general labour, but the wage was low. It can be seen that, therefore, many preferred to work in Thailand.

Most child migrant workers (85.1%) received information of working opportunities from friends; 9.9 % from relatives; and the smallest percentage (5.0 %) from the TV. Friends are the main factor (66.3%) in supporting them to seek jobs in foreign soil. While 14.9 % received support from others, 12.9 % were approached by relatives and 6 respondents were convinced by brokers and agents

The reasons for crossing borders into Thailand, 81.2% of the migrant returnees held personal expectations to make a lot of money, 7.9% were curious to modern cities /night life, 6.9% chose both 'to earn a lot of money' option and 'curiosity of big cities experiences' option, 3 claimed that poverty caused them to migrate and 1 respondent revealed about exploration.

The majority of child migrant workers (87) made decision by themselves, 11.9% influenced by friends who had been successfully working in Thailand, and 2 respondents persuaded by parents.

5.1.3 Working conditions

Regarding working hours, more than half of the respondents had to work for 11 - 13 hours per day, 16.8 % for 14-16 hours and 7.9 % for 8-10 hours. Moreover, many respondents further explained that a lot of tasks have to be done in the morning and the evening; they were probably free in the afternoon. 8.9 % were not sure how many hours they had to work for by just saying that they had to work from early morning to the evening.

In the case of wages, it was usually paid by monthly salary. 30.7 % received for less than 3,000 Baht, more than half of the respondents between 3,500 -5,000 Baht and

5.0% could earn more than 5,000 Bath per month. However, 2 respondents had not received any salary as their employers compensated them new clothes. Most child migrant workers stayed with the employers' houses where they did not have to pay for accommodation and food.

Concerning day off, more than half had day off between 1 day a week, 2.0% had 1-2 days a month and one replied that her working holidays depending on events or festivals, especially Chinese' New year. 35.6% had no day off; however, they were sometimes rewarded by going to the sea, shopping malls and other places with their employers.

In the case of abuses and punishment, 9 were verbally abused and 4 were physically abused, 1 experienced a severe case of abuses and the rest did not experience any verbal or physical abuse. For health issues, one third had been received an annual health check-up. More than half of respondents had been never received any health check-up, however, they are rewarded to free medicines which provided by their employers whenever they got sick or unwell

For knowledge on working conditions of child migrant workers, half of the respondents partially received information while one-third of these child migrants did not receive any information, and a quarter of child migrants fully received proper information prior to entering Thailand. Job orientation, less than half had not been introduced while 41.5% of the respondents had been oriented on jobs for less than a week and 17.8 % for more than a week. The job orientations were generally related to housework such as cleaning, washing clothes, assisting in cooking and electronic appliance usage before employment.

However, more than half of the respondents accepted the working condition, although 27.7 % did not accept it. 10.9 % of the respondents satisfied with their working condition, while 4.0% did not. Once being in Thailand, up to 83.2% of the respondents

had contacted with their families every month while 7.9% contacted for 2-3 times a year. Another 8.9 % had never contacted with their families back home.

5.1.4 Parental perceptions and attitudes on Child Migration after their return

Most parents found it difficult to understand what their children did in Thailand. There were doubts among them to know of their children' work and lives. They were concerned that children did not take their job seriously or work hard enough. They were also worried about their child's consumable habits, in which they may receive contagious disease. In addition, the parents feared that their child might be arrested by the police as they were illegal migrant workers. Most parents, thus, felt relieved and expressed that they were happy to see their children coming home safely and would not let them re-migrate to Thailand.

In general parental attitudes see both positive and negative consequences of child returnee migrants. The study shows that most parents perceived that child migrants do not bring back only money but potentially some new skills and knowledge. Most child migrants believed they had learnt something from their experiences in Thailand such as household work, cooking, hospitality and electronic appliances usage. In addition, they might gain other skills, for example beauty treatment skill, weaving and generally broadened their knowledge of the world.

However, the parents see the negative impact of child migration on individuals after returning back home. It appears that crossing the border to Thailand could result in a stigma, and/or negative reputations, especially for girls. In addition, child migrants are seen largely as agents for importing a "new culture", in terms of living style, behavior and dress. Most parents see contradictions with local norms.

Remittance is an importance factor leading to an increase in living standard, and one which directly affects household incomes, improves family relationships, support education for younger family members and pays off debts. In spite of parents' positive

attitudes to remittances, underneath they always worry their beloved children working in Thailand.

5.1.5 Returnees' living conditions

In term of economic benefits, most child migrant workers had not saved while working in Thailand. They usually remitted back home for parents or spouse to take care of and use for renovating or building houses; purchasing land, electronic appliances, agricultural tools, other household materials; and so on. However, when asked about savings in which they brought back to Laos after their return, many (73) were able to save between 1,000 and 10,000 Baht, 21.8 % of the respondents had between 11,000 and 20,000 Baht, and 5.0% even saved more than 20,000 Baht. Only 1 respondent was not able to save any money.

Regarding knowledge and skills which they learned in Thailand, the largest number, up to 40.6 % of the respondents equipped with work disciplines. 23.9% gained cooking skills, 13.9% received housekeeping lessons and 14% learned other skills. Concerning current occupation after returning back home, nearly half (42.6%) of the respondents said that they help parents on rice cultivation, gardening and animal raising, 16.8% run their own business at homes or at district markets and 5.9 % work as a cook and open up their own restaurants. 20 respondents had no jobs after marriage and moved to her spouse's families. 5.0 % of the respondents do weaving and sewing clothes and bamboo baskets, 4.0% own beauty parlors and 2 participants work in foreigner's house as a maid.

In tem of employment satisfaction, 41.6% the respondents satisfied with the improvement of their economic status. 24.5 % were happy to be independent and had freedom, 19.8 % were equipped with new knowledge and experiences and 14 respondents revealed that they had a good relation with their employers. In contrast, what the respondents were not satisfied with employment in which more than half (57.4%)

expressed that they had to cope with work overload for many hours, 17.8 % missed their families (parents) back home in Laos, 12.9% did not enjoy the crowded city and 10 respondents were afraid of being arrested by the police when they go out. Besides, 1 respondent had to work even she got sick and 1 participant did not answer.

5.2 Discussion of findings

5.2.1 The factors influencing child migrant workers from Lao PDR to Thailand

As mentioned in chapter II, what drives many child migrant workers to migrate to Thailand? There are theoretical explanations of the root causes of international migration in assessing the context of the migration from Laos to Thailand. While poverty, economic hardship factors in Laos and better opportunities of getting work and higher wages in Thailand are important motivations for many Lao migrants to leave home. In addition, expectations of child migrant on curiosity, adventure and exploration and the existence of migration networks that promote cross border movement.

- **Poverty and economic hardship**

According to this study, it found that the majority (96.0 %) stated that they could not get other jobs after completing rice paddy fields. Only 4.0% of the respondents explained that there are other job opportunities, such as general labor, but the wage was low. It can be seen that this is the reason why many preferred to work in Thailand. It means that poverty and economic hardship are not the main cause driving child migration since they are economical sufficiency through the year; even they do not have jobs, they have land where they can produce rice, vegetable, cash crop and other plantation. In addition, the study found that only 3 out of 101 respondents stated that the poverty caused them migrating to Thailand.

- **High wages and economic opportunities**

The migration literature tells us that economically motivated potential for migration takes place when varying levels of economic development and of incomes exist between the source and destination countries. Therefore, job opportunities and the disparities in incomes between the rich and the poor countries are the most fundamental causes of the labor migration. These are, in fact, a major cause for the outflow of child migrant workers to Thailand. While there are different motivations, economic compulsion remains a major factor that triggers the irregular movement across the border.

This study found that the reasons for crossing borders into Thailand, 81.2% of the migrant returnees held personal expectations to make a lot of money. It is obviously confirmed that the finding of previous studies are valid. Child migrant workers target to earn more income rather than poverty factor because the high wages are attractive to them to search for work in Thailand. However, it is interesting to note that about 7.9% of respondents were curious to modern cities /night life, 6.9% chose both ‘to earn a lot of money’ option and ‘curiosity of big cities experiences’ option, 3 claimed that poverty caused them to migrate and 1 respondent revealed about exploration respectively.

- **Social network**

As discussed in chapter II, the relationship and family ties between Lao and Thai people living along the Mekong River have been historically evident. Some people have family members and relatives living in across the river. Crossing the border, visiting friends and relatives, attending festivals, going and coming are not uncommon for people living along both sides of the river.

According to this study found that social network is playing a significant role to facilitate child migrant workers to seek job in Thailand. Moreover, the networks also provide the additional services of carrying remittances for migrants’ families back home.

The cell phones are a common and important tool for communication among their friends, family members, relatives or brokers in two countries.

5.2.2 Working condition

In the literature review, the working conditions of domestic workers, including working hours, wages and day off, depended on the employers. Some migrant workers were well treated and taken good care of by their employers. They lived together as relatives and were not taken advantages. These domestic workers did not face a lot of problems working with their employers and therefore, had served their employers for a long time. On the other hand, there has been a group of domestic workers who have been abused and taken advantages of by their employers. The majority of these mistreated domestics were woman and child migrant workers who have been abused and harassed, both physically and emotionally.

- **Working hours**

According to the Thai labor law, normal working hour is that “the maximum working hours shall not exceed 8 hours per day and 48 hours per week for any type of work”. However, based on this study, it found that more than half of the respondents had to work more than 12 hours per day. It is obvious that child domestic workers’ working hours are beyond what Thai labour law identified. However, child workers were probably free in the afternoon as many respondents further explained that a lot of tasks have to be done in the morning and evening. From this evidence, it is interesting to note that they can accept their long working hours since they are still free in the afternoon. That’s why many of them had worked for years as domestic workers with their employers.

- **Day off**

The findings of this study indicate that (36 out of 101) a lower member of workers had no day off, while, the majority of the respondents stated that they had 1 day off per week. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that, for those who had no day off;

they were sometimes treated well by their employers, such as being allowed to go to the sea, shopping malls and other places with their employers. It means that child migrant workers have been compensated rather well by their employers. Therefore, many mentioned that they were impressed by employers while working in Thailand.

- **Wages**

Since 2001 the minimum daily wage in Thailand started from 133 Bahts in most provinces and 165 in Bangkok (145-190 in provinces and 209 in Bangkok in 2008). But in general, migrant workers have been paid at a lower rate than Thai workers for the same jobs and positions (Chantavanich et al 2007). In addition, Pearson revealed that the wages that 89% of workers receive is 3,000 Baht or less per month, in which 41% receive 1,000 Baht or less per month.

The findings of this study confirm that more than half respondents (62 %) got paid between 3,500 to 5,000 Baht per month, 30.7 % received less than 3,000 Baht a month, and 5.0% could earn more than 5,000 Baht. Only 2 respondents had not been paid, but their employers bought them what they wanted especially new clothes. Most child migrant workers stayed at the employers' houses where they did not have to pay any single Baht for accommodation and food. However, it is significant to notice that minimum wages remuneration not fully practiced for all, although all migrant workers could receive a remuneration according to the minimum wages as stated in the Thai labour law, a large number of them still received a salary lower than the minimum wage. But we have to bear in mind that most of workers were undocumented and these were not protected according to the labour law

- **Abuse and punishment experiences**

Regarding Thai labor law states on normal working hour that the maximum working hours shall not exceed 8 hours per day and 48 hours per week for any type of work and this labor law prohibits engaging a child less than 15 years of age. Furthermore, an

employer shall not engage a child less than 18 years of age without informing the labor inspector.

Among neighboring countries especially in the Greater Mekong Sub-region countries (GMS), Thailand is still their best choice and ultimate destination for seeking higher income generation rather than other reasons even they are economically exploited by the employers or brokers. They have to work longer than regular hours allowed by law, many of them forced to work overtime with little or without payment. In addition, the Labour Protection Act B.E.2541 Clause No.4 does not protect the rights of domestic servants, causing employers to continuously take advantage of and abuse the rights of their employees (Chatavanich 2007).

In the case of abuses and punishment from this study, 9 were verbally abused and 4 were physically abused, 1 experienced a severe case of abuses and the rest did not experience any verbal or physical abuse. So that the findings confirm that abuse and exploitation experiences were found during this study.

However, until the governments of Lao PDR and Thailand acknowledge domestic work as work and afford it labor protection like formal sectors of work, then Lao domestic workers will not be fully protected by the labor law and will continue to be subject to abuses and exploitations by their employers.

5.2.3 Parental perceptions and attitudes on Child Migration after their Return

Child migrant workers are seen both positive and negative aspects to individual child after their return. The positive aspects are child migrants do not bring back only money but potentially some new skills and knowledge. Most child migrants believed they had learnt something from their experiences in Thailand. On the other hand, the parents see negative impact of child migration on the individual level after their returning back

home such as stigma, and/or negative reputations, especially for girls. In addition, some of child migrants are seen largely as agents for importing a “new culture” in which most parents see contradictions with the local norms.

The findings of this study confirms that remittance is an important factor to improve living status, and one which directly affects household incomes, improves family relationships, supports education for younger family members and pays off debts. However, underneath, parents are still worried of their beloved children working in Thailand. They were concerned that children did not take their job seriously or work hard enough. They were also worried about their child’s consumable habits, in which they may receive contagious disease. In addition, the parents feared that their child might be arrested by the police as they were illegal migrant workers.

5.2.4 Returnees’ living conditions

According to theories of returned migration in chapter II, the return of temporary labor migrants could benefit economic development in their home country (Ruhs, 2005, p.17). Particularly, as Ruhs asserts, the knowledge and skills obtained from their overseas working experience can be transferred and used productively after returning.

According to this study, most child migrant workers remitted back home for parents or spouse to take care of and use for renovating or building houses; releasing debts, purchasing land, electronic appliances, agricultural tools, other household materials; and so on. Regarding knowledge and skills, the largest number, up to 40.6 % of the respondents equipped with work disciplines. 23.9% gained cooking skills, 13.9% received housekeeping lessons and 14% learned other skills.

In contrast, Ghosh (1996, p.109) argues that the use of skills acquired by the migrant workers in the host country back home could be significant, yet it should not be overestimated. Typically temporary labor migrants are employed in low-skilled positions with (relatively) low wages and low status, and are thus socially undesirable positions

(Stahl, 1989, p.175). To illustrate the labor emigration from Bangladesh to the Gulf States, according to Ghosh (1996, p104), only one per cent of the workers held jobs requiring higher skills than they had possessed before departure.

Similarly, findings from the study found that the occupation after returning back to Laos, nearly half of the respondents said that they help parents on rice cultivation, gardening and animal raising, 17 out of 101 run their own business. There are only 6 returnees work as a cook and open up their own restaurants and 2 participants work in foreigner's house as a maid. So only 8 % of child migrant workers who returned back home could find jobs which are relevant to their work experiences and skills gaining from Thailand.

Working as female domestic worker is an area in which the majority of Lao migrant workers are engaged in while working in Thailand, but in turn they would have limited options for employment when they return home later. Although migrant workers may have acquired some new skills, because of limited job opportunities which related to domestic work at home; it is uncertain whether the migrant workers are able to apply their skills for their work in the home community when they return back to Laos. It is possible that the returning migrants may re-migrate to Thailand or go to another country for employment.

5.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations are made from this research finding. These recommendations should be used to guide concerned working groups to develop appropriate ideas, improve information dissemination as well as implementation of activities in Lao PDR and beyond.

1. The most important task is to do awareness raising on prevention of irregular migration of child labour coupled with safe migration awareness should be promoted at the vulnerable community level. This is not to suggest the encouragement of

irregular migration. However, it is important for potential migrant workers to have information for better protection. This implementing strategy should be underlined family, community and educational institutions as the prioritized target groups. International organizations, NGOs and national non-profit associations working in these areas should strongly continue their collaborations and supports for these initiatives

2. To reduce the need for Lao girls (and boys) to migrate for employment and to improve employment prospects for Lao nationals who wish to work abroad, the Education For All (EFA) National Commission and the National Committee For Education Reform are encouraged to implement EFA's National Action Plan to expand access to quality basic education and reduce school dropouts. This involves provision of non-formal education, relevant skills and vocational training for out of school youth as well as improving the technical and vocational training programmes that would give the youth a higher level of technical occupational skills. In addition, the formal education curricula at all levels should address migration issues including the gender differences in migration experiences.
3. To influence the migrant workers to use the authorized channels for migration rather than the irregular path. Therefore, information dissemination about regular migration channels and to communicate the risks involved with irregular migration is necessary and important. The information may be disseminated through media such as radio, television and newspapers and through the Thai media such as radio and television programs if possible. The local authorities such as the chiefs of the districts, heads of villages, and Women Union's representatives of the villages can be key personnel to disseminate information to the potential migrant workers in their communities. The government may try to utilize the migrant networks to assist in the information dissemination.

4. Reintegration programs should be promoted to ensure the reintegration of migrant workers when they return home. Information on local and in-country job opportunities and concerning the business environment and opportunities should be available to help the returnees.

It is hoped that the implementation of these recommendations will help to address some problems and related issues of irregular migration.



ศูนย์วิจัยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A.1

The question guide on child domestic worker

[For returned child migrants]

The interviewees must be under 18 years of age when migrating to Thailand and they must work as domestic workers or house helpers.

Date of interview: _____

=====

Name of

village.....District.....Province.....

I. Individual information of a child.

1. Sex: Female Male
2. Age: years old (now) years old when started working in Thailand
3. Education: Last Completed Grade_____ Drop Out
 Repeated
4. Ethnicity: Lao Soung Lao Theung Lao Loum
5. Number of Household Members: _____
6. Extended Family Nuclear Family Divorced Family
7. Separation Death of _____

II. Information related to factors influencing the decision of child migration from Laos to Thailand

1. Family Occupation: _____
2. Family's main source income: _____ Secondary source of income: _____
3. Daily/Monthly/Annual Household Income: _____ Kips
4. Daily/Monthly/Annual Household Expenses: _____ Kips
5. Family has a debt: Yes No
6. Difficulty in finding a job: Yes No
7. Heard about working in Thailand: Yes No
8. Getting the information from: Friends Cousin Parents Others
9. Supported by someone to go to Thailand: Yes No
If Yes, Who provided support: Brokers or agents Friend Others.....
10. Knew the destination place: Yes No
11. Reasons for going to Thailand: Earnings Curiosity Others.....
12. Going with whom: Friends Alone Brokers or age Others
13. Who influenced your decision making: Friends Alone Parents Others
14. Going to work in Thailand: _____ Year. From _____ To _____
By: Bus Car Others.....
14. Destination: Bangkok province
15. How many days of transportation : days
16. How much for transportation cost.....Kips
17. Who paid for it.....
18. Coming home: _____ Year. From _____ To _____
By: Bus Car Others.....

III. Working conditions of child migration in Thailand

1. Working conditions: Knew fully Knew partially Knew almost nothing
2. You were trained to work: Yes No If Yes, what training _____ and for how long _____ Days
3. You worked: _____ Hours/day
4. Please describe in details of your work: _____

5. You think that working conditions were: Good acceptable not so good bad
6. You contact family: Yes No If yes, how often _____
_____ Through _____
7. You had day off/: Yes No If Yes, _____ hours/days per week and what you did during holidays _____
8. Accommodation: Employer's home Apartment Others
9. You earned: _____ Bath/month
10. You received full salary: Yes No
11. It made your expectation of earnings: Yes No
12. Enough to live in Thailand: Yes No
13. You remitted money: Yes No If yes, How often _____
Amount _____ Bath Through what means _____

14. You were ever punished by employers: Yes No If yes, what types of punishment _____
15. What are good experiences of working in Thailand _____

16. What are bad experiences of working in Thailand _____

17. You accessed to public services, particularly health services: Yes No
If yes, who paid for you _____ If not, Why Not _____

IV. Returnees' Living Conditions

1. How much money you saved when coming home _____ Bahts
2. You satisfied most _____
3. You not satisfied most _____
4. Your life now: Better than before Worse than before
5. Skills or knowledge gained in Thailand: _____
6. Easy to get a job: Yes No
7. Current occupation: _____
8. Will you recommend other people to take up the same job? Yes No



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documentation (why)? How did they go? (Ask for people who helped them to go, e.g, brokers or agents)?

4. Daily/Monthly/Annual Household Income: _____ Kips
5. Daily/Monthly/Annual Household Expenses: _____ Kips
6. Difficulty in finding a job in village or nearby villages : Yes No
7. What are reasons for going to Thailand? Who mad decision for that?

III. Attitudes toward child migration

1. How do you view them after returning? Why?
2. What do you think are the good and bad aspects of migration?
3. What do you feel about remittances?
4. Do you encourage them to re-emigrate or not? If yes, Why? If not, why not?


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APPENDIX A.3

The interview guide on child domestic worker.

[For village head]

I. General information

1. How many people are there in the village? (no. of households, no. of families, ethnic groups in percentage and no. of villages).
2. What are the main occupations?
3. Is it easy to find jobs in communities? If yes, what do they do?
4. How many people are there who go to work in Thailand? (Male and female, young people ages 15-18). Compare the percentage between male and female and find the reason why?
5. Why do young people go to Thailand? Why?
6. How do they go? (Ask for people who help them to go)?
7. What are reasons for going to Thailand?
8. What are the positive and negative impacts on child migrants? What are they? Why?
9. What do you think about working in Thailand? What will you act toward them? Why?
10. How do people in community view them? Why?
11. What is the irregular child migration situation at the moment?
12. What is the strategy of irregular child migration prevention in your village?

APPENDIX A.4

The interview guide on child domestic worker

[For district welfare officials]

I. General information

1. How many people are there in the district? (No. of household, No. of family, ethnic groups in percentage, No. of villages).
2. How many people are there who go to work in Thailand? (Male and female, young people ages 15-18). Compare the percentage between male and female and find the reason why?
3. Why do young people go to Thailand? Why?
4. How do they go? (ask for people who help them to go)
5. What are reasons for going there again? When do they normally go?
6. What is the irregular child migration situation at the moment?
7. Positive and negative impact concerning to child migrants? What are they?
8. What are the long term consequences of child migration? Why? What should be done about negative aspects?
9. What is the strategy of irregular child migration prevention at district level?

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APPENDIX A.5

The interview guide on child domestic worker [For NGOs]

1. Name of organization?
2. What is the scope of your organization?
3. What is your organization work related to child migrant workers?
4. Whose are your working partners?
5. What are achievements and constraints?
6. How do you solve those problems?
7. What are your recommendations or suggestions regarding to child migrant workers?



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APPENDIX B.1

List of returnees (key informants) and Methodology Adopted

No.	Target group	Respondent	Methodology	Tool
Vientiane Capital				
1	Hinlap village, Sangthong district,	7	Interviewed 6 and 1 In-depth interview females who returned from working in Thailand	Questionnaires & questions guide
2	Mai village, Saythany district,	9	Interviewed 8 females and 1 male who used to work in Thailand as domestic worker	Questionnaires
3	Kokhae village, Sangthong district	10	Interviewed 7 females and 3 male who used to work in Thailand as domestic worker	Questionnaire
4	Bor Oh village, Hadxayfong district,	1	Interviewed 1 female who used to work in Thailand as domestic worker	Questionnaire
5	Khouaydaeng village, Hadxayfong district	1	Interviewed 1 female who used to work in Thailand as domestic worker	Questionnaire
6	Hadxaikhao village, Hadxayfong district	1	Interviewed 1 female who used to work in Thailand as domestic worker	Questionnaire
7	Horm village,	1	Interviewed 1 female who	Questionnaire

	Hadxayfong district		used to work in Thailand as domestic worker	
8	Sithantai village, Hadxayfong district	1	Interviewed 1 female who used to work in Thailand as domestic worker	Questionnaire
9	Nongda village, Sikhottabong district	1	Interviewed 1 female who used to work in Thailand as domestic worker	Questionnaire
10	Kaoliew village, Sikhottabong district	1	Interviewed 1 female who used to work in Thailand as domestic worker	Questionnaire
11	Nongpheu village, Sikhottabong district	1	Interviewed 1 female who used to work in Thailand as domestic worker	Questionnaire
Bolikhaxay province				
1	Paktuayneu village, Thaphabat district	4	Interviewed 4 females who used to work in Thailand as domestic worker	Questionnaire
2	Namloh village, Thaphabat district	4	Interviewed 4 females who used to work in Thailand as domestic worker	Questionnaire
3	Veunthat village, Thaphabat district	12	Interviewed 11 and 1 In-depth interview females who returned from working in Thailand	Questionnaires & questions guide
4	Phonesavanh village, Thaphabat district	13	Interviewed 12 and 1 In-depth interview females who returned from working in Thailand	Questionnaires & questions guide

Savannakhet province				
1	Muangkhay village, Sayphouthong district	15	Interviewed 15 females who returned from working in Thailand	Questionnaires
2	Phoumajady village, Sayphouthong district	10	Interviewed 9 and 1 In-depth interview females who returned from working in Thailand	Questionnaires & questions guide
3	Naphane village, Sayphouthong district	9	Interviewed 9 females who returned from working in Thailand	Questionnaires
	Total	101		

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APPENDIX B.2

List of concerned authorities and Methodology Adopted

No.	Target group	Respondent	Methodology	Tool
1	Hinlap village authorities Sangthong district,	8	1 Focus Group Discussion (village head men, LYU, LWU, LFNC, LSW, village Security. 1In-depth interview father	Interview guide
2	Kokhae village headman, Sangthong district,	1	Interviewed village headman	Interview guide
3	Mai village authorities Saythany district,	4	Interviewed village head men, LYU, village Security	Interview guide
4	Paktuayneu village authorities, Thaphabat district,	4	Interviewed village head men, LYU, village Security	Interview guide
5	Veunthat village headman and parents Thaphabat district,	3	Interviewed village headman and in-depth interview parents	Interview guide
6	Parents of returnee at Phonesavanh village, Thaphabat district,	2	In-depth interview parents and observation household	Interview guide
7	Muangkhay village headman, Sayphouthong dist	1	Interviewed 15 females who returned from working in Thailand	Interview guide

8	Phoumajady village authorities, Sayphouthong district	6	1 Focus Group Discussion (village head men, LYU, LWU, LFNC, LSW, village Security. 1In-depth interview parents	Interview guide
9	Districts officials of social welfare	3	Interview 3 districts on social welfare namely Sangthing, Thaphabat and Sayphouthong	Interview guide
10	INGOs in Laos	5	Church World Service, Friend International, Norwegian Church Aid, Save the Children Norway and World Vision	Interview guide
11	UN Agencies	2	ILO-IPEC and UNIAP	Interview guide
	Total	39		

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BIOGRAPHY

Syvongsay Changpitikoun was born in Oudomxay province, Lao PDR in 1975. He received Bachelor Degree of Education Science in National University of Laos, Vientiane, Lao PDR in 1998. He worked for Save the Children UK (SCUK) and Association for Aid and Relief Japan (AAR) in the field of Community Development and Emergency and Relief. Lately, he worked for the Save the Children Norway (SCN) in a field of Child Rights and Educational Development in the Lao PDR as a Programme Coordinator before receiving the fellowship of Weaving the Mekong into Southeast Asian Studies Programme, granted by the Rockefeller Foundation. He is now working toward to M.A in Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand. His research area is the Child Migration from Laos to Thailand and the research was conducted in Sangthong District of Vientiane Capital, Thaphabat District of Bolikhamxay Province, and Xayphouthong of Savannakhet Province in Lao PDR.



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