



Female International Labour Migration from Southern Thailand

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GLOSSARY

ARCM	The Asian Research Center for Migration
C.I.	Certificates of Identity
DES	The Department of Employment Services
Dokumen kenudahan Laluan	Regular traveler
OCWs	Overseas Contract Workers
OEAO	The Overseas Employment Administration Office
SBPAC	The Southern Border Provinces Administration Center
Nai Jang	Employer
Tua Tan Nai Jang	Middleman

ABSTRACT

The chief objectives of this study, are to: 1) indicate the scale and composition of female international migration in the four southern border provinces of Thailand; 2) explore the causes of this movement and the extent to which existing migration theory is appropriate in understanding Southern Thai international migration; 3) study the main impacts of international labour migration on the women involved and their home communities; 4) draw out the policy implications for the welfare of migrants and for economic development and social change in these provinces of Thailand.

Data in this study are obtained from secondary sources and from primary data collection using qualitative as well as quantitative approaches. A field study was conducted between November 1999 and June 2000 in the four southern border provinces of Thailand: Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun.

This study finds that a significant number of women move on a temporary basis from Southern Thailand to work in Malaysia. These include seasonal, circular and commuting labour migrants. They are generally unskilled labourers and mainly move on an undocumented basis and work in service, agriculture and factories as well as in small scale trade.

The limited availability of work in the home villages and the insufficiency of income of households are major factors causing outmovement. However the specific causes of migration between female and male migrants are different. In addition the reasons for migrating among single and married female migrants are different as a result of their different roles and statuses in the family. Female migrant workers here use long-

standing social networks which facilitate their migration for work because they benefit from the close proximity and language which they share with the destination.

The impacts of international labour migration on female migrants and their communities are generally positive from an economic perspective, but negative from a social viewpoint. Migration improves the economic status of female migrants and their families. However, this is not the case in relation to their social status in the family and in their community. The economic conditions of communities have been improved from the remittances which women bring back from overseas, but the migration of the female migrants also creates social problems.

Although the money brought back by female migrant workers in this area is not very large when compared with the remittances from female migrants in other regions of Thailand, the Government should be supportive of the migration of female migrants in this area.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that none of the material contained in this thesis has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis. I consent to this thesis being made available for photocopying and loan, if applicable, and it is accepted for the award of the degree.

Nisakorn Klanarong

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The last two decades in the Asia region have seen an increase in the scale and significance of female migration (United Nations Secretariat, 1995; Abella, 1995; Hugo, 1997, 1998a). The numbers of female overseas migrant workers now outnumber men in some countries of Southeast Asia (United Nations, 1995; Hugo, 1998b). The increasing volume of female international labour migrants is sometimes referred to as a “feminization” of this movement and women are more concentrated in a narrower range of types of employment than men (Abella, 1995; Lim and Oishi, 1996; Hugo, 1998b; Oishi, 2002). These occupations include domestic workers, entertainers, sex workers, factory workers, teachers and nurses. Importantly, illegal or undocumented workers outnumber legal workers, especially among females in many flows (Hugo, 1998a) and these have increased over recent decades.

There is evidence of considerable exploitation in both sending and receiving countries in Asia of female workers who go to work overseas (Cheng, 1996; Okunishi, 1996). These problems are very important and point to the need for direct government intervention and the development of policies specifically for female migrants. However, research in the region is insufficient to provide enough information about female international labour migration to comprehensively inform policy makers. Migration studies in the region still tend to largely ignore the gender dimension, and this is especially the case in Thailand. Here, most previous studies (for example, Pongsapich,

1988; Tingsabath, 1994; Punpuing and Archavanitkul, 1996; Warm Singh, 1998) lack a focus on the particular issues and problems of female migrants. Female migration should be investigated separately from that of men (Hugo, 1998a) using a gender based model (Riley and Gardner, 1993; Grieco and Boyd, 1998). Furthermore, most migration studies have focused on the North and Northeast regions of Thailand (Pitayanon, 1983, 1986; Singhanetra-Renard, 1983, 1988; Tosurat *et al.*, 1987; Poapongsakorn and Sangthanapark, 1988; Rigg, 1989; Warm Singh, 1998; Sobieszczyk, 2000, 2002) and do not provide information about the whole picture of female international labour migration across Thailand. Hence, this study involves an examination of the pattern, causes and consequences of female international labour migration out of the Southern region of Thailand. While the four southern provinces do not present a situation which is typical for Thailand, they offer a case study which will contribute significantly to an understanding of female migration patterns in these areas and add to the whole picture of international labour migration in Thailand.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The questions to be specifically investigated in this study are the following:

- Approximately how many female Thais currently work abroad and how have the numbers changed over the last two decades?
- What are the characteristics of the female migrant workers in the four southern border provinces, and how is migration selective of a particular group of women?
- What are the reasons for the movement of females in this area of Thailand?
- How are these causes different to those of male migrants?

- How does the migration process impact upon the roles and empowerment of these women?
- What are the most significant impacts in the home community of the out movement of female overseas workers?
- How do Thai government policies influence female international labour migration in the case study area?
- How could policy be changed to maximise the benefits of migration to the women involved and minimise the costs?

Considering the research questions above, the chief objectives of this research are to:

1. indicate the scale and composition of female international migration in the four southern border provinces of Thailand;
2. explore the causes of this movement and the extent to which existing migration theory is appropriate;
3. study the main impacts of international labour migration on the women involved and their home communities;
4. draw out the policy implications for the welfare of migrants and for economic development and social change in these provinces of Thailand.

1.3 Migration in Thailand

Transnational migration in Asia has been well documented since the 1970s. (Archavanitkul and Guest, 1999). While in the 1970s and 1980s much of the movement of labour was from Asia to other regions, the main destinations were the Middle East,

North America and Australia (Castles and Miller, 1998). Other Asian destinations have increased in significance in recent years. The largest of those are the flow of migrants from Southeast Asia into Australia, Japan, and both East Asian NICs (Hong Kong, Korea, and Taiwan) and Southeast Asian NICs (Singapore and Malaysia) (Massey *et al.*, 1998, Castles and Miller, 1998; Archavanitkul and Guest, 1999). As Massey *et al.* (1998, p.166) point, “The largest single flow in the (Asian) system occurs within South-East Asia, however: between the origin countries of Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines and the destination countries of Malaysia and Singapore”.

Thailand, however, while sending their workers to work in other countries, also has a significant number of immigrants from other countries who seek employment in Thailand (Chantavanich and Germershausen, 2000). Thailand’s economy boomed from the 1970s to the 1990s and it attracted migrant workers seeking jobs in Thailand (Chantavanich and Bunnag, 1997). The largest group of labour immigrants was low-skilled workers from neighbouring countries – Myanmar, Laos and Cambodia (Chantavanich and Bunnag, 1997; Stern, 1998) and also from mainland China and South Asia (Bangladesh, Pakistan, etc.) (Stern, 1996). There were both legal and illegal migrant workers who came into Thailand, however the numbers of illegal migrants were much higher than the legal ones. The numbers of illegal unskilled foreign workers in Thailand increased every year over this period. In 1996, there were at least 700,000 foreign illegal labour migrants in Thailand (Chantavanich and Bunnag, 1997). In 1997, Archavanitkul, Jarusomboon and Warangrat (1997) estimated that Thailand had at least 970,000 illegal labour migrants from Burma, Laos and Cambodia. According to the data of the Labour and Social Welfare Ministry at January 31, 1999, there were 90,911 fully registered

foreign workers in Thailand. However, unregistered workers were estimated to be much higher, with the Burmese alone believed to be 1 million (Tansubhapol, 1999). The main occupations that migrant workers were employed in were fisheries, construction work, and seasonal agricultural labour. In “the fisheries industry, both work on boats and land-based activities such as dock work and canning, relies heavily on Burmese migrants” (Stern, 1996, p.101). Some of the illegal labour migrants also work in warehouses, small factories, and restaurants/bars while migrant women are engaged in domestic work and commercial sex work (Stern, 1996).

Table 1.1 Numbers of Foreign Workers in Thailand, By Nationality and Sex, 1997

Nationality	Male	Female	Total
Burmese	200,122	85,371	285,493 (87.0%)
Laotian	8,258	4,311	12,570 (3.8%)
Cambodian	25,128	4,931	30,059 (9.2%)
Total	233,509 (71.2%)	94,613 (28.8%)	328,122(100%)

Source: Chantavanich and Bunnag, 1997, p.111

Data from the Thai Immigration Office (Table 1.1) show that male migrant workers outnumber their female counterparts (71.2 % and 28.8 % respectively) (Chantavanich and Bunnag, 1997). Female foreign workers in Thailand are mostly engaged in entertainment and the commercial sex trade (Beesey, 2001) and by their nature it is difficult to measure the accurate numbers. As Stern (1996, p.101) points out,

In part, this is due to the indirect nature of the work. While some women stay in brothels intended solely for providing sex, many others work as servers or bar girls, allowing them to make arrangements for sexual services by directly negotiating with customers in their establishments.

The major sources of those female migrants are from Burma, particularly Shan and Tai Leu from the southern areas of Shan State, Lao, China (from Yunan province) and Cambodia (Stern, 1998, Beese, 2001). It is estimated that there were at least 60, 000 foreign women and girls in the sex trade in Thailand (Stern, 1998).

While there is an influx of unskilled labour from neighbouring countries into Thailand, unemployment of Thai citizens occurs. Crispin (2000) reported that the Labour Ministry estimates that there are nearly 1.4 million unemployed workers in the country, or 4.2 % of the workforce. However, the Thai Farmers Bank Research Centre point out there are about a million more unemployed persons that are not included in the official data (Crispin, 2000).

In the 1970s and 1980s thousands of Thais sought employment abroad, often in the Middle East as contract labour in the construction sector (Stern, 1998). The main destinations were Saudi Arabia and Libya (Tingsabhadh, 1994). The research regarding Thai migrant workers working in Middle East has mostly focused on Thai male migrant workers from the northern and northeastern regions (Sumalee and Chancharoen, 1982; Roongshivin, 1982; Pongsapich, 1991; Singhanetra-Renard, 1992; Tingsabhadh, 1994; Warmsingh, 1998). However by the mid-1990s, Thai labour migration shifted away from the Middle East to East Asia and Southeast as shown in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Number of Thai Workers Overseas by Destination in Selected Years

Destination	1980	1995	1999
Group 1: "Old" destinations: Middle East countries			
Saudi Arabia	9,948	2,905	1,392
Qatar	1,017	1,761	827
Libya	6,497	1,639	1,436
Kuwait	958	978	917
United Arab Emirates	757	1,470	1,559
Bahrain	306	345	361
Other Middle East countries	1,207	482	342
Total Group 1	20,690	9,580	6,834
Percentage	99.1%	4.7%	3.4%
Group 2: "New" destinations: Israel, East Asia, and Southeast Asia			
Israel		10,407	11,940
Taiwan		120,360	115,096
Singapore	191	15,624	24,526
Brunei		17,292	7,657
Japan		8,303	5,278
Malaysia		11,830	17,716
Hong Kong		5,861	4,339
Other East and Southeast Asian Countries	0	1,511	4,496
Total Group 2	191	191,188	191,048
Percentage	0.9%	94.5%	94.4%
Group 3: Other Countries			
Other Countries	0	1,528	4,059
Total Group 3	0	1,528	4,059
Percentage	0.0%	0.8%	2%
Total	20,881	202,296	202,416

Sources: Modified from Chantavanich and Germershausen (2000, p.9) and calculated from unpublished data provided by the OEAO

The proportion of female migrant workers has been increasing since 1990 (Tingsabath, 1994; Angsuthanasombat, 2001). "With the new destinations in Asia, new demands may be introduced, especially in the categories of domestic help and

entertainers, who mostly constitute female workers” (Tingsabadh, 1994, p.268). Between 1993 and 2001 studies on international labour migration of Thai migrants mostly highlighted working in East and Southeast Asian countries and some of them focused on Thai female migrant workers in particular (Angsuthanasombat, 1999, 2001; Chantavanich, Germershausen and Beesey, 2000; Sobieszczyk, 2000, 2001; Chantavanich *et al.*, 2001). However, most of those studies were conducted in the northern and northeastern regions of Thailand.

The data of the Overseas Employment Administration Office (OEAO), Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare did lead some researchers (Warm Singh, 1998; Angsuthanasombat, 2001) to omit the southern region in their studies. For example, Angsuthanasombat (2001) stated that her decisions about selecting research sites were initially based on Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare statistics. Six provinces were selected to be studied, three from the Northeast, Nongboulumpu, Nakhonratchasima, and Chaiyapoum; two from the Northern region, Chiang Rai and Payao; and Bangkok. Female migrant workers from the southern region were excluded. If data on the number of female workers working overseas from the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare are examined there are indeed very few female migrants from the southern region when compared to other regions of Thailand. However, there are a large numbers of migrant workers from the southern part of Thailand who migrate to work overseas. Instead of migrating to work in Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong like their counterparts from other parts of Thailand, these migrants mostly migrate illegally to work in Malaysia and hence data on them are not included in the records of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

The Asian Research Center for Migration (ARCM) undertook a collaborative project that studied Thais in six destination countries, namely Singapore, Brunei, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan (ARCM, 2000). Malaysia, the main destination of migrant workers from the South of Thailand, however, was not included in this study. Thus, previous studies do not indicate the total picture of international migration of Thailand, especially neglecting female international labour migrant workers from the four southern border provinces of Thailand.

1.4 The study area

It is necessary to briefly describe the site, features, economic situation and social characteristics of people in the four southern border provinces study area. This is to provide a background to the area and an understanding of the economic situation and socio-cultural characteristics that influence female migration to work in other countries.

1.4.1 Location

This study is based predominantly on a detailed investigation of southern Thailand conducted in four provinces, Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun that are located in the lower southern part of Thailand (Figure 1.1). Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat are located on east coast of the Malay Peninsula and Satun is located on the western side of the Peninsula. The Southern border provinces share a border with the four northern states of Malaysia namely, Perlis, Kedah, Perak and Kelantan (see Figure 1.1). The four provinces are more than 1,000 kilometres from Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, while adjoining the Peninsular Malaysia border (as shown in Table 1.3).

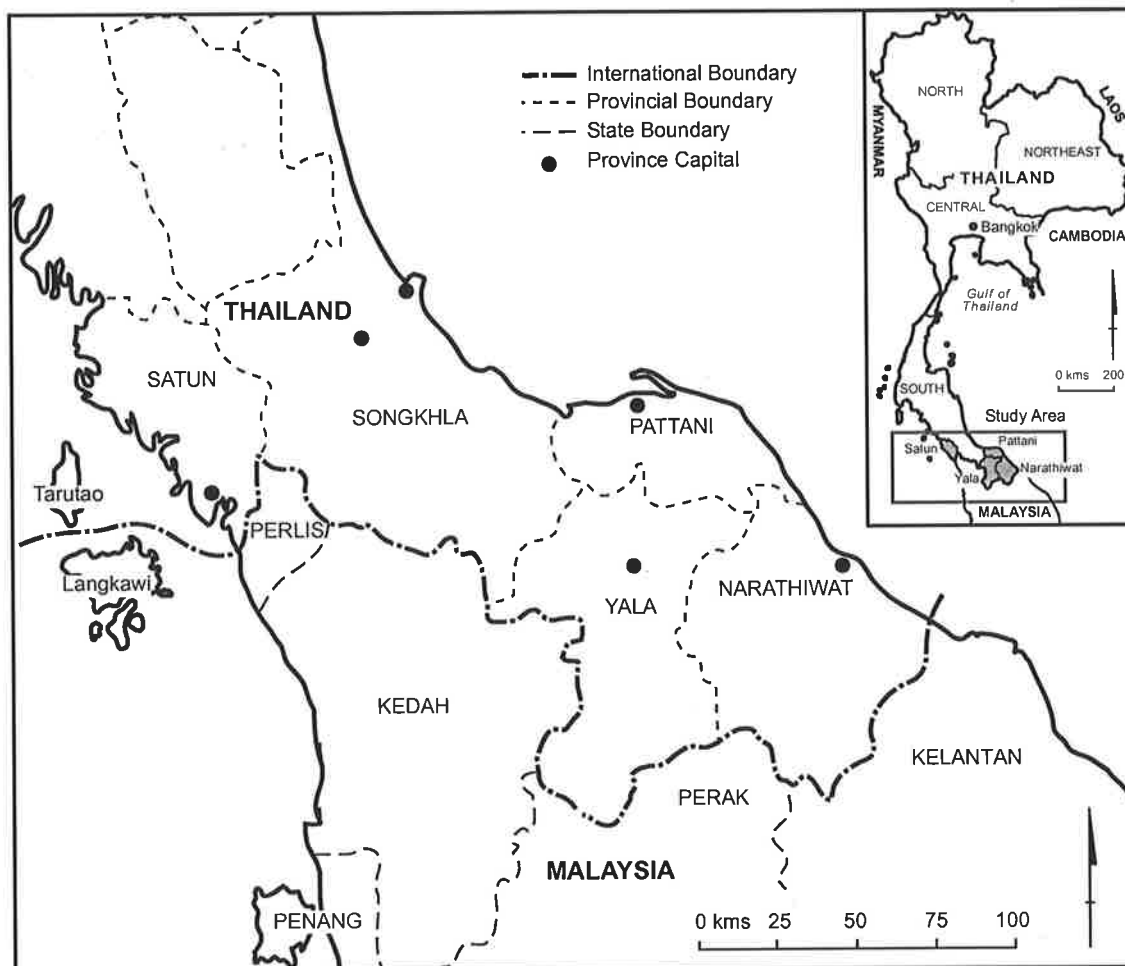


Figure 1.1 Location of the Four Southern Border Provinces, Thailand

Table 1.3 The Distance from Bangkok to the Southern Border Provinces

Distance from	To Bangkok		To a border district (km.)
	by car (km.)	by train (km.)	
Pattani	1,100	1,100	*
Yala	1,084	1,039	Betong district 120
Narathiwat	1,149	1,116	Sungai Kolok 66
Satun	973	Do not have train	Kuan Don 36

Sources: Cultural Council of Satun, 1999; Province Office of Narathiwat, 2000; Province Office of Pattani, 2000; Province Office of Yala, 2000.

*Pattani is the only province in the study area that does not have a land border with Malaysia

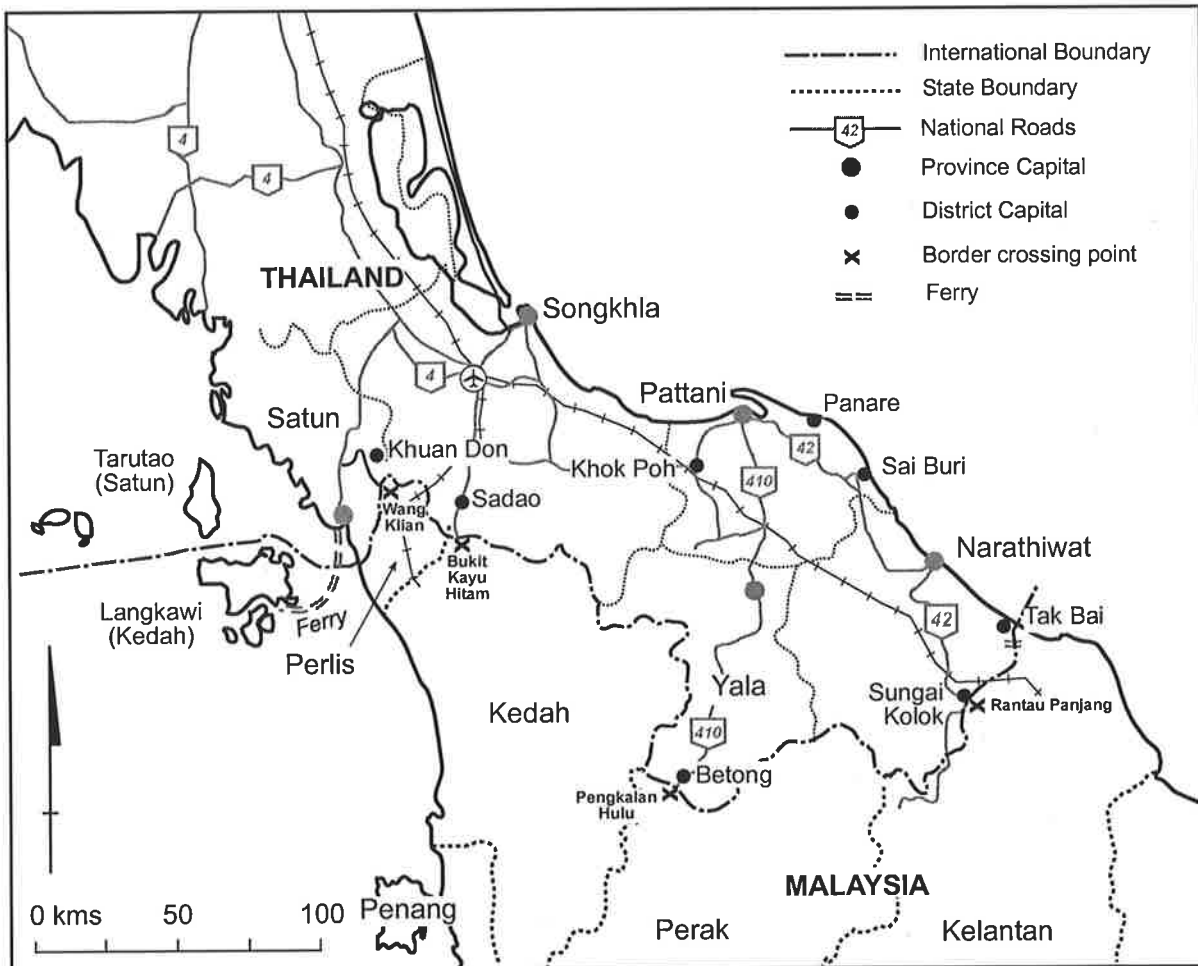


Figure 1.2 The International Highway, Railway, International Airport and Ferry from Southern Thailand to Malaysia

Clearly, traveling from the southern border provinces of Thailand to Malaysia is more convenient than traveling to Bangkok. People can travel by road, railway, air and sea (Figure 1.2). By road, there are four highways that go to Malaysia. From Pattani it is possible to go to Malaysia via Narathiwat, Yala, Songkla and Satun by:

- Highway route 42 from Narathiwat which leads to Amphoe Sungai Kolok crossing to Malaysia at Rantau Panjang border crossing, Kelantan.

- Highway route 4 from Amphoe Sadao, Songkla province crossing to Malaysia at Bukit Kayu Hitam border crossing, Kedah.
- Highway route 410 from Yala to Amphoe Betong crossing to Malaysia at Pengkalan Hulu border crossing, Perak.
- Highway route 4184 (Khaun Satao-Wang Prajan) from Khuan Don district, Satun province to the border at Ban Wang Pra Chan crossing to Malaysia at Wang Klian border crossing, Perlis.

By rail it is almost as easy and as cheap. From Had Yai Junction railway station, people in the area can travel to Malaysia by train on two routes. The first one goes from Had Yai to Padang Besar, Amphoe Sadao, Songkhla then to Perlis, Kedah and Perak on Malaysia West Coast. The second one travels from Had Yai down south to Pattani in Amphoe Khok Pho, passes Yala and ends at Amphoe Sungai Kolok, Narathiwat. From Sungai Kolok it crosses into Malaysia to Kelantan and Pahang on the East Coast. From Negeri Sembilan the later line separates into two routes, one goes to Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, the other to Johor Bahru, Johor, then ends in Singapore. By sea, also the journey is not a difficult one. There are regular ferry services between Satun and Langkawi Island, Kedah State, and between Narathiwat and Kelantan State.

Consequently the location of southern border provinces close to Malaysia and the ready availability of transport facilities make it easy and convenient for people to migrate to work in Malaysia. The bulk of these people who cross the border do so illegally, and this does not create insurmountable difficulties. Illegal migrants usually cross the Sungai Kolok River (Stern and Crissman, 1998) which runs through three districts of Narathiwat (Tak Bai, Sungai Kolok and Waeng) along the border with Malaysia. People use boats to

cross the Sungai Kolok River (see Figure 1.3) at several points along the river. By sea they go mainly from Satun to the state of Perlis and Langkawi Island, Kedah, by using fishing boats.



Figure 1.3 Crossing the Border along Sungai Kolok River in Narathiwat

They also cross by land by climbing the wall that the Malaysian government has built along the border to protect against smuggling goods and people (Stern and Crissman, 1998) by digging a hole under it, or by walking across the forest at night to Malaysia. It is also easy for workers from Indonesia to cross the border into Malaysia illegally by sea. There are two major routes: East Java- North- East Sumatra to Peninsular Malaysia and Flores-South Sulawesi to Sabah (Hugo, 1992, 1995). Thus, it is easy for people in these four provinces to cross the border to Malaysia, legally and illegally. Indeed it is often more feasible than trying to get work in the metropolis of Thailand.

1.4.2 The Physical Features of the Study Area

The geographical features of this region contribute to the difficulties experienced by the people in their occupations. This region comprises mountains, hills, and inland plains as well as the fertile coastal plains (Figure 1.4). The majority of the terrain in Pattani is inland plain especially in the centre and south of the province. There are two main rivers in Pattani, the Pattani River and the Sai Buri River, which support a limited amount of agriculture along their border. The Pattani River originates from the San Kala Khiri Range in Amphoe Betong, Yala, and flows through the central part and out to the sea at Amphoe Muang, Pattani. The Sai Buri River springs from the San Kala Khiri Range in Amphoe Waeng, Narathiwat. The river flows through Narathiwat and Yala provinces then to the Gulf of Thailand at Amphoe Sai Buri, Pattani. In the north and east of the province there is a long beach, about 116.40 kilometres from the north of Amphoe Muang, Panare, Sai Buri and Mai Ken (Tourism Authority of Thailand) and a coastal plain with a width of 10 to 30 kilometres (Pattani Province Office, 1994). This plain provides restricted opportunity for farming because of a lack of irrigation facilities. The

western part of the province is occupied by forests. There are also a few mountains in Amphoe Koh Pho, which are part of the San Kala Khiri Range, preventing sustainable farming.

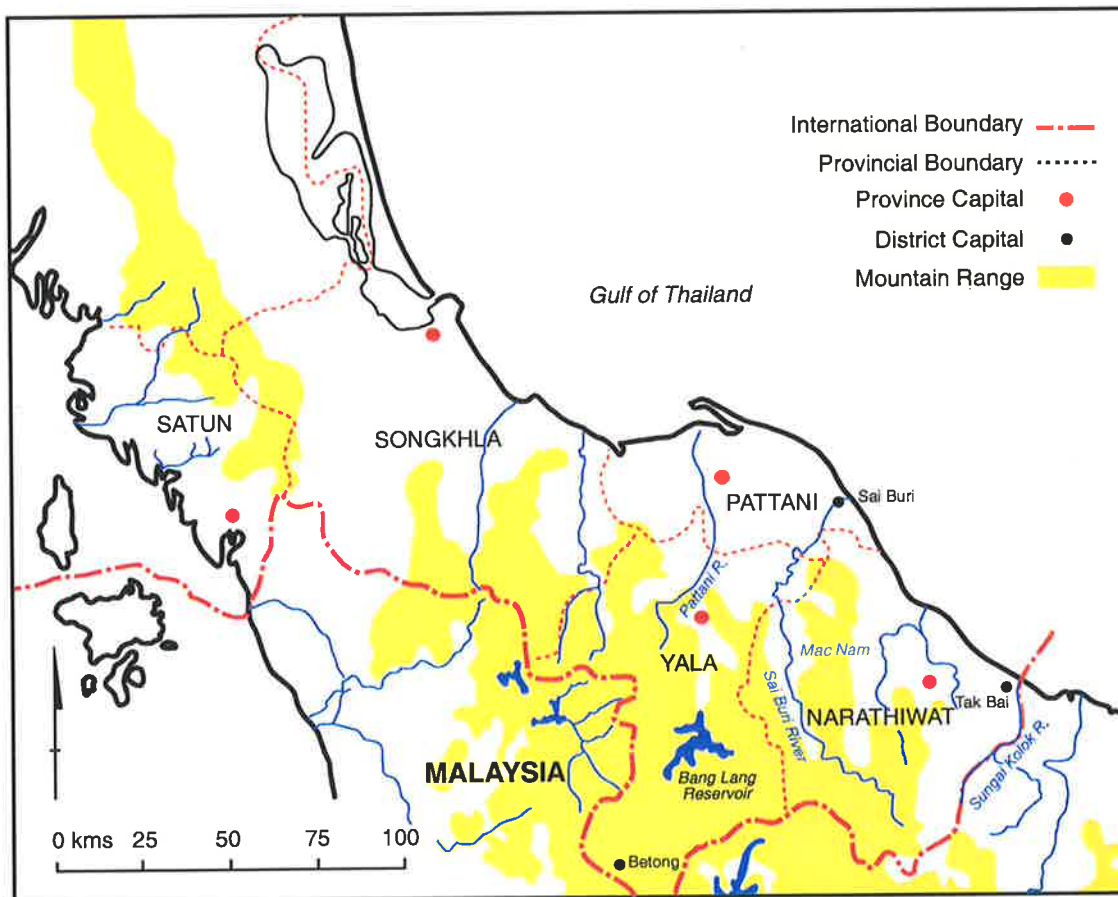


Figure 1.4 Physical Features of the Study Area

The terrain of Yala is mainly mountainous, hills and valleys from the centre to the south of the province. The important mountain is San Kala Khiri, which acts as a border between Thailand and Malaysia. Evergreen forests and rubber cover the majority of the area. Mountainous and hilly land are unsuitable for rice cultivation, so the land is used for

rubber plantations in Betong district and small rubber gardens in other parts. There is an inland plain in the north of the province on the banks of the Pattani River and the Sai Buri River that flow through Yala province. Yala is the only province in this region that does not adjoin to the sea (Yala Province Office, 2000) so the economy of Yala is mainly dependent on rubber.

Two thirds of the area of Narathiwat is made up of forests and mountains. Mountains are concentrated on the west side of the province. There is an extensive coastal plain along the gulf of Thailand in Amphoe Muang and Amphoe Tak Bai and an inland plain along the main four rivers, Sai Buri, Bang Nara, Tak Bai and Sungai Kolok. The Sungai Kolok River is a natural border between Thailand and Malaysia for about 30 kilometres (Narathiwat Province Office, 2000).

Satun's features are similar to Narathiwat and Yala. About 40 percent of the province is mountain (Rithapirom, 1990). There is the Nakorn Sithammarat Range between Satun and Songkhla provinces in the north of the province and the San Kala Khiri Range that is the natural border between Satun and Malaysia in the eastern part of the province. In Satun there is no river to support agriculture and the central feature is an inland plain with only short canals. On the western and southern part of the province are coastal and mangrove forests. The only agricultural produce is rubber and palm oil (Satun Province Office, 2000).

Thus, while the southern provinces are considered to possess the richness of natural resources (mountains, rivers and coasts), this region has continued to have economic problems. People in the rural areas in the region have great difficulty in obtaining a sustainable livelihood from agriculture.

1.4.3 The Economic Situation of the Study Area

Despite the apparent possibilities of this area, the agricultural sector has experienced serious problems. Like other parts of Thailand, the population in the four southern border provinces is mostly engaged in agriculture (Guest and Uden, 1994, Lanui, Chema and Lanui, 1997). The main occupations of people in this area are rice cultivation, working on rubber plantations, growing coconuts, fruits, fishing and cultivating aquatic animals (Satun Provincial Office, 2000; Narathiwat Provincial Office, 2000; Yala Provincial Office, 2000; Pattani Provincial Office, 2001). Service sector and trade employment are significant in the towns of the provinces and districts (Tugby and Tugby, 1973). Work as hired labour is also significant in the area.

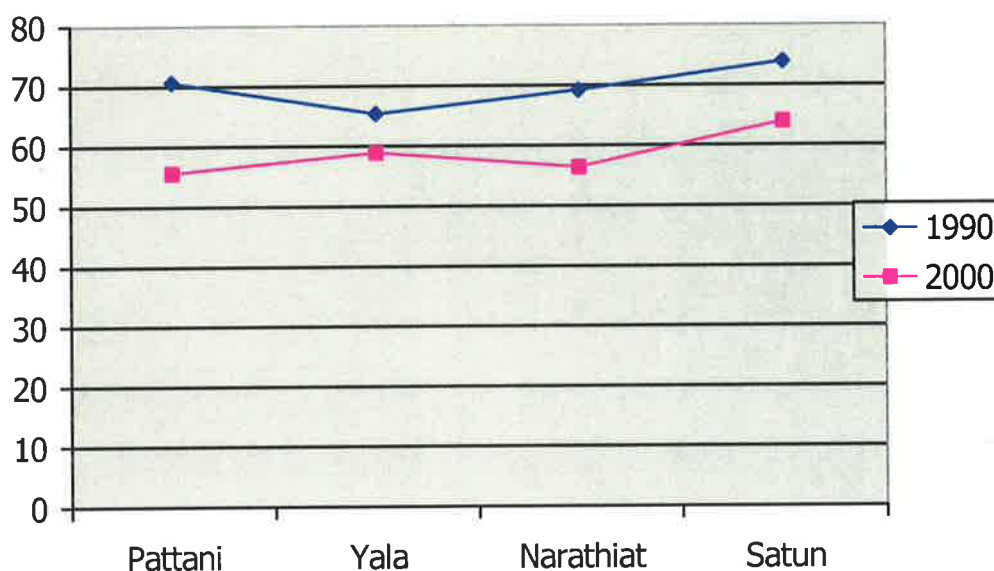


Figure 1.5 Percent of the Population Working in the Agricultural Sector in Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun, Census Years 1990 and 2000

In Figure 1.5, data from National Statistical Office, 1990 show that the percentage of the workforce working in the agricultural sector in Satun, Pattani, Narathiwat and Yala

were 73.7, 70.7, 69.2 and 65.4 respectively. The percent of population employed in that sector however decreased in 2000 compared to 1990. In Satun the percent dropped to 63.9, 55.5, 56.3 and 58.8 in Narathiwat and Yala, respectively. The drop in the percentage of population in the agricultural sector has been caused by the difficulty in maintaining livelihood by depending on agricultural production alone. Alternative job opportunities for unskilled and lower skilled labour in rural areas are very limited locally. This is the case not only in the southern region but also in other regions of Thailand (Ratanakomut, 2000). Rural agricultural households in the four southern border provinces are faced with problems relating to small land holdings, low efficiency in production, and high underemployment and unemployment. To make a living, a member(s) of the household has had to migrate to work as a hired labour in outside communities and also in other countries (Wittayapreechakul, 1990). This situation is confirmed by the data of the National Statistical Office (2000). As shown in Table 1.4, the percent of the population who were own account workers and unpaid family workers decreased between census Year 1990 and Year 2000, while, the percent of employees increased during this ten year period.

An investigation into the employment and unemployment situation in the Muslim communities of the southern border provinces by Lanui, Chema and Lanui (1997) found that most households in this region were agricultural and the level of employment was low. The households lacked many of the factors needed for agricultural production such as low skill levels, poor soils, lack of water, lack of access to inputs and cultural restrictions.

Table 1.4 Work Status of Population Aged 15 years and Over during Last Year, Census Years 1990 and 2000

Work status (%)	Pattani		Yala		Narathiwat		Satun	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
Employers	0.8	1.5	1.2	1.5	0.6	1.4	0.8	1.7
Own account workers	38.4	35.6	35.1	32.7	37.5	37.3	34.8	32.3
Employees	25.1	36.9	29.8	38.7	25.6	36.5	32.6	45.3
Unpaid family workers	35.7	25.9	33.9	26.7	36.3	24.7	31.8	20.3
Members of producers' cooperatives	-	0.1	-	0.4	-	0.1	-	0.4

Source: National Statistical Office, 2000

Among those who were employed, there was underemployment, and seasonal unemployment. Hence most Muslim villagers worked outside their communities or in other countries.

The studies of Thaweessit (1986) and Wittayapreechakul (1990) found that there was a high degree of labour mobility in the rural Muslim area of Pattani province especially migration to work in Malaysia. Wittayapreechakul found that the funds earned from labour circulation to Malaysia were important to the livelihood of labour migrants because they were mostly used for basic necessities. She concluded, "without this income, the labor circulators would face problems in making a living" (Wittayapreechakul, 1990, p. x).

1.4.4 The Social Context of the Study Area

The social context of the area indicates that the people have more in common with their neighbours in Malaysia, than with many others in Thailand. The four southern

border provinces have special characteristics that differentiate them from other provinces of Thailand. First of all, as Guest and Uden (1994:3) state,

Although 95 percent of the population of Thailand are Buddhist, in the Southern region of the country Muslims comprise almost 30 percent of (the) population. These two groups differ in terms of religion, geographical origins, participation in economic and political life and, in some cases, language.

Although there are also significant Muslim communities in Bangkok and in parts of the Central region, the Muslims in Bangkok and Central Thailand are different from the Southern Muslims. The first two groups speak Central Thai, they live in urban areas, are involved in trade and they originally came from South Asia and the Middle East (Guest and Uden, 1994). Those in the south speak, however, Malay and are rural based. The southern provinces Muslims are a minority in Thailand, but in the four southern border provinces they are a majority group. Of the people who live in the four study provinces, between 76 and 82 percent of residents are Muslim (see Table 1.5).

Table 1.5 Population and Religion of the Southern Border Provinces

Provinces	Population			Religion
	Female	Male	Total	
Pattani	310,679 *31 March 2000	302,673	613,352	Islam 80 % Buddhism, Christianity and other 20%
Yala	215,931 *September 1999	218,289	434,220	Islam 63% Buddhism 36% Other 1%
Narathiwat	335,922 *December 1999	333,939	669,861	Islam 82% Buddhism 17% Christianity and other 1%
Satun	129,768 * December 1999	130,277	260,525	Islam 76% Buddhism 23% Other 1%

Source: Pattani Provincial Statistical Office, 2001; Narathiwat Province Office, 2000; Yala Province Office, 2000; Satun Province Office, 2000.

Islam is “the code of life” for Muslims and it links the southern province Muslims to Muslims in Malaysia. It leads the way of life, and people in the region are strict in the practice of their religion. Muslims, especially males, will go to the Mosque every Friday to pray. Basically, Muslims will pray 5 times a day, fast for 1 month during *Ramadan* and do a Haj (pilgrim to Mecca) one time in their lives. The dress code in the region follows the rule of religion: males have to cover their bodies from waist to knee and salong or trousers are favoured by them. By the rule of religion, females are only allowed to expose their faces, hands and feet. Thus females generally wear a salong or long skirt, long sleeved shirt and have a scarf or piece of cloth to cover their heads. Male Thai Muslims are considered the households’ breadwinners. Working outside the house for income is not the main role of women in Thai Muslim communities. In cases where the income of the husband is not enough for the family, or where the husband is sick or dead, women can then work to support the family. Even so, the most important roles of women are in the house to take care of their husband and children (Baka and Madaehoh, 1986, p. 23).

Not only through religion, but also through their language the southern border province people often relate closely to Malaysians. In daily life people in Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat use a Malay dialect (in this region called “Yawi”) to communicate rather than use Thai. Moreover some of them cannot even speak Thai. Table 1.6 shows that 80 percent of people in Narathiwat speak Malay, and so do 76 and 66 percent in Pattani and Yala respectively. Those people can communicate readily with people in Malaysia since the Malay dialect used in Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat is the same dialect that is used in Kedah and Kelantan State, Malaysia (and similar to the Malaysian national standard language that is used elsewhere in Malaysia). Satun differs from these provinces in that

the majority of the people speak Thai. Only 9.9 percent of people there speak Malay (Table 1.6). In Satun, people who speak Malay live in some sub-districts of Muang district (namely, Je Bilang, Ma Lang, Pu Yu, and Ban Kuan) and some villages in the Cha Lung sub-district bordering the state of Kedah. They speak the Malay dialect like people in Kedah and Perlis (Cultural Council of Satun, 1999).

Table 1.6 Percent of People Who Speak Malay in the Study Area, 2000

	Pattani	Yala	Narathiwat	Satun
Population speaking Malay (%)	76.6	66.1	80.4	9.9

Source: National Statistical Office, 2000

Since most of the people in the southern border provinces communicate daily by using Malay, they give less importance to the Thai language or even to study in a formal Thai school. Since "... in the old days villagers did not have any opportunity to learn Thai; there were schools only in towns. Primary schooling in the countryside only began some 25 years ago" (Madakakul, 1987, p.75). At that time, the methods of teaching Thai and the curriculum were not consistent with many Muslim customs. Thus, Muslims did not allow their children to go to a government school (Madakakul, 1987). Muslim parents attempted to avoid sending their children to government schools by sending them to live with relatives in other provinces or in Malaysia. In some cases particularly for daughters, parents will arrange a marriage to avoid it (Uthaipan, 1989). Thus the percent of Muslims who attend school has been very low. Even recently the education level of

Muslim people in the four southern provinces is mostly only primary school level (Table 1.7).

Table 1.7 Education Attained by Muslims in the Study Area

Education attained (%)	CensusYear 1970	CensusYear 1980	CensusYear 1990
None	66.6	45.3	29.6
Primary*	30.7	45.5	39.3
Secondary **	2.5	8.7	29.0
Tertiary	0.1	0.4	2.1
Total	100	100	100

Source: Guest and Uden, 1994

*Grades 1 to 4

**Primary grades 5 to end of High school

Table 1.7 shows that the percent of Muslims who have no education or have never attended formal school decreased between 1970 and 1990. The percent of Muslims who have finished tertiary level study is still very low, indicating a lack of opportunity to advance locally. Nowadays, the average educational attainment of peoples in Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun remains only at year 6 (Table 1.8). As shown in Table 1.8, the average years of education of the population in these four provinces is between 5.9 to 6.7 years, which is only equal to the years of compulsory education (year 6). Furthermore, the percent of population who have not attended school is still high: 34.9 to 39.4 percent. However, almost all rural Malay Muslims send their children to private Islamic schools (Vatikiotis, 1996). There are three levels of Islamic education; first level for children aged 3-5 called Raudhah, second level for primary school children aged 6-11 called Tadika and the last one is Pondok which is for secondary school students (Boon Chareon, 1999).

Table 1.8 Education of People in the Study Area, Census Year 2000

Characteristics	Pattani	Yala	Narathiwat	Satun
Average years of education attainment of population age 15 years and over (%)	6	6.6	5.9	6.7
Population age 6-24 years not attending school (%)	39.4	34.9	38.2	36.8

Source: National Statistical Office, 2000

Thus it is clear that Muslims in this region are not only different in religion but differ in their language, culture, customs and way of livelihood from the majority of the people of Thailand. Indeed they share more in common with the people of northern Malaysia than others in Thailand. This is not only a result of their current social context but also their history.

The four southern border provinces have a long history of political and administration links to the northern part of Malaysia. Before becoming a part of Thailand, in the 15th century, Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat used to be a single Islamic Malayu State governed by a Sultan. The first Sultan who was converted from Buddhism to Islam was Sultan Ismaili Shah, who established the Patani (Pattani) Islam Malayu State (Jeha, 2000, p.1). In 1784, during the first reign of the present Chakri dynasty, the Siamese occupied Pattani State (Madakakul, 1987; Syukri, 1990) and four other Malayu States; Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu (Al-Fatani, 2000): “ The Salasilah Kedah has recorded that Setol or Satul or Satun which now belongs to Thailand was once part of Kedah” (Omar, 1982, p.176); “During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Patani’s local autonomy gradually was eroded as this once independent kingdom was broken up and

absorbed by the kingdom of Siam” (Syukri, 1990, p. XIV). In these centuries, Pattani’s rulers fled to Malaya after the abolition of their powers (Pitsuwan, 1987; Al-Fatani, 2000) and as well many of people from Pattani took refuge in Malaysia, particular three states; Kelantan, Kedah and Trengganu. Some migrated to Mecca, Sumatra and Brunei (Al-Fatani, 2000, p.175). Thus the people of Pattani have close affiliation with their historical roots in the northern states of Malaysia.

The extension of Thai influence in the Malayu Peninsula was reduced by a Thai-British agreement in 1909. This agreement established the border, which separates present-day Thailand from Malaysia, by Thailand’s claims to monthon Pattani (Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat) and Satun State, and acknowledged that Kelantan, Trengganu, Tri Buri (Kedah) and Perlis were under British control. Table 1.9 shows that before this, in 1902, people in monthon Pattani were mostly Malayu when compared with others in Siam.

Table 1.9 Numbers and Race of People in the North of Malayu Peninsula in 1902

State	Malayu	Siam	Chinese	Total
Nakhon Sithammarat	32,580	130,304	32,436	195,053
Songkla	15,662	78,307	31,323	125,292
Phatalung	5,563	45,635	3,563	54,761
Pattani	138,466	39,563	19,780	197,809

Source: Annandale, 1903, p. xxii

The consequence of the Thai-British agreement was that the number of Malayu under the government of Siam was higher than those under the government of the British

(Annandale, 1903). This “led to the isolation of Patani’s (Pattani’s) Malay Muslims from their brethren to the south” (Syukri, 1990, p. XV). Despite this, people between the two sides of the two countries still visit each other and their kinship link plays an important role in facilitating migration to work in Malaysia.

The location of the four southern border provinces being near to Malaysia, but far from Bangkok, has made it easier for people to migrate to work in Malaysia. Travelling to work in Malaysia is very easy, even illegally it is not too difficult, and certainly migrating there is easier than moving to work in other areas in Thailand. Physical features make it difficult for people who are employed in the agricultural sector to seek a job outside their communities. The social and cultural characteristics of people in this area make it less feasible to find jobs in the local area so people are mostly employed temporarily in Malaysia and even their history contributes to their close relationship with Malaysian people and distances them from other lifestyles in Thailand.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

This study is based on a gender-sensitive framework (a three-stage analytical framework) similar to that developed by Grieco and Boyd (1998). As the latter suggest, there are fundamental differences in the migration experiences of women and men. Thus research involving women migrant workers should focus on gender differences in labour recruitment and on the influence exerted by gender roles, gender relations and gender based rights in places of origin and destination.

To show how the social construction of gender reflects structural factors and influences migration decisions and behaviours, Grieco and Boyd use a three-stage

analytical framework to explain how gender relations, roles and hierarchies are important in the process of migration and how gender has an effect on the migration outcome differences between men and women. This framework divides the process of migration into three stages: pre-migration, the act of migration and post-migration, and in each of these stages gender influences migrants to encourage/ discourage or enable/ prevent their migration.

The concept of gender that Grieco and Boyd put into international migration theory is useful for the present study. However, Grieco and Boyd develop their three-stage analytical framework from previous studies by other researchers. They have not actually applied and operationalised their ideas in field research so that the usefulness of this approach is still to be proved. Moreover, this framework is developed from studies of western countries. Can it be applied to study female international labour migration in the context of developing countries? It is clearly necessary to do field research in order to assess the effectiveness of this framework in the context of Asian female migration.

According to the three- stage analytical framework developed by Grieco and Boyd, the process of migration ends in the receiving society. However, some types of migration do not end at the country of destination and this is the case of labour migration from the four southern border provinces of Thailand because most of those migrant workers are temporary migrants rather than permanent migrants. Therefore, the process of migration in this study has four stages; the end of the process is in the sending society at the post-migration stage. The gender sensitive framework for study on female international labour migration in Thailand in this study is summarised in Figure 1.6.

Within the sending society

**The interface between
sending and receiving societies**

Within the receiving society

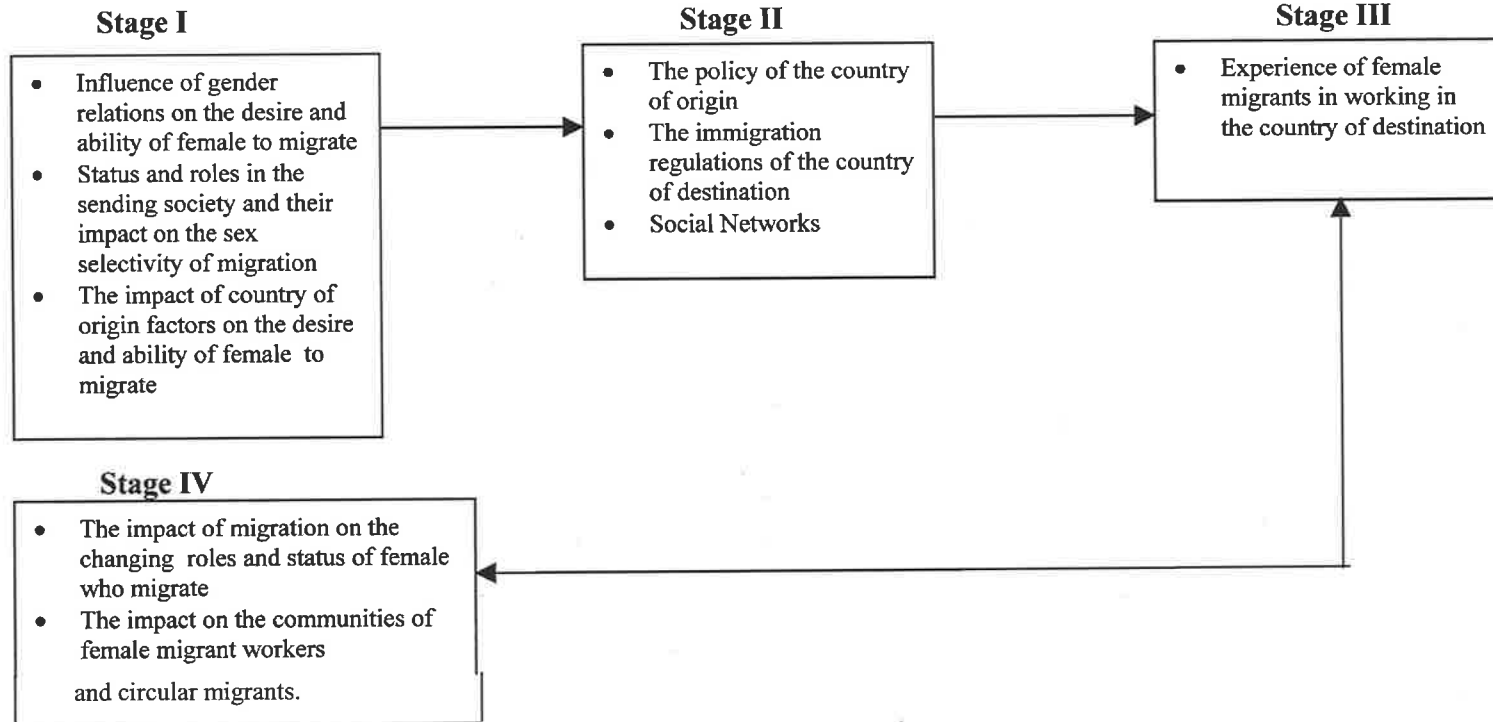


Figure 1.6 Analytical Framework: The Four Stages of Migration Process

Source: Greico and Boyd, 1998

The pre-migration stage that is associated with the sending society will be explored in Chapter 5. The policies both of the sending and receiving societies that have influenced the migration of female migrant workers are analysed in Chapter 6. The roles of intermediary organisations and institutions are also discussed in this chapter. The impacts of migration in receiving societies and sending societies on the females involved, as well as on their communities in the area of origin, are studied in Chapter 7.

1.6 The Structure of the Thesis

This study consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 presents an overview of international labour migration in Thailand as well as the aims and objectives of this study. A detailed account of the study area, the four southern border provinces, in terms of location, physical features and economic situation as well as the social context which influence the migration of female international labour migration are discussed.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature that is related to female international labour migration. Patterns of female international labour migration, causes of female migration and policy implications are reviewed and the impact of female migration is also assessed. The methodology and data collection that are used in this study are presented in Chapter 3. This chapter discusses the limitations of the secondary data of international labour migration and the necessity of collecting primary data. Collecting the primary data in this study used both qualitative and quantitative methods. Chapter 4 gives a detailed discussion of international labour migration in the four southern border provinces. It focuses on general patterns of labour migration, modes of travelling to work in other

countries, destinations and occupations in the destination areas. Then the three following chapters focus on female international labour migrants. Chapter 5 explores the causes of female labour migration by considering the influence of gender on the desire and ability of females to migrate with analysis on three levels: individual migrants, households and communities. Chapter 6 focuses particularly on the policies of both the country of origin and the country of destination that influence the migration of females by encouraging or discouraging their movement. The roles of intermediaries, especially kinship networks that link previous migrants and prospective migrants are also studied. The impact of migration on female migrants and their communities is studied in Chapter 7. The impacts of migration on the destination area are concerned with the living and working conditions of female migrants. The impacts in the origin area, however, focus on the changing nature of empowerment of female migrants by comparing them before and after migration. For impacts on the communities of origin the change in economic and social aspects has been examined. In the last chapter, the findings of the study are summarised. This chapter also discusses the theories that are significant or appropriate to explain the migration of females in the study. The limitations of the study and implications for further research in this field are also presented.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the objectives and theoretical framework of this study. There is only limited amount of research on female international labour migration in Southeast Asia, particular in Thailand. Migration in Thailand has to date been imperfectly represented in terms of population mobility across Thailand since the

southern region has been neglected. This study has attempted to fill this gap by selecting four southern border provinces of Thailand as the study area. The context of the four southern border provinces, their location, features, economic situation and socio-cultural characteristics have been given as knowledge background since these are essential for understanding the process of female migration in this area.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

As the United Nations Secretariat has pointed out “Nearly as many women as men migrate across international borders. Women have been found to participate in every type of migration. However, women’s migration has received relatively little attention by the international community” (United Nations Secretariat, 1997, p.198). In former studies, the involvement of women in international migration was largely disregarded; with women viewed as “passive” or “dependents”, moving as wives, mothers or daughters of male migrants (Chaney, 1982; Lee, 1989, 1996; Zlotnik, 1995; Hugo, 1998b). In last two decades, the number of female migrants has been increasing and evidence has been presented that women play an active role in migration. The United Nations Secretariat (1997, p.203) for example, reported that the growth of the stock of migrants across the world between 1985 and 1990 was more rapid than between 1975 and 1985 (at 2.6 and 2.2 percent per year, respectively). The United Nations Secretariat stated further that the stock of migrants between 1985 and 1990 increased faster in the less developed countries and that the increase was greatest for female international migrants in those regions.

Since 1990, the number of female migrants has continued to grow especially among Asian women (United Nations, 1998, p.39). The feminisation of female international labour migration in this region has been prominent (Abella, 199, 1992; Battistella, 1994; Lim and Oishi, 1996; Castles and Miller, 1998; Hugo, 1998b, 1999; United Nations, 1998; Oishi, 2002) and dominates in many international migration flows. In Thailand, the data from the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare show that

the majority of Thai workers working overseas are male. When comparing the number of Thai female migrants with their male counterparts; females comprise less than 20 percent (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 The Number of Thai Workers Working Overseas and in Countries Where Females Outnumber Males, 1997 and 1999

Year	Male	Female	Total
1997	157,007 (85.5)	26,664 (14.5)	183,671 (100)
Countries where females outnumber males			
Hong Kong	454	3,506	3,960
Italy	45	85	130
Saipan Island	102	119	221
1998	160,949 (83.9)	30,786 (16.1)	191,735 (100)
Countries where females outnumber males			
Hong Kong	800	3,909	4,709
Japan	4,083	6,707	10,790
Saipan Island	56	189	245
1999	165,505 (81.8)	36,911 (18.2)	202,416 (100)
Countries where females outnumber males			
Hong Kong	847	3,492	4,339
Saipan Island	35	145	180

Source: Calculated from the data of Overseas Thai Workers Administrative Office, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Nevertheless, the data show that the number of female international migrant workers has been increasing over the 1997 to 1999 period and women outnumber men in moves to some countries such as in Hong Kong and Japan. However, only a small proportion of Thai female migrant workers get into the data compiled by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. These data are misleading regarding the significance of international migration of Thai women. As Hugo (1998b, p.2) points out,

...measurement is problematic because data collection systems in Southeast Asia are under-developed, much of the movement occurs outside official migration systems and there is an inbuilt bias existing in census and surveys which leads them to not detect female migrants.

This is certainly the case in Thailand because “much of Thailand’s immigration and emigration is undocumented and illegal” (Stern, 1997, p.237). Indeed, there are many illegal or undocumented female Thai migrants working in other countries (Pongsapich, 1995; Punpuing and Archavanitkul, 1996; Chantavanich, 1996). Until now, research on international labour migration has focused on migration in general and without specific attention to gender. Four areas, which need to be explored in this context, are the patterns and causes of female migration, their implications for policy, and impacts on female migrants and their communities.

2.2 Patterns of Female International Labour Migration

During the last two decades, there has been an upsurge in women as migrant workers in many migration systems (Lee, 1996). The movement of females involves varying distances, degrees of permanency of settlement at the destination, legality or illegality and a wide range of processes and motivations on the part of the women involved (Hugo, 1998a, p.180). However, research in this area has not sufficiently

explored the issues resulting from this increase. Lee (1996) stated that distinguishing types of female international migration into commonly used dichotomies such as permanent and temporary, skilled and unskilled, family and non-family or legal and illegal are not sufficiently revealing since the types of migration are complex. It is Lee's view that there are a wide variety of migration systems in operation, migration systems often co-exist with one another, and migration systems are dynamic.

Lee developed her types of contemporary international migration systems from the work of Boutang and Papademetriou (1994: Table 1.1) by classifying types of migration into four groups: permanent immigrant settlement, long term establishment, guest/contract workers and ethnic minorities or recent immigration. She also classified migration into two schemes, settlement and labour (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Types of Contemporary International Migration Systems

Type	Primary Scheme	Secondary Scheme	Examples(of receiving countries)
Permanent immigration settlement	Settlement	Labor	United States, Canada, Australia
Long-term establishment	Labor	Settlement	France, Sweden, Hong Kong
Guest/Contract Workers	Labor	Labor	Middle East, Germany, Singapore
Ethnic minorities or recent immigration	No general immigration	Settlement or Labor	Japan

Source: Lee, 1996, p.7

The primary scheme is the main plan of migration, while the secondary scheme is an alternative; however, the scheme of movement could change. For example, the primary scheme of female migrant flow into Hong Kong is labour, however it is possible for the long-term establishment migration changes the intention to the secondary scheme, settlement. As Hugo (1998b, p.3) points out:

The movements are differentiated between permanent and non-permanent movement. Both types have increased greatly in significance in recent years. Contract labour migration, whereby women undertake to work in the destination for a specified period of time is the fastest growing type of migration in the region. Of course in some cases such movement merges into permanent movement and permanent migration turns out to be temporary.

Similarly, Castles and Miller (1998, p.160) wrote, "Although most movements are temporary in intention, trends towards permanent settlement are beginning to emerge in some places".

There are various types of female labour migration. In 1995, Abella reviewed studies about international female migration in Southern and Southeastern Asia and used geographic characteristics and the policy issues of each country to identify the flows of female migrants. He divided the flows of female labour migration in two regions and into five subsystems as shown in Table 2.3. Classifying female international labour migration into five subsystems provides a useful way of understanding the flow between the origin countries and the destination countries. From this classification Abella showed that female Thai migrants prevail in subsystems 2 and 3, the flow of female migrants to the newly industrialised countries (NICs) and to Japan. Those female migrant workers mostly were unskilled, worked as domestic workers and illegal migrant involved in entertainment industry especially in Japan.

Table 2.3 Five Subsystems of Female International Migration in the Southern and Southeastern Asian Region

Subsystems	Characteristics of subsystems
Subsystem 1	This subsystem includes migration from India, Indonesia, the Philippines and Sri Lanka to Western Asia. Most of these female migrants are unskilled and go to work abroad as domestic workers
Subsystem 2.	This subsystem comprises female migrants from Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand to the newly industrialising countries such as Brunei, Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia. Females who move in this flow work as domestic workers as well as employees in hotels and restaurants.
Subsystem 3.	This subsystem is the flow of female workers from the Philippines and Thailand to Japan. Most are illegal workers who go into the entertainment industry through “underworld” organisations.
Subsystem 4.	This subsystem covers the flow of legal and skilled female workers from India, the Republic of Korea and the Philippines to the oil producing countries of western Asia. Most of them go to work in formal sectors.
Subsystem 5.	This subsystem is the movements of skilled labour particularly nurse, from Southern and Southeast Asia to North America and Europe.

Source: Abella, 1995, p. 248-9

Over the past two-three decades, the flows of female migrants have been changing, with illegal migration becoming more frequent than legal. Hugo (1998b) summarised the major types of contemporary female migration in the Southeast Asian context as shown in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 Typology of Female International Migration in Southeast Asia

Nature of Migration		Characteristics of Migrant			
		Low skill	High skill	Family	Refugee
Migration through official channels	Permanent				
	Non-permanent				
Migration not through official channels	Permanent				
	Non-permanent				

Source: Hugo, 1998, p.3

In this typology, the nature of migration is divided into two types: migration through official channels and migration not through official channels. Each of them is subdivided into permanent and non-permanent. Hugo (1999) pointed out that contract labour migration, the migration of women who commit to work in the destination country for a specific time, and undocumented migration have risen more sharply than other kinds of female migration in the Southeast Asian region.

Undocumented or illegal migration is high in the Asia region (Castles and Miller, 1998) and in some flows of illegal migrants the number of females outnumbers males, especially those to Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia and the Middle East (Hugo, 1998c). There are also a large number of Thai female international migrants who are illegal workers: "...female migration through

clandestine means is known to be significant and the number of Thai women migrants has increased faster than of men” (Lim and Oishi, 1996, p.87). Okunishi (1995, p.154) reported that the majority of illegal workers in Japan were male except for workers from Thailand and the Philippines. It was reported that female Thai were among the largest groups of illegal migrants in Japan (Hugo, 1998a). Hugo (1998a, p.84) estimated that the number of those women was more than 100,000. Japan is the major destination of trafficking Thai women in to prostitution. The other countries of destination were Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, some European countries (Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland) and also the USA, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and China (Hugo, 1998b; 1999). There is also traffic in female migrants from Indonesia to Malaysia and Singapore and between India and Nepal (Hugo, 1999). In Thailand, there are also flows of commercial sex workers from Myanmar, South China, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam (Chantavanich and Risser, 2000) even from South America, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to work in prostitution in Bangkok (Skrobanek, 1994).

One particularly harmful aspect of female illegal migration is the trafficking in women¹. Sobieszczyk (2002) argued, “ Generally, all females involved in the sex and service industries are assumed to have been ‘trafficked’, sometimes other female unauthorized migrants² are assumed to have been trafficked as well”. Similarly,

¹ Trafficking in women is defined as “ All acts involved in the recruitment and/or transportation of a women within and across national borders for work or services by means of violence or threat of violence, abuse of authority or dominant position, debt bondage, deception or other forms of coercion”(Wijers and Lap-Chew, 1997, p. 36).

² Unauthorized (undocumented, unofficial, illegal) migrants are “those who migrate abroad with the assistance of an unauthorized recruitment agency, and/or who lack proper passports and/or visas and/or work permits, or who obtain employment after entering on tourist, transit, or student visas, or who overstay visas or work permits”(Sobieszczyk, 2002,p.12).

Skrobanek (1994, p.38) pointed that there are specific forms of trafficking in women namely false marriages, mail order brides, forced domestic helpers and other illegal employment. Trafficking in women for the purpose of prostitution however, has been more significant in the Asian region (Skrobanek, 1994; Hugo, 1999). As Piper (1999, p.81) states,

...several women in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Nepal, Myanmar, and Vietnam are lured abroad under false pretenses by people whom they know and trust, such as relatives, friends, and acquaintances. There are many cases of parents selling their daughters, knowing full well that they will end up working as prostitutes abroad.

There is sex segregation of occupations of female migrants from Southeast Asian countries. Hugo (1998b) found that most of the female migrants from Southeast Asian countries are unskilled. The main occupations they are involved in are as domestic workers and entertainers in the sex industry, particularly from the Philippines, Indonesia, and Thailand (Hugo, 1998b). Some worked as factory workers and a few work in the agricultural sector and in informal sector activities (Hugo, 1998b, Chantavanich, 2001). Tyner (2001, p.177-178) reported that in 1997, 89.5 percent of the Philippines female overseas contract workers were concentrated in the service sector, while 82.4 percent of male workers were engaged in the production and construction sectors. The destination countries of male workers were mainly in the Middle East, whereas the destinations of female domestic workers were Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan. Japan was the main destination for Philippine migrant performing artists. Similarly to Philippines female migrant workers, the major destination countries of Thai women workers, both legal and illegal, were countries in the Asian region. The three major countries of legal movement were Hong Kong, Taiwan and Japan respectively, while the rank of illegal converse to migrant workers

was that for legal movers, the first major destination country was Japan, secondly was Taiwan followed by Hong Kong/Singapore/Malaysia (Punpuing and Archavanitkul, 1996b). Thai female workers who have moved to Hong Kong mostly work as domestic helpers (Sek-Hong and Lee, 2000); in Japan they mainly work as prostitutes, entertainers, strippers or hostesses (Chunjitkaruna, 2000). The number of female migrants who participated in these activities has increased during the last two decades and “There appears to be a general consensus that the risk of violence is increased for women employed in domestic service and entertainment –related service” (Shah and Menon, 1997, p.6).

The nature of domestic work abroad can leave women migrant workers vulnerable to exploitation. Abuses that female domestic workers faced in destination countries include over-work due to long hours of work and insufficient rest periods, heavy physical work, non-payment or under-payment of wages, lack of privacy and own space, lack of sufficient and adequate food, confiscation of passport by employer, and psychological and physical abuse and ill-treatment, sexual harassment and rape (Wijers and Lap-Chew, 1997). This is because “...their employment conditions are often not subject to any set of laws or regulations, at least not effectively” (Cox, 1997, p. 61). Domestic work is not regarded as work (Wijers and Lap-Chew, 1997) thus it is not protected by labour laws (Cheng, 1996; Hugo, 1998a). Furthermore, their work is in isolated households, with no fellow workers; “The isolation of household often renders women unable to develop a support system” (Cheng, 1996, p. 141-142). The nature of domestic work is also more difficult than other work since work conditions and working hours are often unclear (Cheng, 1996; Cox, 1997).

Females in the sex and entertainment industries are even more vulnerable. For them, the main origin countries are the Philippines and Thailand; Japan is their main destination (Pongsapich, 1994; Abella, 1995; Shah and Menon, 1997; Hugo, 1998b). These women are more vulnerable to abuse and violence than those recruited as domestic workers (Cox, 1997). Although in nations like the Philippines most entertainers migrants are legal, many female migrants who work in entertainment are illegal workers. In many cases those female migrants end up involved in prostitution and are often abused and exploited. They face problems such as unfair treatment, violation of their human rights as well as exploitation by unscrupulous brokers and employers (Singhanetra-Renard, 1996; Sobieszczyk, 2000; Vanijaka, 2000; Assavanonda, 2001).

The predominant flows of female migrants from Southeast Asian countries are to the newly industrialised countries (NICs) in East and Southeast Asia, Japan and to the Middle East. The nature of work that female migrant workers are involved in at these destinations makes them vulnerable to abuse and exploitation, especially those who are trafficked. However, the numbers of females who migrate to work in other countries continues to increase and outnumber males in some countries and some destination countries. Hence it is important to explore the causes of female migration and examine what their reasons are for working overseas. Do they want to go to work overseas or are they forced to work? And what do they gain or lose from migrating to work overseas?

2.3 Causes of Female Migration

There are several theories that explain international labour migration. At the micro level there is a focus on the individual or household factors that influence their

decision making. On the other hand, macro analyses focus on the structural factors, societal and cultural structures of both the sending and receiving countries as the determinants of migration. Several studies (Hugo, 1995; Grieco and Boyd, 1998), however, have attempted to link macro factors to the micro level processes to achieve a better understanding of the causes of female international labour migration.

2.3.1 Neoclassical Economics

Neoclassical economics focuses on differentials or inequalities in wages and employment conditions between countries. As a result of those differentials, workers from a low wage or labour-surplus country move to a high-wage or labour-scarce country (Boyle *et al.*, 1998, p. 61; Massey *et al.*, 1998, p. 18). Massey *et al.* (1998, p.19) maintain that this perspective contains several implicit propositions and assumptions as follows:

- 1.The international migration of workers is caused by differences in wage rates between countries.

- 2.The elimination of wage differentials will end the movement of labour, and migration will not occur in the absence of such differentials.

- 3.International flows of human capital - that is, highly skilled workers - respond to differences in the rate of return to human capital, which may be different from the overall wage rate, yielding a distinct pattern of migration that may be the opposite that of unskilled workers.

- 4.International flows of workers are influenced primarily by labour market mechanism; other kinds of markets do not have important effects on international migration.

- 5.The way for governments to control migration flows is to regulate or influence labour market in sending and / or receiving countries.

This theory assumes that the individual is a rational actor who decides to migrate because they hope to gain positive net returns, usually financial, from movement (Massey *et al.*, 1998). Heyzer (1994) pointed out that labour migration across countries, has resulted from poverty and unemployment in the sending countries and from excess labour demand in the receiving countries. Abella (1995)

adds that neoclassical theory explains only part of the flow of labour migrants in East and Southeast Asian countries. The rapid development in East and Southeast Asian countries and the difference in per capita income within regions encourage labour migration. However, other factors such as ethnic and linguistic affinities and previous political linkage, have guided the patterns and configuration of the flows. Boyle, *et al.* (1998, p.62), Lim (1991, p.207) and Massey *et al.* (1998, p.8) also argue that migration flows are not necessarily moves from low-wage to high-wage areas and that economic disparities alone are not enough to explain international movement. Economic variables are not the only factors that dominate migration; social and cultural factors can also drive migration.

The macro-forces underlying the economic reason migration are often gender-biased (Lim, 1991; Tyner, 1999). As Lim (1991, p.208) points out,

Yet, no one has considered specifically how cultural or religious factors or societal norms, through their influence on the sexual division of labour and the status of women. At the place of origin, cultural restrictions on the roles of women and their freedom to act or choose have been identified as important factors influencing female migration.

Hence, neoclassical economic theory is useful in explaining the initiation of international migration; however it is not only economic or wage differences that cause migration. There are other factors such as social and cultural factors that can be influential as well.

2.3.2 New Economics of Migration

In contrast to the neoclassical economics approach, “A number of studies have suggested that gender differentials in the determinants of international migration can best be captured by focusing on women as family members” (United Nations Secretariat, 1997, 209). For women, there are numerous assigned and expected roles

within the family which can constrain their ability to migrate. Moreover, social norms regarding the separation of engaged or married women may place an additional limit on their mobility. It has also been suggested that poor women may be less constrained by social norms since they need to ensure family survival (United Nations Secretariat, 1997). Findley and Williams (1991) argue that female migration is often better understood from a family, rather than from the individual, perspective. Considering the family as the structural context in which migration decisions take place has been considered to be a useful approach that allows explicit consideration of the position and role of women within the family as determinants of female migration (Lim, 1998). In the Philippines, for example, rural families have an important role in the migration of women, especially young, single women. Where the decision is made in a family context, rural families sending their daughters to work in the city expect them to send money back home to maintain and support those family members remaining in rural areas.

Thus the need for income to improve family wellbeing is perhaps the most important reason compelling migrant women to work outside of their countries. Therefore, a family perspective is important for the analysis of female migration since their participation in economic activity is closely related to the needs of their families. Zlotnik (2000, p. 27) argued that migration of women for work related reasons cannot be understood without taking into account the situation of their families and women's roles within them. However, Grieco and Boyd argue that focusing on the household as the unit of analysis has "been criticized since family /household decisions and actions do not represent unified and equally beneficial outcomes for all members, there are diverse interests and activities strongly imply that the interests of male and female members do not always coincide and may not always create equally beneficial

outcomes” (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, p.6). Thus women’s decision to migrate to work needs to be considered from both family and individual perspectives.

2.3.3 Structural Determinants

At the macro level, rather than explaining the causes of international migration in terms of the decisions made by individual migrants or families, structural determinants of migration have been used. These are variously described as place-related characteristics, economic and socio-cultural factors, demographic factors and institution and policy-related factors. As Lim (1991, p.207) points out, the following factors could be considered:

a) elements which create opportunities or set constraints that influence individual migration behaviour;

b) elements which operate through the socialization of individuals so that they conform to given roles or through the enforcement of social norms or values at the individual level;

c) elements which affect the ability of the individual to access information about alternative places of destination.

Lim (1991) also states that consideration of the basic structural factors determining migration is particularly important in explaining gender or sex selectivity. This is because these factors tend to be gender specific in economic, sociocultural or political spheres in areas of origin and destination, thus reflecting different opportunity and constraint structures for male and female decision-makers.

It has also been noted that the ability of females to migrate is different in each region; some societies control women more strongly than others (Wright, 2000, p.18). Similarly, Thadani and Todaro (1979) have pointed out that cultural restrictions on the roles of women and their freedom in the place of origin areas are important factors

influencing female migration. Zlotnik (1995, p.230) also focused on structural factors: "...because women's roles differ from those of men and often vary between the society of origin and that of destination, the factors leading to female migration and those conditioning its outcomes are likely to differ from those involved in the case of men". It has also been suggested that the patriarchal system where labour division between sexes is clear and men assume all economic roles and women assume only domestic and child-care roles, the decision of women to migrate independently tends to be constrained (Lim, 1991). On the other hand, the aim of some women to get rid of the limitations of their subordinate position may make women migrate (Lim, 1991, p.217). This is supported by the work of Ariffin (1980) who found that young single Malay women who migrate to urban areas reported their reason for migrating was to achieve personal freedom and break away from the traditional roles, norms and values in their home villages.

Religion is another structural factor that shapes the propensity of females to migrate through beliefs concerning the roles and status of females and males (Lim, 1991). In the Muslim community in southern Thailand, for example, the main roles of married women are to maintain their husband's home and be a good wife and good mother (Cha-um Puk, 1982; Lertrit, 1992). If she wants to work outside the house, she may do so as long as her family obligations are met. Hence structural factors are considered to influence migration of women and men differently. Roles of women and men in family and society are important in encouraging or constraining migration.

2.3.4 Social Capital Theory : Migrant Networks

While economic differentials as well as social and cultural structures are fundamental factors in international migration, social networks are also a significant factor. Social networks are "sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former

migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin” (Massey, 1988, p.396). The networks that are established linking origin and destination become key elements in sustaining and enhancing population flows between them (Hugo, 1998c, p.175).

Social networks have been involved in facilitating migration and more importantly in initiating and encouraging female migration. The existence of social networks have been influential in the following ways:

- “The acceleration of Asian international migration in recent years has developed a momentum which is in many ways self-perpetuating and which to some extent will continue to operate regardless of shifts in economic and political forces and in spite of government attempts at intervention” (Hugo, 1998c, p.175)
- “The existence of this social capital at the destination is a powerful factor influencing whether or not a person will move and also explains why some communities have high levels of emigration while others with seemingly similar economic contexts have very few migrants” (Hugo, 1998a, p.88).
- “Social networks are absolutely crucial elements in most undocumented migration. It would, in most contexts, be very difficult for an undocumented migrant to evade detection and adjust successfully without the assistance of a community of earlier migrants at the destination” (Hugo, 1998a, p. 88).
- Social networks act to reduce constraints of social norms on female migrants

While structural factors are considered important in encouraging or discouraging female migration, social networks of female migrants also play a significant role in perpetuating their migration.

2.3.5 Multi-level approach, the macro and micro levels

Massey *et al.* (1998, p.17) stated, “ Current patterns and trends in international migration suggest, however, that a full understanding of contemporary migratory processes will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis or one conceptual model”. Some authors also suggest that it is necessary to use a multi-level approach in explaining the process of decision-making in migration, particularly in female migration (Bilsborrow, 1993; Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993; Riley and Gardner, 1993; Grieco and Boyd, 1998). The multilevel approach is useful to understand the cause of migration since it is a complex approach that attempts to consider all levels that influence migration.

Findley and Diallo (1993) use a multi-level approach to study the factors influencing the out-migration of females in rural areas of Mali. They found that females probably migrated if

- they had migrated in the past,
- they were single,
- other family members in the household had migrated,
- there were relatively few children in the family compound,
- the family’s cash income was low, and
- there were few cash-earning opportunities for women in the village

Figure 2.1 is drawn from Bilsborrow (1993) and indicates the determinants of internal migration of women in developing countries. Bilsborrow divides the determinants into three levels: overall society and community, household and individual migrants. In this model we can see both structural factors (overall society and community and household) and individual factors that determine migration of women. Decision-

making is influenced by the characteristics of the individual but the household and overall society and community play an important role as well. At the society and community level are included labour-market opportunities as well as norms and values in the community with regard to the appropriate roles and behaviour of women regarding migration. This diagram provides a useful basis for understanding that there are factors at different levels that influence the migration decision-making of females. Similarly, De Jong and Gardner (1981, p.5-6) point out that “making a decision to move and then actualizing it are both affected by constraining and facilitating factors which inhibit and enhance the ability of the actor to reach his or her intended goal”.

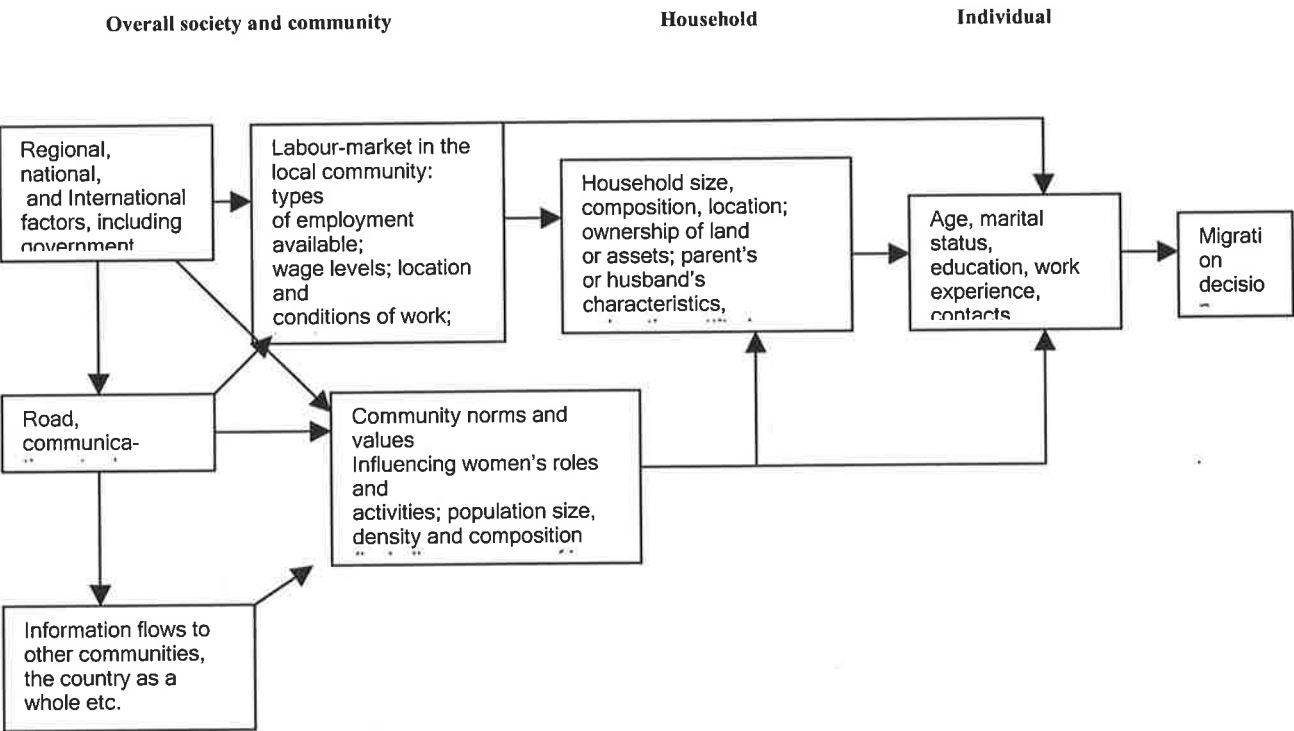


Figure 2.1 A Multilevel Approach to the Study of the Determinants of Internal Migration of Women in Developing Countries (Bilborrow, 1993)

Decision-making and the ability to make the decision are related to the personal characteristics of the actor, the social, economic and demographic characteristics of the person as well as the family. Furthermore, the community context, social networks, and norms of the society that the individual lives within affect the decision-making process. Similarly, Riley and Gardner (1993) write that there are various factors that influence the role of women in making migration decisions. These include women's individual characteristics (age, stage in the life cycle and education), family characteristics (size, structure and relationships between family members) as well as social and economic factors external to the family in the societies of origin and destination. Moreover, they point out that gender is a key factor. This is because the responses of individuals to conditions (problems and/or opportunities) in the place that he/she lives are not the same. It will depend upon his or her capacity to perceive and manipulate the context that will vary according to his or her position and values within society, of which gender is a major determinant (Riley and Gardner, 1993, p. 196).

Until now, most international migration studies have been insensitive to gender. Grieco and Boyd (1998, p.10) write, "...an emphasis on the social construction of gender reframes orthodox questions to include asking how gender is implicated in the processes of migration". Therefore, in order to get a more accurate picture, it is necessary to incorporate gender into international migration theory. Grieco and Boyd argue that while the wider structural causes of migration seem gender neutral, the consequences of these forces are biased. This is because there are fundamental differences between the migration of men and women and the full migration process is gender and sex-selective. Gender differences occur as a result of the subordinate status of women when they are compared with men in the structures

of family, society and culture in the sending and the receiving communities. Thus the research should focus on gender differences in labour recruitment and on the influence exerted by gender roles, gender relations and gender based rights in the places of origin and destination.

2.3 Impacts of Female Migration

Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat (1993) raise an issue as to whether the decision to migrate of females is made by her or others. This is important because it has an effect on the consequences of migration.

- Several authors have suggested that, to the extent that women are able to make migration decisions on their own, they are more likely to benefit from migration and, to the extent that women are compelled to obey the decisions of others, they are less likely to reap many rewards from migration” (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993, p.10).

Hugo states, when a woman migrates autonomously and not as part of family, there can be an increase in personal autonomy through

- not being as subject to patriarchal/ matriarchal authority by virtue of being separated from it by a considerable distance;
 - being able to earn, and have power over the spending of at least part of a cash income;
 - being able to make individual decisions about day to day behaviour;
 - being subject to a wider range of influences and attitudes
- (Hugo, 1997, p.16).

From a similar perspective, Lim (1995, p.44) argues that in studying the outcome of female migration the following issues should be considered:

- the circumstances in which migration occurs, (what stage of the life cycle they migrated: as single adults, as married women, as widows
- (Bilsborrow and United Nations Secretariat, 1993)

- the entry status of a migrant woman, whether the woman migrates on her own or as a “dependent” family member,
- the reasons for the move (economic or association reasons), and
- the timing of migration with respect to other events (such as marriage, divorce, the birth of a child or entry into the labour force).

The impact of international migration on the role and status of women has been the subject of numerous and contradictory interpretations (Morokvasic, 1984; Lim, 1995). On the one hand, it has been argued that the mere act of moving is already a manifestation of change, while the shift in social and cultural context resulting from emigration necessarily brings about changes in perception, behaviour and opportunities. On the other hand, it has been emphasised that discrimination that women experience is often compounded by migration and that female migrants face additional forms of discrimination.

Grieco and Boyd (1998) argue that women’s status can change as a result of the migration process in two ways. First, the position or status of migrant women within their families can change. For some women, migration may mean an increase in social mobility, economic independence and relative autonomy. For some women, new economic and social responsibilities may cause changes in the distribution of power within the family, including greater authority and participation in household decision-making and control over family resources. By contrast, for some migrant women, labour force participation may increase their burdens. This is because they have to work both inside and outside a house. Even though they earn money from working, some migrant women may not have control over that money (Grieco and Boyd, 1998).

Second, status change focuses on the impact of moving from one form of gender stratification system to another. When women migrate, they might gain independence from patriarchal authority in the origin areas but they might be faced with other authorities in destination areas. In a study in Latin America, for example,

young women from rural areas migrated to city to take a job as a domestic servant and before the move, they were under the careful watch of family elders. Their migration took place only after their families had found them positions in the city where they would be watched equally carefully. Often, the young women stayed in the homes of family members in the area of destination. Thus, although young single women were sent to the city to take advantage of the job opportunities available there, their parents took several measures to maintain close control over them (Riley and Gardner, 1993, p.199).

This situation means that women migrants might not gain or lose in autonomy from migration and they might remain under patriarchal authority.

Like Grieco and Boyd (1998), Hugo concludes from several studies of women and migration "... while it is apparent that in many contexts migration is assisting in reducing the inequalities in power between men and women, there are also many in which it is disempowering woman or serving to entrench the status quo" (Hugo, 1997, p.29). In considering that migration has the potential to reshape gender relations it is important to establish in which circumstances it can benefit women and in which it may have detrimental effects for the women involved (Hugo, 1993).

Lim (1995) suggests that the consequences of international migration for a woman should be considered in different contexts: the family, the community or kin group, and the broader society. This is because the status of migrant women may improve in society at large without changing the relative position of women within the family. In some cases migration of women can improve the economy of the family but might not benefit the women themselves or improve their status.

Hugo (1997) argues that there is a two-way relationship between migration and female empowerment. On the one hand, improvement in the status of women is often associated with higher levels of migration. On the other hand, migration has resulted in women increasing their autonomy and decision making power. However there is still limited knowledge of the conditions under which, and how, the migration process can play a role in female empowerment. Hugo also points out that it is important that migration research focus on the establishment of the types of context where migration of women is associated with empowerment. This is because that research can provide information for policies and programs to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs or negative impacts on the women involved (Hugo, 1997, p. 17).

2.5 Policy implications

The policies of the countries of origin as well as destination are major actors in the international migration process since any person wishing to become an international migrant must deal with the conditions for entry and leaving the country. As Hugo commented, "It is one of the most distinctive features of all international migration that is more strongly shaped by governments than is the case with internal migration but it is a distinctive feature of the Asian migration system that political factors have been highly influential in a direct way, not only in destination countries but also in origin nations" (1998a, p.184). Government policy and practice is an important controlling factor in international migration in Asia. The government of destination countries attempts to control the scale, composition and period of stay of flows of foreigners in to their nation (Hugo, 1998a). However, each country of destination has developed different policies regarding immigrants. In Brunei and

Hong Kong, the governments have a policy to import labour because there are labour shortages in those countries and they rely on guest workers. In Japan, unskilled migrant labour is technically prohibited but Asian migrants come in under the 'trainees' program. Singapore conducts a strict control policy over guest workers while the government controls the inflow of unskilled labour but encourages permanent settlement of skilled workers (Chantavanich and Risser, 2000, p.17-18). On the other hand, some countries of origin encourage, facilitate and initiate international migration by establishing specialised government agencies and promote the setting up of private recruitment agencies (Lim and Oishi, 1996). As Hugo points out

Labour export has become an important part of economic planning with the objectives of:

- Reducing pressure upon national and regional labor markets,
- Enhancing foreign exchange earnings,
- In some cases providing its workers with skills and training (Hugo, 1998a, p.185).

Importantly, abuse and exploitation of Southeast Asian migrant women remains substantial (Hugo, 1998b). Concerns about the exploitation of migrant women have led several labour-exporting countries, in particular Asian countries, to place restrictions on out-migration of female workers. These restrictions are aimed at preventing women from engaging in activities abroad that could put them in vulnerable situations or compromise their respectability (Commission on Population and Development, 1997, p.209). Lim and Oishi (1996) point out that the status of international female migrant workers as women, migrants, and as workers in gender segregated labour markets mean that they are exposed to several forms of discrimination and mistreatment. Thus they need special or specific protection.

Shah and Menon (1996, p.7) make a list of the types of exploitation and violence that occur in Asian female migration both in the home country and the host country. These are economic violence, social/ psychological violence and physical/ sexual violence.

- Economic violence
 - In home country
 - Overcharging for visas and processing
 - Excessive amounts of interest charged by money lenders used for raising money for the move
 - Misuse of remittances by husband or other relatives (contrary to migrant's wishes)
 - In host country
 - Nonpayment of wages
 - Violation of the salary agreements in contract
 - Delay in wage payment
 - Difficulties in sending remittances
- Social/ Psychological Violence
 - In home country
 - Ill treatment of children left behind
 - Extra-marital affairs, or alcoholism of husband
 - In host country
 - Living conditions in terms of space, holiday, free time, working hours, and type of work
 - Access to friends and social network from home country
 - Social isolation and somatic and psychosomatic illness
- Physical/ Sexual Violence
 - In home country
 - Abuse and abandonment by agents
 - In host country
 - Verbal abuse and ridicule
 - Beating
 - Sexual abuse including rape
 - Imprisonment and deportation (legality of this, proof required, and ability for defense)
 - Delay in deportation
 - Illegal pregnancy, treatment of mother and child
 - Murder

Some countries in Southeast Asia have attempted to protect female migrant workers by banning their movement. Governments banned the emigration of females in certain ages, certain countries of destination and certain occupations (Lim and Oishi, 1996). However, female workers still continued to migrate but not through official channels and this make them even more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse.

Cheng (1996, p.144) found that employers treated domestic workers as machines, inhumane working conditions for domestic workers, such as providing inadequate food, lack of accommodation, long working hours, no rest days and deprivation of hygiene needs. It also results in nonpayment, underpayment, forced signature on falsified receipts and documents, and double employment.

Lim and Oishi (1996, p.110-112) suggest that for more effective protection of migrant women the following needs to be done:

- At the community level, it is critical for women and their families to receive accurate and realistic information concerning the economic and social costs and benefits of overseas employment *before* making the decision to migrate. Governments should shift their focus to disseminating at an earlier stage through mass media”.
- “Efforts to reduce the volume of illegal migration. Lowering the costs of migration and simplifying administrative procedures can be effective options. And the capacity of official recruitment agencies should also be strengthened”.
- “The role of different social actors in protecting migrant women workers should be strengthened. First, sending countries should assign labor attaches and welfare officers, especially female officers, to their embassies in the host countries with specific responsibility for such protection. Second, fuller and more effective use of NGOs should be made. Sending countries should seek more active cooperation and networking with local NGOs in receiving countries as well as international NGOs which are actively involved in the protection of migrant women. Third, female migrant workers themselves should be encouraged to build up their own support structures and networks”.
- “Cooperation at the international level should be strengthened. In emphasizing the obligations of sending countries to protect and promote the interests of their citizens and the obligations of receiving countries to ensure the human rights of all persons within their boundaries, the resolution makes special reference to the vulnerability of women migrant workers.

Among Asian countries, the Philippines has paid more attention to protecting their female migrants than other countries. However, Hugo reports that the policy interventions related to female international labour migration in Southeast Asia are still generally ineffective (Hugo, 1998b, p. 34).

Conclusion

Thus there has been some research conducted on female labour migration that has developed useful classification systems that could be further developed. However, research that primarily considers gender does not consider the gender influence on the migration process. Thus further research needs to be conducted in order to develop a more gender sensitive theoretical model as a basis for further analysis. Policies should be directed at eliminating inequalities rather than controlling female labour migration.

Chapter 3

Methodology and Data Collection

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the data sources used, and the methodology adopted, in collecting data for this study. The first objective was to indicate the scale and composition of female international labour migration in Thailand, but secondary data on female international labour migration in Thailand are still quite limited. Most of the substantial amount of information which is collected from labour migrants at various stages of the process is not processed. Furthermore the data do not provide any detail about the causes and impacts of migration that are the other objectives of this study. Thus it is necessary to collect primary data to address the objectives of the study. As Hugo points out "One of the major barriers to our understanding the scale, causes and implications of female migration in Asia has related to the lack of relevant and comprehensive information" (Hugo, 1999, p.3). Bilborrow also states that one of the reasons that the study of migration of women is neglected is the inadequacy of existing data (Bilborrow, 1993). Hence in order to investigate female Thais currently working abroad, data were not only collected from secondary sources but also primary information was obtained using qualitative as well as quantitative approaches.

3.2 Secondary Data Sources

Data regarding international labour migration can be derived from both countries of origin and countries of destination. There are three main kinds of data sources for international labour migration: work permit statistics; statistics derived from reports by

employers; and statistics derived from the control of contract labour migration by countries of origin. (Bilsborrow *et al.*, 1997). The first two sources of data are in countries of destination while the last is from countries of origin. In this study, statistics derived from the control of contract labour migration by countries of origin are the main secondary data utilised. The best such source should be from the recorded statistics compiled by the Immigration Office; however, in Thailand the data from this office have not been separated into groups of international migrant workers and regular travellers. The data shows only the overall numbers of arrivals and departures in each year. This makes them “virtually useless” for the measurement of international labour migration flows (Bilsborrow *et al.*, 1997). Another source of data regarding the migrant workers could be from the Population and Housing Census of Thailand. Sadly, in common with most Southeast Asian countries there are no census questions on international migration. Therefore, secondary data were collected in Thailand from the following sources:

- The Overseas Employment Administration Office(OEAO)¹, Department of Employment Services, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare;
- Provincial Employment Service Offices;

¹ Since 1993 the Department of Employment Service, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare divided the administrative structure of the department into two sections, The Central Administration and the Local Administration.

The Central Administration consists of 8 divisions, 4 internal divisions, and 9 employment offices in Bangkok.

1. Office of Secretary
2. Employment Service Division
3. Employment Promotion Division
4. Alien Occupation Control Division
5. Office of Overseas Employment Administration Division
6. Technical and Planning Division
7. Labour Market Administration Division
8. Legal Affairs Division
9. Personal Division
10. Overseas Placement Service Division
11. Inspection and Job-seekers Protection Division
12. Computer Administration Center
13. Bangkok Employment Office Area 1-9

The Local Administration consists of 75 provincial employment service offices. The Province Employment Service Office is responsible for work and activities of the Department in each province (Department of Employment service, booklet).

- Labour Controls;
- Provincial Offices of Yala, Narathiwat and Satun Provinces;
- District Offices on the border with Malaysia.

3.2.1 Data from The Overseas Employment Administration Office (OEAO)

In Thailand, the OEAO of the Department of Employment Services (DES) has the authority to send Thai workers abroad and processes information relating to Thai workers going overseas. Hence the Division of Overseas Employment Administration Office collects data relating to Thai workers who go to work overseas through the DES. There are five ways that Thai workers can go to work in other countries and be processed by the DES; 1) workers can arrange migration by themselves, 2) they can be sent by private recruitment agencies, 3) they can be sent by the Department of Employment Services, 4) they can be sent by employers and 5) workers can be sent overseas for training under the so-called "Trainee" scheme which involve the trainees working overseas as part of their training (*Asia Times*, 13 May, 2000).

The OEAO publishes the statistics of Thai migrant workers travelling to work in other countries monthly. Those statistics are the number of Thai migrants working in other countries in each month by method of travelling, the destination countries, sex, education attained, the origin areas of workers and occupations in the destination countries (OEAO, 1999). However, the data obtained from OEAO are limited to those who were legal migrant workers or migrants who go through official channels; they do not include the illegal migrant workers or migrants that do not go through official channels who are large in number. Numbers of illegal Thai female migrants were large

particularly in Japan. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand estimated that in 1994, 40,000 to 50,000 Thai women were staying in Japan illegally and working as prostitutes (Skrobanek, 1996). In the same year, 59,352 foreigners in Japan were arrested and deported as illegal workers, 6,054 (31.3 percent of female illegal workers) were Thai women (Okunishi, 1996). One study on Thai migrant workers who returned from Japan, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia also found that 48.8 percent those returned migrants were illegal workers and 89.5 and 89.2 percent of illegal workers who returned from Japan and Malaysia respectively (Laodumrongchai *et al.*, 2000). A meeting report of the Labour Department on 10 May 1996, estimated that the numbers of legal and illegal Thai workers in Singapore and Brunei was nearly the same. While in Malaysia the number of illegal workers was very much larger than the number of legal workers (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Numbers of Legal and Illegal Thai Workers Working in Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, 1995

Destination countries	Estimated numbers of Thais working in destination countries		Total
	Legal workers	Illegal workers	
Singapore	42,000 (60)	28,000 (40)	70,000 (100)
Brunei	35,000 (53.8)	30,000 (46.2)	65,000 (100)
Malaysia	5,490 (5)	104,335 (95)	109,825 (100)

Source: A meeting report of the Labour Department, 1996

3.2.2 Data from Provincial Employment Service Offices and Labour Controls

The second source of data used in this study was from the Provincial Employment Service Offices and Labour Control Offices. These two offices are branches of OEAO and there are 75 Provincial Employment Service Offices and 17 Labour Controls around the country. It will be noted that there are nine Labour Control points in the south of Thailand (Figure 3.1). One of the functions of the Provincial Employment Service Office is to record the details of people who travel overseas to work. Workers who arrange to go to work overseas by themselves, workers who come back for a short break during their contract or those who extend their contracts, then go back to work in the destination country (re-entry) are required to inform the Provincial Employment Service Office about their travel. To do so, workers have to fill in Form 39 "Notification of Working Abroad by Self Arrangement" (see Figure 3.2). Thus, the Provincial Employment Service Office records the details of these migrant workers, including the number of workers, place of origin, sex, age, marital status, job specification and the destination country

There was an announcement by the Labour and Social Welfare Ministry on 27 August 1998 that Thai people who leave the country for the purpose of working have to go through Labour Control before departure from Thailand (Silapra-archa, 1999). This is to prevent smuggling of workers out of the country as well as protect job seekers and employees who want to go to work overseas (Silapra-archa, 1999). At Labour Control, those people have to submit Form 12² "Declaration of Leaving the Kingdom to Work

² Form 12 "Declaration of leaving the Kingdom to work overseas" is a document that is needed for emigration clearance of Thai people leaving the country for the purpose of working.

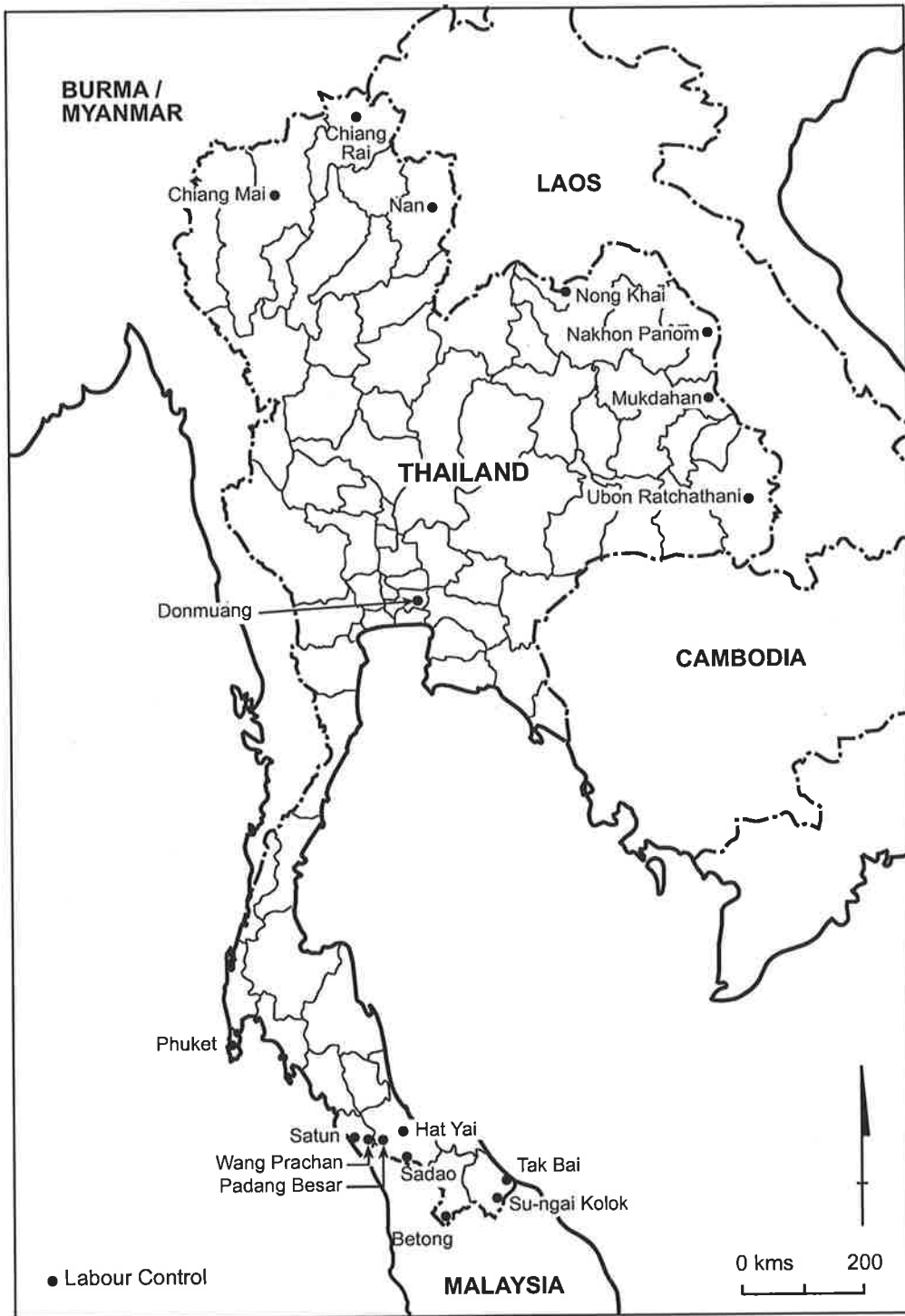


Figure 3.1 Location of Labour Controls

แบบแจ้งการเดินทางไปทำงานในต่างประเทศด้วยตนเอง

ตามมาตรา ๔๘ แห่งพระราชบัญญัติจัดหางานและคุ้มครองคนหางาน พ.ศ. ๒๕๒๘
 แก้ไขเพิ่มเติมโดยพระราชบัญญัติจัดหางานและคุ้มครองคนหางาน (ฉบับที่ ๒) พ.ศ. ๒๕๓๗

วันที่.....เดือน.....พ.ศ.....

เรียน อธิบดีกรมการจัดหางาน

ข้าพเจ้า นาย/นาง/นางสาว.....
 เกิดวันที่.....เดือน.....พ.ศ.....อายุ.....ปี ปัจจุบันเป็น โสด/สมรส/หย่าร้าง
 สถานที่เกิดจังหวัด.....ปัจจุบันอยู่บ้านเลขที่.....หมู่ที่.....ตรอก/ซอย
ถนน.....ตำบล/แขวง.....อำเภอ/เขต.....
 จังหวัด.....จบการศึกษาระดับ.....ถือหนังสือเดินทางเลขที่.....
 ออกให้เมื่อวันที่.....ณ.....หมดอายุวันที่.....

จะเดินทางไปทำงานในตำแหน่ง.....อัตราค่าจ้าง วัน/เดือนละ
บาท ระยะเวลาในสัญญาจ้าง.....เดือน ไปทำงานกับนายจ้าง/บริษัทชื่อ
ตั้งอยู่เลขที่.....ตู้ ปณ.....ถนน.....
 เมือง.....ประเทศ.....รหัสไปรษณีย์.....
 เลขหมายโทรศัพท์.....เลขหมายโทรสาร.....

ข้าพเจ้าติดต่อกับนายจ้างโดยใช้วิธี.....
 เสียค่าใช้จ่ายในการติดต่อเป็นจำนวนเงิน.....บาท และจะเดินทางไปทำงานโดยสายการบิน
เที่ยวบินที่.....วันที่.....เดือน.....พ.ศ.....

หากต้องการติดต่อข้าพเจ้าเมื่อเดินทางไปทำงานในต่างประเทศแล้ว ให้ติดต่อบุคคลใน
 ประเทศไทย ชื่อ.....ที่อยู่.....

พร้อมแนบนี้ข้าพเจ้าได้แนบสำเนาหลักฐานพร้อมเอกสารต้นฉบับจริงแสดง ดังนี้

- [] ๑. สำเนาบัตรประจำตัวประชาชน และทะเบียนบ้าน
- [] ๒. สำเนาหนังสือเดินทาง
- [] ๓. หลักฐานการติดต่อกับนายจ้างในต่างประเทศ
- [] ๔. สำเนาเอกสารการอนุญาตให้เดินทางเข้าทำงานในประเทศจะเดินทางไป
- [] ๕. สำเนาสัญญาจ้างที่ผ่านการรับรองจากสำนักงานแรงงานไทยในต่างประเทศ หรือ
 ส่วนราชการไทยที่เกี่ยวข้อง
- [] ๖. สำเนาบัตรประจำตัวประชาชนของผู้ให้ความยินยอม (กรณีสตรีไปทำงาน)

ข้าพเจ้าขอรับรองว่าข้อความข้างต้นเป็นความจริงทุกประการ

ขอแสดงความนับถือ

(ลงชื่อ).....คนหางาน

(.....)

Figure 3.2a Form 39 “Notification of Working Abroad by Self - Arrangement”

Notification of Working Abroad by Self - Arrangement

Section 48 of the Provision of Employment Service and Job Seekers Protect 1985
Revised and enlarged by Provision of Employment Service and Job Seekers Protect 1994

Date

Dear Director-General of the Department of Employment Services

I am Mr./Mrs./Miss Date of birth Age

Marital status single/married/divorce Place of birth

Home address Educational attainment

Passport No. Date of issue Place of issue..... Expiry date

Going to work in position Wage rate per day/month Baht

Length of contractmonths Work with employer/company name.....

Address..... country..... post code.....

Telephone..... Fax

I contract employment by/through..... Expenses of contract Baht

And will travel by Flight No. Date.....

If I need to be contacted after leaving the country, please contact this person in Thailand

Name Address.....

Documents, both original and copies, are enclosed herewith as follows;

- () 1. Copy of identity card and household registration certificate
- () 2. Copy of passport
- () 3. Document of employer's contact
- () 4. Copy of document granting permission for working in that country
- () 5. Copy of employment contract, certified by Thai Labour Office overseas or authorised Thai government service
- () 6. Copy of identity card of person who gave consent (in case of woman go to work)

I acknowledge that all information above is true.

Your sincerely,

(Signature)Job seeker
(.....)

Figure 3.2b Form 39 "Notification of Working Abroad by Self - Arrangement"
(Translated from Thai document)

บัตรขาออก
ลำดับที่ 0038190

แบบรายการการเดินทางออกไปทำงานนอกราชอาณาจักร

ชื่อ นาย/นาง/นางสาว	ชื่อสกุล	วันที่	เดือน	พ.ศ.	ปี
อยู่บ้านเลขที่		อายุ			
ตำบล/แขวง	อำเภอ/เขต	จังหวัด			
รหัสไปรษณีย์	หนังสือเดินทางเลขที่				
หมายเลขบัตรประจำตัวประชาชน					
เดินทางไปทำงานในต่างประเทศ					
<input type="radio"/> โดยทางรถไฟ					
<input type="radio"/> โดยทางเรือ					
<input type="radio"/> โดยทางรถยนต์					
<input type="radio"/> โดยทางอากาศ เที่ยวบินที่					
เป็นการเดินทางไป					
<input type="radio"/> ทำงานระหว่างอายุสัญญาจ้าง (RE-ENTRY VISA)					
<input type="radio"/> ทำงานด้วยตนเอง					
<input type="radio"/> ทำงานโดยกรมการจัดหางานจัดส่ง					
<input type="radio"/> ทำงานโดย บริษัทจัดหางาน					
เป็นผู้จัดส่ง สำนักงาน					
ตั้งอยู่เลขที่					
ตำบล/แขวง	อำเภอ/เขต	จังหวัด			
รหัสไปรษณีย์	โทรศัพท์	โทรสาร			
ไปทำงานกับนายจ้างชื่อ		ตำแหน่ง			
ค่าจ้าง	เป็นระยะเวลา				
ตั้งอยู่เลขที่					
เมือง	ประเทศ				
รหัสไปรษณีย์	โทรศัพท์	โทรสาร			
(ลายมือชื่อ)					
()					
ผู้ยื่นแบบรายการ					

ช่องนี้ใช้เฉพาะพนักงานเจ้าหน้าที่กรอก

เลขที่

ความเห็นของพนักงานเจ้าหน้าที่

ลงชื่อ

Figure 3.3a Form 12 “Declaration of Leaving the Kingdom to Work Overseas”
(In Thai)

Overseas” (Figure 3.3) and other documents namely; passport, employment contract, work contract, permission letter (in case of training for more than 45 days). The Labour Control will keep Form 12 that has details about the migrants themselves (name-surname, age, sex, marital status, educational attainment, current occupation) as well as the name of the employer or company, address of workplace abroad and mode of recruitment. The Provincial Employment Service Offices and Labour Controls send these data monthly to OEAO. Therefore the Provincial Employment Service Office in Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun and eight Labour Controls (three in Songkhla, two in each Narathiwat and Satun province and one in Yala province) (Figure 3.1) were places used for collecting the data of Thai overseas workers in this study.

However, getting the data from the Provincial Employment Service Offices and Labour Controls was difficult since the data are not published or computerised. The information about labour migration was recorded in books or files. The data from those available however, was only the numbers of labour migrants who went to work in other countries in each year.

The data that were collected from the offices of the Department of Employment Services, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, OEAO, Provincial Employment Service Offices and Labour Controls show that there were not many workers from Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun going to work overseas. Table 3.2 shows that in 1997 there were only 31 migrant workers from the four Southern border provinces going to work overseas. Even though the number increased in 1998 and 1999, the total number of workers from the four Southern border provinces were less than one percent when compared with the total figures for the country.

Table 3.2 The Number of Thai Overseas Workers from Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun, 1997-1999

Year	Numbers of Thai workers abroad				Total of the four Southern border provinces	Total for all of the country
	Pattani	Yala	Narathiwat	Satun		
1997	2	25	2	2	31	85,639
1998	12	17	12	18	59	91,364
1999	55	49	39	94	234	159,566

Source: Data provide by OEAO

In fact however, there are a large number of people in Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun who go to work overseas, particularly to Malaysia, but the statistics of those people have not been reported to the Department of Employment Services. This is because before they go to work in Malaysia, people in this area mostly use a border pass to get into, and work in, Malaysia. The official purpose of those leaving the kingdom who hold a border pass is to visit a relative or to visit the states of Malaysia that share a border with Thailand. In reality however they use the border passes to go to Malaysia to work. Thus those people in this area do not qualify as “migrant workers” according to the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, so their data are not included in the records and reports of OEAO, the Provincial Employment Service Offices and Labour Controls.

3.2.3 Data from the Provincial Offices and District Offices

Information on migrant workers from OEAO, Provincial Employment Service Offices and Labour Controls therefore, only reveal part of the international labour movement out of Thailand. This is because the data reported from those sources are only

migrant workers who go to work overseas legally through the processes of the Department of Employment Services. However there are many migrants who go to other countries ostensibly for other reasons such as to visit relatives or travel but in fact end up working at the destination (Hugo, 1993). A study by Jones and Pardthaisong (1998, p.37), states that the data of the Department of Labour does not cover three groups of migrant workers namely,

- workers sent abroad by unregistered (illegal) agents, usually on limited-term, social-visit passes (within the ASEAN region) or tourist visas;
- workers making their own arrangements, but again using tourist passes or visas;
- criminal syndicates that move workers clandestinely across land borders or bribe authorities at airport exit and entry points.

The data of the Department of Labour also however do not cover people in the four Southern border provinces;

- who use a border pass to go to Malaysia and end up working there
- who live along the border and regularly cross the border illegally, and often cross the Kolok river running along the border or travel by sea from Satun to Lang Kawi Island.

Mostly, people who live in the provinces of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun use a border pass (Figure3.4) for travelling between Thailand and Malaysia. A border pass is an official document that is issued to people who live along the border (Thailand-Malaysia). These people can use a border pass instead of a passport³. By using a

³ Normally, Thai citizens must have a passport that is issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for exiting or entering the Kingdom.



จังหวัดสงขลา
SONGKHLA PROVINCE

ที่ 2539 วันที่ 20 ส.ค. 2538
Bilangan 33679 / 1996 Tarikh 20 AUG 1996

ใบเบิกทางนี้ออกให้แก่ นางวิภา ทรมโวหาร
Ada pon surat kebenaran ini di - beri kepada MRS. WIPA PROMWONGHORN
ตำบล สะเทว อำเภอ สะเทว
dari SADR0 jajahan SADR0

ผู้มีสัญชาติ ไทย โดยกำเนิด
ไม่ใช่โดยกำเนิด และ

Peranakan bangsa THAI
bukan peranakan
ได้มาอยู่เป็นเวลา ปี ในตำบล สะเทว
telah tinggal selama tahun dalam Commune SADR0

ใบเบิกทางนี้ออกภายใต้ นางวิภา ทรมโวหาร
Maka surat ini menandakan yang tersebut MRS. WIPA PROMWONGHORN
เดินทางเข้าไปในเขตแดน
berjalan pergi ke - semananjong tanah

เพียงแค จุดปลายทางไม่เกินกว่า ๒๕ กิโลเมตร
Malaysia sa - jauh yang tiada lebeh dari 25 kilometres
จากพรมแดนไทย - มาเลเซีย มีกำหนด
dari pada sempadan negeri THAI - MALAYSIA selama masa สามเดือน
นับตั้งแต่วันที่แห่งใบเบิกทางนี้ THREE MONTH
dari pada tarikh hari ini.

(Front page)

Figure 3.4a A border pass (In Thai)

ชื่อ และ ตำนานรูปพรรณ ของ ผู้ถือ

2

Nama dan tanda yang di - kenal dari pada yang
 ใบเบิกทาง ของ ภูเขา และของบุตรผู้เยาว์ ซึ่งเดินทางไปด้วย

2

membawa surat kebenaran ini dari pada isteri dan anak yang mengikut - nya

ชื่อ Nama	อายุ Umor	อาชีพ Pekerjaan	ตำหนิรูปพรรณ Tanda 2 yang boleh di-kenal	ตำบลที่อยู่ Commune In Unggal	อำเภอ Jajahan	จังหวัด Province	หมายเหตุ * Lain ke- nyataan
นางวิภา ทนงไพฑูริ	26	มีประจำ	02004604	สะเทา	สะเทา	สงขลา	

ข้าพเจ้าทราบว่ามีใบเบิกทางผ่านแดนฉบับนี้

ซึ่งเดินทางเข้าไปในเขตมาเลเซียได้ไม่เกิน 25 ก.ม. จากเขตไทย



ลายมือชื่อหรือพิมพ์ลายนิ้วมือของผู้ถือใบเบิกทาง
 Tanda tangan atau chap ibu jari yang
 mempunyai surat kebenaran ini

(นายอำเภอสะเทา)
 นายอำเภอสะเทา
 ตำบลสะเทา อำเภอสะเทา จังหวัดสงขลา
 ข้าพเจ้ามีมือเจ้าหน้าที่ออกใบเบิกทาง
 Tanda tangan Pegawai yang memberi surat
 kebenaran ini

รูปถ่ายของผู้ถือใบเบิกทางนี้
 Gamber yang mempunyai surat
 kebenaran ini

ตำแหน่ง
 Jawatan

นายอำเภอสะเทา
 DISTRICT OFFICER OF SADAQ
 ตาปะระจำตำแหน่ง
 Chap Jawatan

(Back page)

Continue Figure 3.4a A border pass (In Thai)

Songkhla Province

No. ____/1996 Date _____

This Border pass issued for _____

Who lives in Sub-District _____ District _____

Nationality Thai by Natural-born
 Non natural-born and

Has lived for _____ years in Sub-District _____

This Border pass allows _____ travel into
 Malaysia only in destinations where distance is not more
 than 25 kilometres from the THAI-MALAYSIA border.
 Length of time THREE MONTHS since the date that this
 border has issued.

(Front page)

Name and characteristics of holder

Border pass of wife and child who join this travel

Name	Age	Occupation	Mark	Sub-District	District	Province	Note

I know that this border is to be used
 for travel into Malaysia that is not more than 25
 kms. From Thailand's border.

 Signature or finger print of holder

photo

Photo of holder

 Signature of officer who issued border pass

(Back page)

Figure 3.4b A border pass (Translated from Thai document)

border pass those people can visit and stay in the other country for no more than 6 months, and by using a border pass those people get into Malaysia as tourists although they work there. Data from Tak Bai District office, for example, showed that the numbers of people who applied for a border pass was more than one thousand each month (Table 3.3). The officer estimated that among people who applied for a border pass, 85-90 per cent go to work in Malaysia.

Table 3.3 The Number of People Who Applied for a Border Pass, Tak Bai District Office, 1997-1999.

Month	1997	1998	1999
January	1,298	1,153	1,385
February	2,490	2,784	1,402
March	1,574	1,702	1,268
April	2,365	2,106	3,512
May	1,514	1,709	2,628
June	1,413	1,679	2,105
July	1,218	1,557	2,056
August	1,554	1,663	1,297
September	1,229	1,287	1,144
October	1,666	1,436	1,242
November	1,960	2,286	1,860
December	1,815	1,338	1,600
Total	20,096	20,700	21,499

Source: Tak Bai District Office.

The present study, therefore, attempted to gather the data from other sources besides the data from the Department of Employment Service. The last two other sources of data are the data from the Provincial Office and the District Office. The Provincial

Offices are offices that issue border passes and are situated in each province that shares a border with Malaysia. There are offices in Yala, Narathiwat, and Satun. The District Office on the border with Malaysia is an office in a district situated on the border between Thailand and Malaysia. There are altogether six offices in four provinces: one in Yala, two in Narathiwat, two in Satun and one in Songkhla (Figure 3.5).

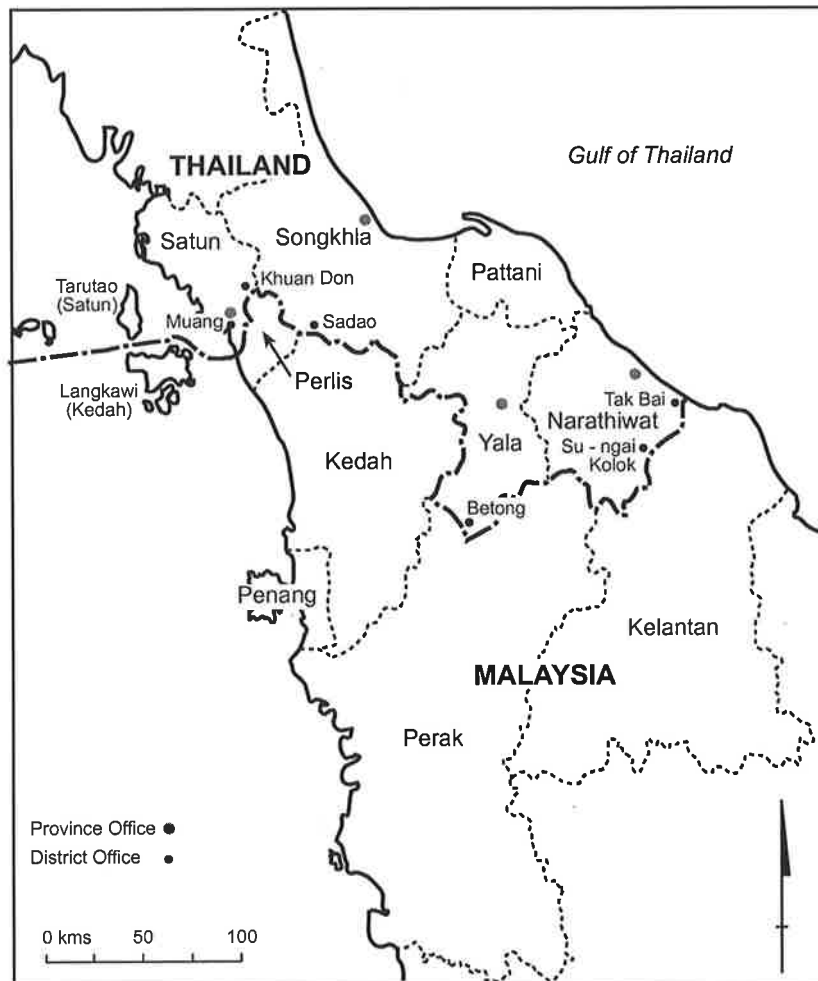


Figure 3.5 Location of Provincial Offices and District Offices that can Issue Border Passes

These offices have exactly the same function as the Provincial Office in issuing the border pass. Both the Provincial Office and the District Office on the border with Malaysia keep a record of those travellers who enter the four states of Malaysia. Indeed, the information from these two sources was important because they provided the researcher with information on those who live in the four Southern border provinces who entered Malaysia and who were the target population of this study.

There was an agreement with respect to traffic across the boundary between British Malaya and Thailand signed in 1940, which identified three groups of people who have a right to hold a border pass (Official document “Traffic across the boundary between British Malaya and Thailand”);

- Natural-born Thai nationals who live in Songkhla province, Yala province, Narathiwat province and Satun province who can go to four states of British Malaya namely, Perlis, Kedah, Perak and Kelantan (Figure 3.5). This includes people who live in Pattani. According to this agreement, people who lived in other provinces of Thailand cannot use a border pass.
- Non natural-born Thai nationals who have lived along the border at least 3 years and lived not further than 25 kilometres from the border. These people can go to British Malaya to the four states of Perlis, Kedah, Perak and Kelantan distance and travel up to 25 kilometres from the border.
- British protected persons of British Malaya who have lived in Thailand for at least 3 years and lived in the areas not further than 25 kilometres from the border. Those people can use border pass go to Malaysia as well as go back to Thailand (see figure 3.5).

The Governors of the provinces of Songkhla, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun as well as the heads of the district office of those provinces that have a border with Malaysia have the authority to issue a border pass. The district offices that have the authority to issue border passes are Sadao in Songkhla, Betong in Yala, Tak Bai and Su-ngai Kolok in Narathiwat, Muang and Kuan Don in Satun (Figure 3.5). The Governor and the head of District can issue a border pass for crossing to Malaysia only if a province and a district have a border with Malaysia. In the case of Pattani which does not have a land border with Malaysia, people in this province have to submit an application form (Figure 3.6) at the district office where they live. Then they take the approval form to submit at the District office that has a border with Malaysia to approve it again. For example, if a person who lives in Pattani wants to go to Kelantan through Rantau Panjang border crossing they have to go to Su-ngai Kolok District to be approved for a border pass.

People who apply for a border pass have to fill in an application form (Figure 3.7), except for people who live in Pattani who have to fill in a different form, and hold documents to prove that they have the right to hold a border pass namely: identity card, household registration certificate, military clearance (only for men) and two photos. The officers of the Province Office as well as the District Office keep the information and record data for those people who apply.

Getting these data from the District Offices and the Province Offices was difficult. Unlike the data of the Employment Services Department, the data are not reported annually and not processed at all. Moreover, the data also were difficult to access. The researcher required official letters and she had to travel to every District

คำร้องหนังสือเดินทางข้ามแดนไทย - มาเลเซีย

ที่ว่าการอำเภอเมืองปัตตานี

วันที่.....เดือน.....ปี.....

ข้าพเจ้า.....อายุ.....ปี เชื้อชาติไทย สัญชาติไทย

อาชีพ.....สถานที่.....ถนน/ตรอก/ซอย.....หมู่ที่.....

ตำบล.....อำเภอเมืองปัตตานี จังหวัดปัตตานี ขอขึ้นบัตรกำรองท่องเที่ยวข้ามแดนเมือง

ปัตตานี จึงมีความคืบไป

ข้าพเจ้ามีความประสงค์ขอหนังสือเดินทางไปยังรัฐ.....ประเทศมาเลเซีย

มีกำหนด 3 เดือน.....วัน พร้อมด้วย.....

.....

วัตถุประสงค์เพื่อ.....

โดยออกจากประเทศไทย ประมาณวันที่.....เดือน.....ปี.....

ทางด่านตรวจคนเข้าเมือง.....ขอโปรดพิจารณาให้การให้เอกสารจากทางกรม

ประสงค์ด้วย

(ลงชื่อ).....ผู้ขอหนังสือเดินทาง

(.....)

ความเห็นเจ้าหน้าที่

ผู้ร้องขอมีชื่อในทะเบียนบ้านเลขที่.....ถนน/ตรอก/ซอย.....

หมู่ที่.....ตำบล.....อำเภอเมืองปัตตานี จังหวัดปัตตานี และอำเภอใกล้เคียงตามเขตการ

ของผู้อยู่หนังสือเดินทางข้ามแดนไทย - มาเลเซียเรียบร้อยแล้วเห็นควรส่งเรื่องราวไปให้

นายอำเภอ.....จังหวัด.....พิจารณาออกหนังสือเดินทางข้าม

แดนไทย - มาเลเซียต่อไป

(ลงชื่อ).....เจ้าหน้าที่

(.....)

วันที่...../...../.....

คำสั่ง.....

.....

.....

Figure 3.6a A Border Pass Application Form for People Who Live in Pattani (In Thai)

Application for border pass to cross the Thailand-Malaysia border

Muang District office

Date

I am Age Nationality

Occupation Home address

Sub-district Muang District, Pattani Province confirmed to submit a apply to the head of Muang District office as following

I would like to apply for border pass to go to the State, Malaysia length of time three months, with

The purpose of travelling

Date of leaving Thailand

I will enter through Immigration please act on my request.

(Signature) person who applied
(.....)

Comment of official

Applicant has a name in household registration certificate No. Road.....
Village..... Sub-district Muang District, Pattani Province. An officer already investigated the circumstances of this person and agreed that this application should be taken to the Head of District Province for the issuance of a border pass.

(Signature) Officer
(.....)

Date

Order.....
.....
.....

Figure 3.6b A Border Pass Application Form for People Who Live in Pattani
(Translated from Thai document)

แบบ 1



Blank rectangular box at the top of the form.

ถ้าเขียนภาษาอังกฤษ ถ้าเขียนไม่ได้ให้เขียนภาษาไทย หรือพิมพ์ลายพิมพ์
หัวแม่มือซ้าย แล้วแต่กรณี

คำร้อง.....ขอ.....พำนักเดินทางไปยังประเทศไทย
ขอต่ออายุ

วันที่.....เดือน.....พ.ศ.....

รับเข้า.....พ.ศ.....ศักราช.....เดือน.....

เลขประจำตัวประชาชน

ชื่อและสกุล (ตามบัตรประชาชน).....

เกิดที่จังหวัด.....เมื่อ.....พ.ศ.....

อายุ.....ปี.....เดือน.....วัน.....

สถานที่ทำงาน.....โทรศัพท์.....

ตั้งบ้านเรือนอยู่ที่.....โทรศัพท์.....

บิดาชื่อ.....เกิดที่.....ประเทศ.....

มารดาชื่อ.....เกิดที่.....ประเทศ.....

สามี ชื่อ.....เกิดที่.....ประเทศ.....ยังมีชีวิต

ภรรยา.....ถึงแก่กรรม

วัตถุประสงค์ในการเดินทาง.....

ชื่อ ที่อยู่ และหมายเลขโทรศัพท์ ของบุคคลใกล้ชิดที่อ้างอิงได้ 2 คน

๑.....

๒.....

ข้าพเจ้าขอรับรองว่า ชื่อความข้างบนนี้เป็นความจริงทุกประการ

สำหรับเจ้าหน้าที่

หนังสือเดินทาง เลขที่.....

ออกให้ที่.....เมื่อ.....

ไว้ให้ถึงวันที่.....

ต่ออายุถึงวันที่.....

(ลายมือชื่อผู้มีอำนาจลงนาม)
และตราประทับ



(ลายมือชื่อขอหนังสือเดินทาง)
เป็นภาษาไทย

Figure 3.7a A Border Pass Application Form (In Thai)

Signature in English if cannot be signed in Thai or finger print

Apply..... For..... Passport to go to abroad
for extend

Date

I am Sex Nationality
Identity card No.
Name and surname (in English)
Place of Birth Date of Birth Age
Eye's colour Hair's colour Height Occupation
Office address Telephone
Home address Telephone
Name of father Place of Birth Country
Name of mother Place of Birth Country
Name of husband..... Place of Birth Country Alive
wife Dead
Purpose of travelling
Name, address, and telephone of person who can refer 2 person
1.....
2.....

I confirm that the information above are true.

For the officer
Passport No.
Place of Issue Date
Expiry date
Extended to

(Signature of authorised person)
and seal

(Signature of passport holder)
In Thai

Figure 3.7b A Border Pass Application Form (Translated from Thai document)

office to gather the data by herself. In some cases she had to copy the information by hand, and in others she could get only the numbers of applicants. The information of who applied for a border pass was recorded either in record books that officers use for their everyday work or in files. The data at some offices had the number of applicants, name and home address. Some had only the number and address, by district or province. The researcher did ask to check the other details of applicants from their application form, but unfortunately some offices destroy the application forms every three or six months by burning them. The officers gave the reason that because a border pass applies for only three months the details of people who apply was kept only for three months. If there were no problems with the people who applied, it was not necessary to keep the forms and they did not have enough room to store them. Thus the data available were the number of people who applied for a border pass in each year.

The secondary data that were gathered from Government offices from the sources mentioned above have some limitations. For example, some information such as sex, place of destination, marital status, education etc. was missing or not fully complete. Most information from these offices was unsystematically collected. This made it difficult for the researcher to crosscheck them. Another limitation was that the data did not provide any detail about causes and impacts of migration that are the objectives of the present study. Hence, it was necessary to collect primary data to address these issues. According to Zlotnik (1987, p.1546), "Surveys, in particular, were judged to be the best tools available to researchers for the in-depth study of migration as a process and to achieve data comparability. They were considered to be well suited to gather the information necessary to test behavioural models, to obtain information on

undocumented migration or to follow migrant cohorts through time". Bilsborrow *et al.* point out the limitations of the standard data collection systems producing information on international migration in general or on special types of international migration, that "...although all the systems considered so far often gather some information that is relevant for the characterization of international migrants – in terms of sex, age, citizenship, education, date of arrival, country of previous residence, or occupation - the information gathered is too limited to allow the in-depth analysis of the likely causes of international migration or of its consequences for the persons involved" (Bilsborrow *et al.*, 1997, p.237).

3.3 Collecting Primary Data

3.3.1 Conducting the Field Survey

The field survey was conducted between November 1999 and June 2000. Collecting the data was divided into three steps. In the first step secondary data were gathered from Government offices in Bangkok, Songkhla, Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun as well as informal interviews with some government officials. Firstly, the researcher visited Provincial Employment Service Offices to get data about the number of labour migrants going to work overseas and discussed with officials the situation of employment in the province as well as the pattern of labour migration, both internal and international. Then she visited Labour Control offices to obtain data of the number of labour migrants in each year. At the Labour Control, officers were asked general information about people crossing the border: Where do they come from? Where do they

usually go? What kind of job do they do in Malaysia? How many people go through Labour Control per day?

After receiving information from those offices, the researcher went to the Province Offices and the District Offices on the border with Malaysia to get data on people who applied for a border pass. At these places, the researcher talked with people who had applied for a border pass, about how they feel about getting a border pass (is it complicated, too slow, difficult to get, time consuming and expensive?) and their experience in working, travelling and visiting relatives in Malaysia.

After the stage of gathering secondary data was finished, the second step was collecting data in the villages. Eight field assistants were recruited for this purpose. Five of them were Voluntary Graduates⁴(Bundit Asa) who were temporary employees of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. Two were teachers of the Skill Development Center, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare and one was a teacher of the Community Learning Center, Adult Education Center, Ministry of Education. They were selected based on the following,

1.) They were local people, who lived in the survey villages or nearby. This reduced the cost of accommodation and transportation. Importantly they could catch up with migrants when they returned to visit their villages since migrants working overseas usually stay in the village a short time. Migrants will stay at home during the fasting month or Ramadan for about one month; some come back before the Muslim New Year (Hari Raya) two to three days and stayed in the villages after the celebration for two to

⁴ The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare and the Ministry of University have set up a project to hire graduates who are currently unemployed to work in their own community. The aims of this project were to reduce the unemployment of graduates and develop the work efficiency of the "Population Aid Center" in villages (Handbook of Voluntary Graduate).

three days. Some of them come back to apply for a new border pass⁵ or re-stamp a border pass, then have to go back to work again.

2.) They spoke the local Malay dialect. Since the survey villages are Muslim village people mostly speak the Malay dialect. Some can speak Thai but some cannot, so it important to have interviewers who can communicate with villagers.

3.) They have experience in working with villagers and collecting data in villages since it relates to their work. This assisted them in collecting data in the villages. However, it was necessary to give them information about the aims and objectives of the study and to train them.

In training, they were given examples of all questionnaires, Questionnaire 1 Village headman interview, Questionnaire 2 Migrant family survey, Questionnaire 3 Male/female migrants and Questionnaire 4 Non-migrants in the village interview. Then the researcher explained the purpose of each questionnaire, looked at the questions one by one and discussed how to obtain and record answers, details of the respondents for each questionnaire (male/female migrants, female migrant household, non- migrants), the number of respondents for each questionnaire. The techniques of collecting the data in fieldwork and problems that might be faced in the field also were discussed⁶.

⁵ A border pass usually can be used for 3 months and it needs to be stamped at Immigration both in Thailand and Malaysia each month.

⁶ There were two cases of sampled respondents who refused to answer the questionnaire. The first case was a female migrant household with two daughters working in Malaysia in Ban Tu Ra. They refused to answer because their daughters were caught and fined by a Malaysian officer two days before the research assistant visited their house. Another one was a male migrant in Ban Ta Lo Sai. He told the research assistant that he was asked the questions several times by several persons, but nothing had changed for the better, so he did not want to answer the question any more.

The field survey was conducted in villages in the study region. The survey was only carried out in the area of origin since it was difficult to be able to study the destination areas as well. This is because it is expensive to travel to different places in Malaysia and access is dangerous and difficult since most of the migrants work illegally and their employers are reluctant to allow researchers to talk with their employees (Chin, 1997). However direct information about the experience at the destination can be obtained from those who come back to visit home and are waiting for a new contract in the villages as well as from return migrants. Female migrants were asked to reconstitute their migration experience using a similar method to that employed by Hugo (1975). In addition by studying sending societies, we can gain an understanding of the context (characteristics of households and limitations or opportunities in the community and society) that influences migration decision-making.

3.3.2 Selecting the Study Villages

It has been agreed that probability sampling should be used whenever possible in migration surveys (Bilsborrow *et al.*, 1997), although non-probabilistic surveys were judged useful for exploratory purposes (Zlotnik, 1987, p.1546). In this study, purposive sampling rather than random sampling was employed to select the study villages since there was no sampling frame about the level of international labour migration from the villages. Moreover because the objective of the study was to focus on female migrants, villages could not be selected randomly but chosen because they had large numbers of female migrant workers. If the villages were selected randomly several of those selected would not have large numbers of female migrants. Because the purpose of the study was to explore the causes of female labour migration and study the impacts of international

labour migration on the role and empowerment of the females involved, the close involvement of the researcher in selecting appropriate villages for survey, was required to obtain the depth of detail that can assist in understanding the migration process of female migrants. Hence the number of villages that could be studied was limited. Furthermore, this study used both qualitative and quantitative techniques to collect and analyse information. The collection of qualitative information using intensive methods such as observation, participation, revisiting and intensive interviews was time consuming. The limited available budget was also a determinant of sample size. Bilsborrow *et al.* (1997, p.274) state that if the population of interest is homogeneous, it requires a smaller sample than does a heterogeneous population. In the four southern border provinces the composition of population and socio-economic situation are similar as was reported in the previous chapter, thus it was considered that eight villages could represent the situation of female international labour migration in the four southern border provinces. To present a comprehensive picture of international labour migration out of the four southern border provinces, villages were selected based on the following criteria:

- There are a large number of female overseas workers.
- To represent a variety in the types of work at the destination that female migrants were involved in, for example domestic work, shop assistants, baby sitters and hired labour in the agricultural sector as well as factory workers.
- Basic economies of the villages are different such as fishing, rice farming, orcharding and rubber production.

The villages were selected using a multistage selection procedure as shown in Figure 3.8. Selection of the eight villages was based upon data that were obtained from

Labour Control Offices, Provincial Offices, and District Offices that have a border with Malaysia as well as information from officers who had jobs related to migrant workers such as head of Labour Control and officers who recorded the number of people who applied for a border pass. In addition preliminary reconnaissance visits were made to many villages in the region. In the first stage, the districts in each province with the largest number of female overseas workers were identified. Those are Yaring and Panare districts in Pattani, Raman district in Yala, Tak Bai and Su-ngai Kolok district in Narathiwat and Muang and La-ngu district in Satun (Figure3.9). Yala has the fewest number of people working outside the country when compared to the other three provinces. So only one district was selected from Yala.

In the next stage, each of the districts and sub-districts, which have a large number of female overseas migrants, were identified. The selection of the sub-districts was based on the suggestion of the District Developers⁷ who work closely with people in each district. Initially, three sub-districts that had a large number of female overseas migrants were chosen. Field reconnaissance in sub-districts and villages was done at the same time. Two or three villages in each sub-district were visited. The sub-district headman (Gumnan), village headman (Pooyai Ban) or assistant village headmen (Phu choo-ay) were interviewed about labour migration in the village by asking the following questions.

⁷ District Developers are government officials of the Ministry of Interior, who have responsibility for the promotion and upgrading of the livelihood of people in economic, social and political aspects (Department of Community Development)

Four Southern Border Provinces

Province

Pattani

Yala

Narathiwat

Satun



District

Yaring

Raman

Su-ngai Kolok

Muang

Panare

Tak Bai

La-ngu



Sub-district

Ta Li Ai

Ka Ro

Pasir-Mas

Ban Kuan

Rata Payang

Na Nak

Pak Nam

Panare



Village

Ban Ba Kong

Ban Ta No Pu Yo

Ban Tu Ra

Ban Khok Sai

Ban Ya Mu Chalaem

Ban Pa Da Do

Ban Ta Lo Sai

Ban Panare

Figure 3.8 Stages in the Selection of the Study Villages

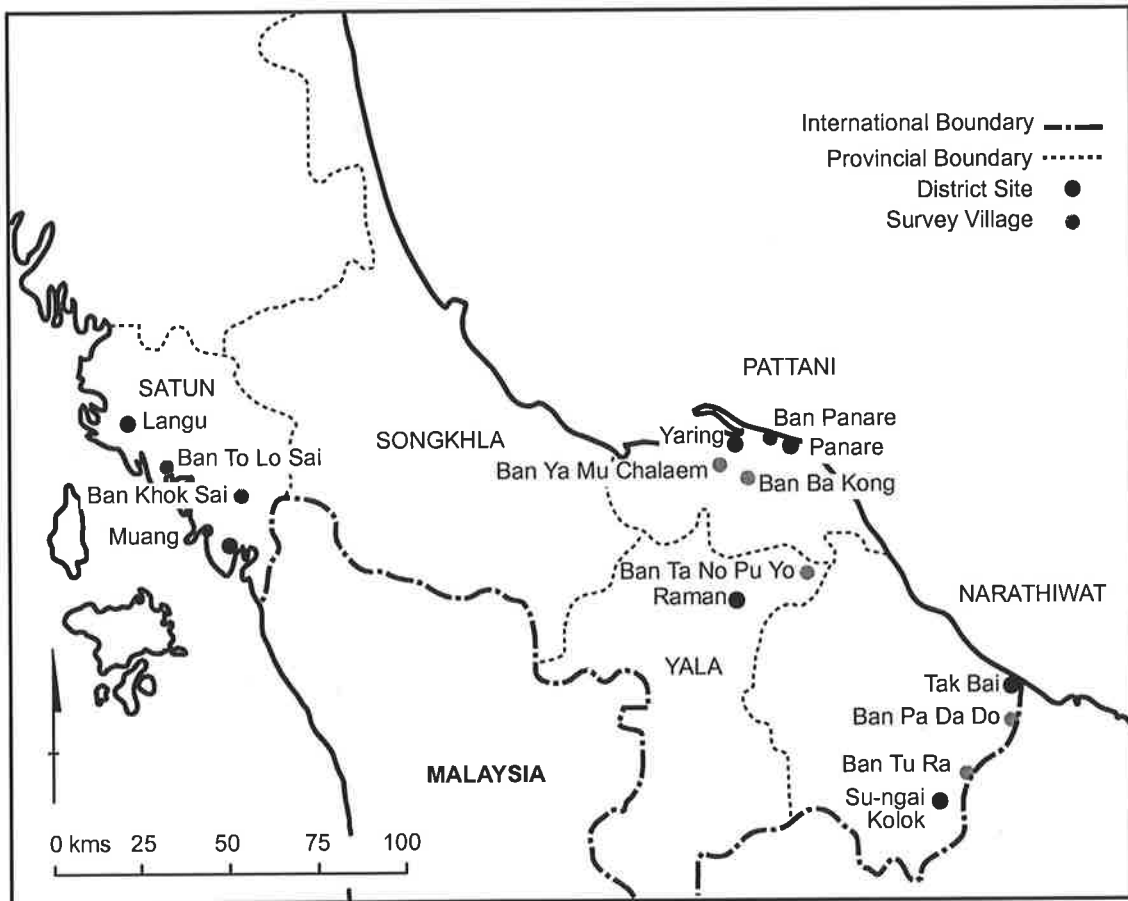


Figure 3.9 The Eight Survey Villages

1. How many total households were there in this village in 1999?
2. What was the total population of this village in 1999?

Male _____ Female _____

3. What is the main occupation of people of this village?
4. What are the additional occupations of people of this village?
5. Do people from this village go to work outside the village? Yes/No
6. Where do most of them usually go?

- a. To other village How many? Male _____ Female _____
- b. City How many? Male _____ Female _____
- c. To another country How many? Male _____ Female _____

7. Mainly in what kind of work are they involved?

- a. In other village 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____
- b. City 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____
- c. Other country 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

8. Compared to 10 years ago, does this village have more, the same, less females working in another country?

Based on the data on females working abroad obtained from the questionnaire, two sub-districts and three villages in Pattani, two sub-districts and two villages in Narathiwat and Satun and one sub-district and one village in Yala were selected. Within Yaring District two sub-districts, Ta Li Ai and Rata Payang were selected since Yaring has been the district that has the largest volume of international labour migration in the four Southern border provinces (Thaweessit, 1986 and Wittayapreechakul, 1990). The destination of female migrants from Ta Li Ai was Saudi Arabia while in the other sub-districts most work in Malaysia.

The results of the study can not be interpreted as being strictly representative of all migrant villages in the four provinces. The study, however, does represent the common pattern of female labour migration from the four southern border provinces. The study has attempted to cover the main characteristics of the population of four Southern border provinces that are involved in agricultural activities. So the main occupations that are engaged in the study areas are rice farming, rubber production, orcharding and small

coastal fishery. Among eight villages, three villages are involved in rice farming, Ban Ba Kong, Ban Ya Mu Chalaem, and Ban Pa Da Do, there are two fishing villages, Ban Panare and Ban To Lo Sai, one rubber village, Ban Ta Nu Pu Yu, one orchard village, Ban Tu Ra, and one rice farming and rubber, Ban Khok Sai (see Figure 3.9).

3.3.3 The Unit of Analysis

To explore the causes and impacts of international labour migration, this study used a multi-level approach. The analytical units were individuals (female and male migrants), households, and communities (non-migrants and village headmen). Research on the determinants of migration has come to recognise the importance of considering not only the individual characteristics of the migrant and their family or household but also aspects of the place or community of origin and of possible destinations that influence migration decisions (United Nations, 1996). Bilsborrow (1993) studied the determinants of internal migration of women in developing countries using a multi-level approach namely, overall society and community, household, and individual migrants. Similarly, Riley and Gardner (1993) write that there are various factors that influence the role of women in making migration decisions. Those factors are women's individual characteristics (age, stage in the life cycle and education), family characteristics (size, structure and relationships between family members) as well as social and economic factors external to the family in the societies of origin and destination. Moreover, they point out that gender is a key factor in the decision-making. This is because the responses of individuals to conditions (problems and/or opportunities) in the place that he/she lives are not the same. It will depend upon his or her capacity to perceive and manipulate the context. That will vary according to his or her position and values within society, of

which gender is a major determinant (Riley and Gardner, 1993, p.196). However, until now, most international migration studies have been insensitive to gender (Grieco and Boyd, 1998). To get more understanding of how gender reflects structural factors (household as well as society and community) and influences the migration process, a gender-sensitive framework (the three-stage analytical framework) similar to that developed by Grieco and Boyd (1998) was adapted and used in this study.

The three-stage analytical framework divided the process of migration into three stages: pre-migration, the act of migration and post-migration. The process of migration in this framework ends in the receiving society, but some types of migration do not end at the country of destination because some migrants want to, or have to, go back to their own country after they finish their work in other countries. As Hugo (1999) states, the fastest growing type of female international labour migration in Asia is contract labour migration, “whereby women undertake to work in the destination nation for a specified period of time” (Hugo, 1999, p.12). This was the case of all female migrants in the survey villages. This study, therefore, considers the impact of migration on migrants in the sending society at the post-migration stage.

3.3.4 Methods of Collecting Data

For obtaining primary data, a field survey and other intensive methods such as careful observation and participant observation as well as interviewing knowledgeable people and key informants about both legal, as well as undocumented, migrants were employed for collecting the information needed for the present study. In collecting the data, the interviews were started from the village headman. The researcher interviewed all of the village headmen. The assistants interviewed migrants, non-migrants, both male

and female, and female migrant households using the questionnaires. The last step was the collection of qualitative information by intensive interviews of female migrants and interviewing key informants, the Vice-Director of the Southern Border Provinces Administrative Centre (SBPAC) and Governors of the four southern border provinces.

3.3.4.1 Collecting Quantitative Data

Some 380 females; 50 females from seven survey village and 30 females from Ban Ta No Pu Yu who used to migrate or currently migrate to work overseas were selected for interview using a structured questionnaire. Questionnaire 3 (see Appendix I) sought information about migration history, the factors that related to the migration process in the pre-migration, the act of migration and post-migration phases (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4 Analytical Units and Types of Questionnaires Used in the Survey

Analytical units	Number of respondents	Information Sought
I. Individual level 1. Female migrant 2. Male migrant	380 160	Questionnaire 3 , Migration history, the factors that related to the migration process in pre-migration, the act of migration and post-migration in destination societies and in original societies.
II. Household level 1. Female migrant household	160	Questionnaire 2 , Composition of household, type and quality of migrant's dwelling, household assets and socio-economic and characteristics of labour migrants in household. Opinion toward migration and female migrant in the household.
III. Community level 1. Village headman	8 80 80	Questionnaire 1 , Main problems in the village, opportunities for working in the village, opinion on migration as well as on female labour migrants. Questionnaire 4 , Attitude to working overseas and opinion of female migrants. Questionnaire 4 , Attitude to working overseas and opinion of female migrants.

This questionnaire asked about the decision making of female migrants; who was involved in the decision for her to go to work overseas? Did she want to move or was she forced to go to work overseas? Why does she want to go to work overseas? If she was forced, who forced her to go to work? And why did she have to go to work overseas? Questions were also asked about the role of social networks in migration and their experience at the time of departure and entering the destination. For better understanding of the causes of migration, and to know how gender relations, roles and hierarchies are important in the process of migration and how gender has an effect on migration outcome different between males and females, female and male migrants were compared. About 20 male migrants in each village were selected for interview using the same questionnaire that was used for female migrants.

Regarding the impact of migration on female migrants, this study aimed to examine the effects of international labour migration on the role and empowerment (social and economic) of the females involved. We want to know whether migration makes females gain or lose power or whether it changes their position at all. Therefore, the roles of women were compared before and after they migrate. How does their role and degree of empowerment change? Questions were asked to determine the impacts of migration in origin societies and the experience of the migrants in destination societies. With regard to the experience in the destination, questions were asked such as the conditions at the work place, whether they were satisfied with their income, employers, co-workers and work environment. To determine impacts in origin societies, questions were asked about remittances, their situation before and after they went to work overseas, their opinion about working abroad and working in the village and the good as well as

bad effects on themselves after they went to work overseas. Moreover, among the female migrants a comparison was made between married and young single females. This is because the roles and status of females as daughter, wife or mother are different, so that the causes and impacts of migration might not be the same.

For the impact of migration on the female migrants, the contexts of family and the community were also considered. As indicated in Table 3.4, 160 female migrant households were selected for interview by using questionnaire 2 (Appendix I). In each household, father/father in law, mother/mother in law or husband (in case of married women) was asked about the composition of the household, type and quality of migrant's dwelling, household assets and socio-economic and characteristics of the labour migrants in the household. Importantly, their opinion toward migration and female migration in their household was asked, what are the good effects on your family that result from (name of female migrant) working overseas? And what are the bad effects on your family that result from (name of female migrant) going to work overseas?

At the community level, in Table 3.4 the village headmen in the eight villages were interviewed about the main problems in the village, opportunities for working in the village, opinions on migration and what they thought about women going to work overseas, by using Questionnaire 1 (Appendix I). In addition, female and male non-migrants in each village were interviewed using Questionnaire 4. About 10 male non-migrants and 10 female non-migrants in each village were interviewed regarding their attitude to working overseas and opinions on female migrants such as is it good for single young women/married women to work overseas? Why? Is the economic situation of

women who go to work generally improved/same/worse than before? Why? Is the social status of women who go to work overseas changed? How?

3.3.4.2 Collecting Qualitative Data

The researcher went to each village every month to follow up the work, checking the completeness of questionnaires and discussing problems with research assistants.

The researcher also kept contact with the field assistants via telephone since there were long distances involved in travelling to villages. In each visit, two to three female migrants were interviewed informally about their experience working overseas. Revisiting the villages led migrants to become familiar with the researcher and they became friendly. After the female migrants had been interviewed, some of them were selected for more intensive interviews to gain more understanding of their experiences, their reasons for migration and the problems that they have faced. As Bilborrow *et al.* (1997, p.293) indicate “Intensive interviews can thus complement and enrich the somewhat dry quantitative analysis based on large-scale surveys, and thus may add insights that help in the interpretation of the quantitative results”. Additional information was gathered in a number of informal conversations with village headmen, their assistants’ and other knowledgeable people in villages at their homes as well as in coffee or teashops in the villages.

As a last step, the Vice-Director of the Southern Border Provinces Administration Centre (SBPAC) and Governors of four southern border provinces were interviewed about their attitude to female migrants and special plans or programs for female migrants. As the interviews were of an exploratory nature, a list of topics was drawn up, but there were no structured interviewed schedules. The lists of topics included:

- Labour migration in the province (internal and international migration),
- Province's Policies or Plans about labour migration in short term and long term,
- Promotion or encouragement for labour to go to work overseas,
- Problems that related to working overseas of people in the province and how those problems are solved.

Interviewees were encouraged to discuss information and concerns about topics related to female migration within their immediate experience. The interviewing went very well. The Vice-Director of the SBPAC and the Governors openly discussed working conditions in the area. The labour market is quite narrow; there are not many factories and businesses in the area. There were a large number of people in this area working in Malaysia since many jobs were available and comparing wages in the same jobs; Malaysia is higher than Thailand. The Governor of Narathiwat said, "people in every village of Narathiwat migrate to work in Malaysia and recently the number of female migrants outnumber male migrants". The provincial government officers have attempted to create jobs and there are several training projects to promote work at village level, but some projects were not successful. This is because some projects do not have enough people joining them. The Government however, encourages people in the area to work in Malaysia since it can make people better off economically. Moreover, there have not been serious problems among labour migrants like that which has occurred among those from other regions of Thailand.

3.5 Problems in the Field Survey

There were problems in collecting the data in Narathiwat and Pattani provinces that made the researcher change the study villages. In Narathiwat initially a village in Ko Satorn sub-district, Tak Bai district was selected, but she had to select Ban Pa Da Do instead because it was difficult to get the data. The villagers did not welcome strangers and that made it difficult to get information. The researcher discussed this problem with the District Developer of Tak Bai district; he suggested the researcher study in Ban Pa Da Do. She then selected Ban Pa Da Do since it is also a rice farming village similar to the former one and a Voluntary Graduate was also available to help as research assistant in this village. While in Pattani, field assistants found problems in interviewing labour migrants in a fishing village of Panare sub-district since their Malay was not good. This made collecting the data slow and difficult. The researcher discussed this problem with the head of Panare sub-district, who said that Ban Panare, a fishing village, also has a large number of people going out to work in Malaysia. His daughter who works as a teacher in the Provincial Skill Development Center could help in collecting the data in the village. So Ban Panare was selected instead of the first one and the field assistant also was changed.

However, there were also problems of the respondents understanding the questions in the questionnaire. The questionnaires were written in Thai thus the field assistants had to translate Thai language to Malay dialect in order to ask the respondents questions. There were some words in the Malay dialect for which we could not find words in the Thai language that have the same exact meaning.

3.6. Processing the Data

Once the field survey in Thailand was completed, coding and processing the data were done in Adelaide, Australia. A codebook was prepared. Then survey data were transferred on to the computer using the SPSS 101. The data were analysed using frequencies to check the consistency of the data and then cross-tabulations were made. Results of the analysis were examined carefully and supplemented with qualitative data.

3.7 Conclusion

Secondary data sources of international labour migration in Thailand are still limited. Hence, collecting data in field surveys is necessary. In collecting data, both quantitative and qualitative approaches were employed. The quantitative methods included a field survey and the use of a questionnaire while the qualitative methods were careful observation, participation and interviewing. Even though both are different the approaches are complementary.

Chapter 4

International Labour Migration in Four Southern Border Provinces, Thailand

4.1 Introduction

There are only a few previous studies focusing on international labour migration in the four southern border provinces of Thailand. The Southern region has largely been seen as being settled by people rarely travelling beyond the region and being highly immobile. Compared to other regions of Thailand, interprovincial migration out of the region, especially to Bangkok, is low in the South. As Chamrathirong *et al.* (1995, p.28) stated “ Bangkok is the preferred regional destination for migrants from all regions except the South”. Furthermore, a study on religion and migration in the South of Thailand by Guest and Uden (1994) concluded that Muslims have lower probabilities of migration than Buddhists. Guest and Uden (1994, p.29) contend that “being Muslim restricts opportunities for migration”. They argue that there are two ways that restriction can occur, first, “the opportunities for employment may be closed” and “ Opportunities for migration may also be self-imposed. Where members of a group such as Southern Muslims view themselves as belonging to a minority group they may wish to stay in proximity to other members of their group”.

The South has not only been seen as having low mobility with respect to internal migration but also to international labour migration. According to data of the Overseas Employment Administrative Office (OEAO) in Table 4.1, in 1997, only 0.2 percent of migrant workers leaving Thailand to work overseas were from the South and the percentage rose to 0.3 and 0.4 in 1998 and 1999. Looking more closely at migrant workers from the four southern border provinces, Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat

and Satun found that different data showed that there were only 31 migrant workers from those four provinces working overseas in 1997. This number of workers, however, increased to 59 and 237 in 1998 and 1999, but these are negligible numbers when compared to numbers of migrant workers from other regions of the country.

Table 4.1 Number of Thai Workers Working Overseas by Selected Region and Provinces, 1997-1999

Region	1997	1998	1999
Central	1,899 (2.3)	3,480 (3.8)	10,473 (6.6)
Northeastern	64,280 (75.0)	65,761 (72.0)	110,898 (69.5)
Northern	18,135 (21.2)	20,387 (22.3)	33,404 (20.9)
Southern	150 (0.2)	243 (0.3)	700 (0.4)
Pattani	2	12	55
Yala	25	17	49
Narathiwat	2	12	39
Satun	2	18	94
Total	85,639 (100.0)	91,364 (100.0)	159,566 (100.0)

Source: Unpublished data provided by the OEAO

From this data it looks as if there is minimal migration of labour from these four border provinces; in fact, however, this is not the case. Instead of migrating to work in Bangkok and/or other countries such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan and Singapore like the majority of Thais do, they migrate to different places in Malaysia. Studying geographical mobility of the labour force in the Southern border provinces of Thailand, Thaweessit (1986) found that in four villages in Pattani, there was a high degree of labour mobility. About 72 percent of all household members moved to other areas for employment. There were two main flows of labour migration: about 70 percent moved to Malaysia (to Kedah and Kelantan) and about 25 percent moved to the other two provinces: Yala and Narathiwat. Only a small number moved to Singapore and Saudi Arabia.

As migrant workers in the four southern border provinces illegally enter Malaysia to work, their statistics are not included in the records of the OEAO. Hence,

it is important to try to assess the scale and composition of international labour migration, both documented and undocumented, in the four southern border provinces of Thailand from other sources not only from the OEAO. This chapter will focus on the scale of international labour migration in the four southern border provinces, the pattern of migration, modes of arranging to work, the destination areas and the occupations that they engage in.

4.2 The Scale of International Labour Migration in the Four Southern Border Provinces

According to Bilborrow *et al.* (1997, p. 191), “A major limitation of data derived from the control of contract labour migration by countries of origin is often their incompleteness, since they do not cover all workers who leave the country under a contract to work abroad”. This is the case of the OEAO in Thailand. On June 1995, the Thai labour Office in Malaysia (1997) reported that there were 384,240 migrant workers who entered Malaysia legally. The majority of them were Indonesian (253,877), followed by Bangladeshis (82,796) while Thai migrant workers were 21,965. In the same year, the statistics of Thai workers working in Malaysia from the OEAO were 11,247. The numbers of contract migrant workers that were recorded by the OEAO and other government offices are also dissimilar. For example, in 1997 and 1998 the data of OEAO showed that there were 2 and 12 contract migrant workers from Pattani who went to work overseas. Whereas the data of the Provincial Employment Service Office of Pattani province showed that there were 34 and 35 migrant workers in 1997 and 1998, respectively who stated that they were going to work overseas by self-arrangement (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Number of Contract Migrant Workers from Pattani Province Who Went to Work Overseas, 1997 and 1998

Destinations	1997*		1998*		1997**		1998**	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Taiwan	1	-	4	1	-	-	-	-
Israel	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
United Arab Emirates	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Malaysia	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
Saudi Arabia	-	-	1	-	14	6	11	5
Kuwait	-	-	-	-	3	2	1	-
Brunei	-	-	-	-	5	1	11	4
Oman	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Indonesia	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
Singapore	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Total	2	-	11	1	25	9	26	9

Sources: * OEAO, unpublished data

** Pattani Provincial Employment Service Offices, unpublished data

The migrant workers from the Provincial Employment Service Office of Pattani are Re-entry workers¹ who stated that they were going to travel back to work overseas.

Those Re-entry contract workers from Pattani in their first trip mostly enter the destination countries as tourists or pilgrims, later they get jobs, and then apply for a work permit. This group of migrant workers never provides information regarding their first trip for going to work overseas (Officer of Pattani Provincial Employment Service Offices, 2000). A small number of migrant workers get a work permit while already in the destination countries. On the other hand, the majority of them enter the destination countries legally but work illegally without applying for a work permit. This is almost always the case for migrant workers who have gone to work in Malaysia. In 1996, it has been reported that, there were about 35,000 Thai workers working in Malaysia, of which 22,800 obtained work permits, while the rest (12,200) were from the border provinces of Thailand and did not have dual nationality (Stern

¹ Re-entry worker are workers who come back for a short break during their contract.

and Crissman, 1998). Thus the data of the OEAO do not make it possible to obtain an accurate number of Thai workers working overseas, especially those from the four southern border provinces.

There are however some other sources that show or imply the number of migrants with respect to workers from the four southern border provinces who work in Malaysia;

- A report of the Southern Border Provinces of Administrative Centre (SBPAC)(1985, p.2) found that in each year there were more than 10,000 workers who went to work in Malaysia. In 1984 it was estimated that 8,095 labourers from the southern border provinces, excluding Satun, worked in Malaysia, while in the same year (January-September 1984) the data of the Labour Department showed that the numbers of Thai labour migrants working in Malaysia was only 1,743 (Lukngam, Baka and Kaimuk, 1985). This is because as a traditional custom, people who live near the border go to work in Malaysia without a passport or work permit (Lukngam, Baka and Kaimuk, 1985). Border passes to Malaysia are issued for the purpose of touring or visiting a relative, although these people use it to go to work. Hence the data of these people are not included in the official OEAO data.

- There is the evidence from issued Certificates of Identity (C.I.)² of Thai who were working illegally in Malaysia in 1992. There were 22,000 illegal migrant workers at that time but only 12,304 workers were issued with a C.I.. Among those 11,743 workers (95.4 percent) come from the south (Pattani 52.1 percent, Narathiwat 33.3 percent and other 10.0 percent), 305 (2.4 percent) and 252 workers (2.0 percent) come from the northeast and the north respectively, and only 4 workers

² Certificate of Identity is the evidence to prove that a worker is of Thai citizenship and the worker can work while he/she holds a C.I.

(0.03 percent) come from centre area of Thailand (Document in a meeting of the Employment Service Department).

- A report of Su-ngai Kolok Labour Control, Narathiwat to the Director of Inspection and Job-seekers Protection Division (4 February, 1997) reported that the number of Thai workers who went through the Labour Control Point at Su-ngai Kolok in 1996 were 6,296 workers. Among those, 5,638 (89.5 percent) come from southern border provinces (Pattani, Narathiwat Yala and Songkla), 60 workers (0.9 percent) come from other provinces of the south, 381 workers (6.1 percent) come from the northeast, 112 workers (1.8 percent) come from the north and 93 (1.5 percent) and 12 (0.2 percent) workers come from central and the east of Thailand respectively.

- Interviews with Governors also show significant migration. In an interview with the Governor of Pattani province (25 May 2000), he estimated that there are 3,600 to 4,800 migrant workers from the province going to work in Malaysia, there are an average 300 to 400 migrant workers from each district of Pattani³. The numbers of migrant workers have increased every year particularly in Panare and Sai Buri districts. The Governor of Narathiwat (18 May 2000) estimated that at this stage, there are 1,000 to 2,000 female and 2,000 to 3,000 male workers from Narathiwat who go to work in Malaysia

- In a survey of Thai workers working in Langkawi Island, Kedah by the Provincial Employment Service Office, Satun province (3 May 2001) it was found that there were 2,000-2,500 migrant workers from Satun province who are working in the Island.

³ There are 12 districts in Pattani province in 2000.

Hence, in stark contrast with the OEAO data (Table 4.1), these sources all indicate that migration from the southern border provinces is on a large scale and increasing.

Not only do these workers go to Malaysia but they also migrate to work at other destinations. For example, they are also found in Saudi Arabia and Brunei. A report of the Inspection and Job-seekers Protection Division (1996) found that in 1996 the number of Thai Muslims who went for the *haj* to Saudi Arabia was 20,117 from a total quota of 22,000 for Muslims from Thailand. It estimated that in 1995 there were about 20,000 Thai Muslims who went for *haj* and overstayed their visas to work illegally. In 1996, the Saudi Arabian government informed that 150 of those workers were arrested, 65 had already been deported to Thailand. Of those who were deported, 29 were from Pattani, 8 from Narathiwat, 6 from Yala, 3 from Songkhla and 1 each from Nakorn Si Thammarat and Nontaburi. The rest were children (Report of the Inspection and Job-seekers Protection Division, 10 May 1996). There are also southern Thai workers working illegally in Brunei. As Chomchai (2000, p.114) mentioned,

...it is known that there is a scattering of them (southern Thai workers) in the service sectors including serving in, and running, restaurants and making garments. The small minority are Malay-speaking Muslims who have migrated to Brunei via Malaysia, since they have entrepreneur relatives on the spot serving as their hosts and sponsors. Some are even holders of Malaysian passports but still claim to be Thai nationals.

But, exactly how many work in Saudi Arabia and Brunei is not known.

The numbers of migrant workers from the four southern border provinces stated in various documents are only partial and estimated. Accurate statistics for the migrant workers, legal and illegal, are not available and this is typical of the Southeast Asia region.

4.3 Pattern of International Labour Migration in the Four Southern Border Provinces

Despite the variety of migration destinations from this area, by far the most significant is Malaysia. Temporary labour migration is predominant among migrant workers from the four southern border provinces and mainly they are semi-skilled or unskilled workers. The labour migration of workers from the four southern border provinces who go to work in Malaysia can be divided into 3 patterns, seasonal labour migration, commuting labour migration and circular labour migration.

4.3.1 Seasonal Labour Migration

Bilsborrow *et al.* (1997, p.43) define seasonal migrant workers as “persons who are employed in a State other than their own for only part of a year because the work that they perform depends on seasonal conditions”. In this study a worker who moves for seasonal employment reasons in Malaysia is described as a seasonal migrant worker. In the context of migration from the South of Thailand to Malaysia, migration of seasonal migrant workers will depend on the agricultural season in Malaysia and/or the season in Thailand. These workers will migrate to Malaysia when labour is needed for planting or harvesting agricultural production (Gosling, 1963) or when they are unemployed or underemployed while waiting for the agricultural season in Thailand.

Seasonal labour migration of this type is traditional in this region and there is a long history of people from the four southern border provinces moving to work in Malaysia. This traditional migration goes back more than half a century. As Suwannathat-Pian (1993, p.312) states,

The fact that the northern Malay states were abundant with land suitable for the cultivation of wet rice and with the local population thinly spread out, helped to attract Thai migration southwards. ...Up to 1933 when there was yet no restriction on freedom of movement in

and out of the Peninsular, there appeared to be a regular flow of permanent Thai labour into the Federation

Between 1934 and 1959 there were several restricted immigration policies that make it harder for an alien to enter Malaya but there was still a regular flow of seasonal migration of Thai labour to the northern states of Malaya, a well known "rice-bowl" area (Perlis and Kedah in particular), during the harvesting seasons (Suwannathat-Pian, 1993; Ariffin, 1993). It was reported that "During the 1954-55 harvest season, there were more than 7,000 Pattanis and some 7,000 Kelantanese entered Kedah-Perlis"(Gosling, 1963 , p.185). At the present time, there are still a large number of workers from the four southern border provinces who go to work in paddy fields, and also in rubber plantations, oil palm plantations and sugarcane plantations as seasonal migrant workers.

A majority of seasonal migrant workers are Thai Muslims from Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat. They migrate to work as hired labour in rubber and oil palm plantations, planting forests, paddy fields, construction and food shops. They mostly work in Kelantan, Perak and Kedah by using a border pass or passport to travel but do not have a work permit. They can work because of their language fluency, similar religion and cultural and relationships with relatives who had settled in Malaysia.

A report of Betong Labour Control indicated that 80 percent of migrant workers who went to work in Malaysia through this point were workers from Pattani. Most of the workers who went through Betong Labour Control are seasonal migrant workers rather than commuting migrant workers. The main reason for this is that it is not convenient to travel to Malaysia via Betong district since it is a long distance (120 kilometres from the capital of Yala) and the road is winding.

It is not only seasonal migrant workers from Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat that migrate to work in Malaysia. A large number of people in Satun also migrate seasonally to Malaysia. It has been reported that the population of Satun who migrated to work in Malaysia in each year numbered 2,000 to 3,000 (Rittrapirom, 1990). According to Prasompong and Songmuang (1990) people from Satun who migrated to work in Malaysia were seasonal migrant workers who work as hired labourers in the agricultural sector. The work that those workers engage in is transplanting, rice harvesting and cutting sugarcane.

4.3.2 Commuting Labour Migration

Besides seasonal migration, there are people who live near the border and cross it to work daily in Malaysia. A person who goes to work in Malaysia and comes back to Thailand on the same day without staying overnight in Malaysia is classified as a “commuting” migrant. This group of migrant workers are “Frontier workers” which Bilborrow *et al.* (1997, p. 43) define as “persons who work in a State other than their own but whose habitual residence is located in a neighbouring State to which they return every day or at least once a week”.

Commuting migrants mainly are people who live adjacent to the border for whom it is easy to cross each day. In a report of Labour Control of Su-ngai Kolok (18 December, 1999), commuting migrants who go through Su-ngai Kolok Labour Control to work in Malaysia are Thai Muslims who live in Su-ngai Kolok district and other districts that have a border with Malaysia namely; Tak Bai, Waeng and Sukirin districts. These migrants use a border pass to leave and come back to Thailand. Malaysian Immigration issues Dokumen Kenudahan Laluan (Regular traveller) (Figure 4.1) for them to use with a border pass. Immigration officials of Malaysia stamp it everyday on the date that workers enter and exit.

NO: 695 07 SEP 1999

POS IMIGRESEN RANTAU PANJANG


DOKUMEN KEMUDAHAN LALUAN
(REGULAR TRAVELLER)

NAMA: MAT SUDING ARWER

WIN : Thailand/Malaysia

Jenis/No. Dokumen: 1sp: S 3119/99

11 OCT 1999



• Untuk P/Sempadan M'sia, PL(S)
Thailand berlaku sehingga

[Signature]
12 OCT 1999

30 AUG 1999

MASUK
05 SEP 1999

06 SEP 1999

08 SEP 1999

9/9

11 SEP 1999

12 SEP 1999

13 SEP 1999

14 SEP 1999

15 SEP 1999

16 SEP 1999

18 SEP 1999

19 SEP 1999

20 SEP 1999

22 SEP 1999

02 AUG 1999

04 SEP 1999

KELUAR
05 SEP 1999

06 SEP 1999

07 SEP 1999

08 SEP 1999

09 SEP 1999

10 SEP 1999

12 SEP 1999

13 SEP 1999

14 SEP 1999

15 SEP 1999

16 SEP 1999

17 SEP 1999

18 SEP 1999

19 SEP 1999

22 SEP 1999

06 SEP 1999

17 SEP 1999

23 SEP 1999

MASUK
25 SEP 1999

26 SEP 1999

27 SEP 1999

28 SEP 1999

29 SEP 1999

30 SEP 1999

02 OCT 1999

04 OCT 1999

05 OCT 1999

06 OCT 1999

09 OCT 1999

10 OCT 1999

12 OCT 1999

23 SEP 1999

KELUAR

27 SEP 1999

28 SEP 1999

29 SEP 1999

30 SEP 1999

02 OCT 1999

04 OCT 1999

06 OCT 1999

07 OCT 1999

09 OCT 1999

10 OCT 1999

Syarat-Syarat Penggunaan DKLAIT

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[Signature]
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Rantau Panjang

Figure 4.1 Dokumen Kenudahan Laluan (Regular Traveller)

Some commuting migrants go to work by crossing the Sungai Kolok River without any official documents. This group of workers holds two identity cards: one is Thai and the other is Malaysian and they have relatives who live in Malaysia along the border or the river. This makes their traveling in and out between the two countries very easy. It is difficult for the government to control the flow of border residents across the border.

Commuting migrants work mostly as employees in shops (such as, food shops, grocery shops, and clothing shops), construction workers, and they work in the informal sector (selling fruit and vegetables and as food hawker). These workers work near border areas such as in Rantau Panjang market, Ka Yang Market and Pasir Mas market in Kelantan State without a work permit.

4.3.3 Circular Labour Migration

The last pattern of labour migration that migrant workers in this area are involved in is circular labour migration. The time that they go to work in Malaysia is not governed by agricultural seasons and the work that they engage in is not in the agricultural sector. This group of migrant workers mainly work in the service sector in food shops, restaurants or hotels in jobs such as cooks or waitresses, in the industrial sector, as well as in similar kinds of occupations as commuting migrant workers. Instead of going and coming back daily, they stay in Malaysia for one month or up to a year for working and their work places are not only around the border areas but also in other places such as Langkawi Islands, Penang, Pahang or as far away as Johore.

Circular migrant workers will go back and forth between Thailand and Malaysia while they are working. In the case of workers who use a border pass to travel they have to come back to get a stamp at Immigration every month and obtain a

new one after they have used it for three months. Thus workers can come to visit or bring some money back to other members of their family who remain in Thailand. Circular migrant workers mainly go to work in Malaysia as individual migrants but some travel with family. They may have a passport or a border pass for travelling into Malaysia, but the majority of them work without a work permit or work contract. They will work for a certain time but not set limits on the period of employment, the time of working depends on the migrant workers themselves. If they are not satisfied with their employment they either go back to Thailand or look for new employment. If they are satisfied with their employers they will come back to work with them again next time.

It is clear that migration patterns especially in relation to the seasonal and commuting migration and circular migration are specific to this area of southern Thailand and very different from patterns in the rest of the country.

4.4 Modes and Procedures of Travelling to Work Overseas

Whether they are commuting, seasonal, or circular migrants, there are five ways that Thai workers can go to work in other countries legally by the process of the Department of Employment Service (DES): 1) workers arrange migration by themselves, 2) they are sent by private recruitment agencies, 3) they are sent by the Department of Employment Services, 4) they are sent by employers and 5) workers are sent overseas as “Trainees”. This section will examine these procedures for legal migration in the specific categories.

4.4.1 Workers Who Arrange Migration by Themselves

Workers who arrange migration to work overseas by themselves often are return workers who have already been overseas. Hence they can contact overseas

employers directly by themselves or friends or relatives who work there have helped them. Figure 4.2 shows, workers who arrange to go to work overseas by themselves have to inform the Director-General of the Department of Employment Services or a person who is delegated by the Director-General at least 15 days before leaving the country. This also includes workers who come back for a short break during their contract or those who extend their contracts. In the case of first time workers, the workers have to submit documents to apply for a visa and inform the DES, or Bangkok Employment Office Area, or the Province Employment Service Office in each province of their travelling plans, by filling in Form 39. For Re-entry workers, who have come back for a short break during their contract, they can register with a copy of their employment contract and a copy of their Re-entry Visa at the DES, or Bangkok Employment Office Area, or the Province Employment Service Office in each province or Labour Control. The officer will check the documents for those departing to work overseas and workers need to fill in Form 12. At stage II, before departure, workers have to go through Labour Control⁴ to submit Form 12. Labour Control officers check documents of workers and stamp Labour Control's seal. Then at stage III Departure, workers have to go through the Immigration Office to stamp their passport. In Thailand, workers are allowed to leave the country only if they have emigration clearance stamped in their passports by the OEAO before they go through the Immigration Office. Labour Control co-operates with the Immigration

⁴ The responsibilities of Labour Control are:

1. Check the documents of job seekers and employees who want to go to work or training overseas.
2. Cancel the travel in cases officers find that a person does not have documents relating to working or training overseas according to the Provision of Employment Service and Job Seekers Protection Act of 1985.
3. Observe people around Labour Control who might be cheating or hiding to go to work overseas.
4. Co-operate with related organisations (Handbook introduction the Department of Employment Services, 1999).

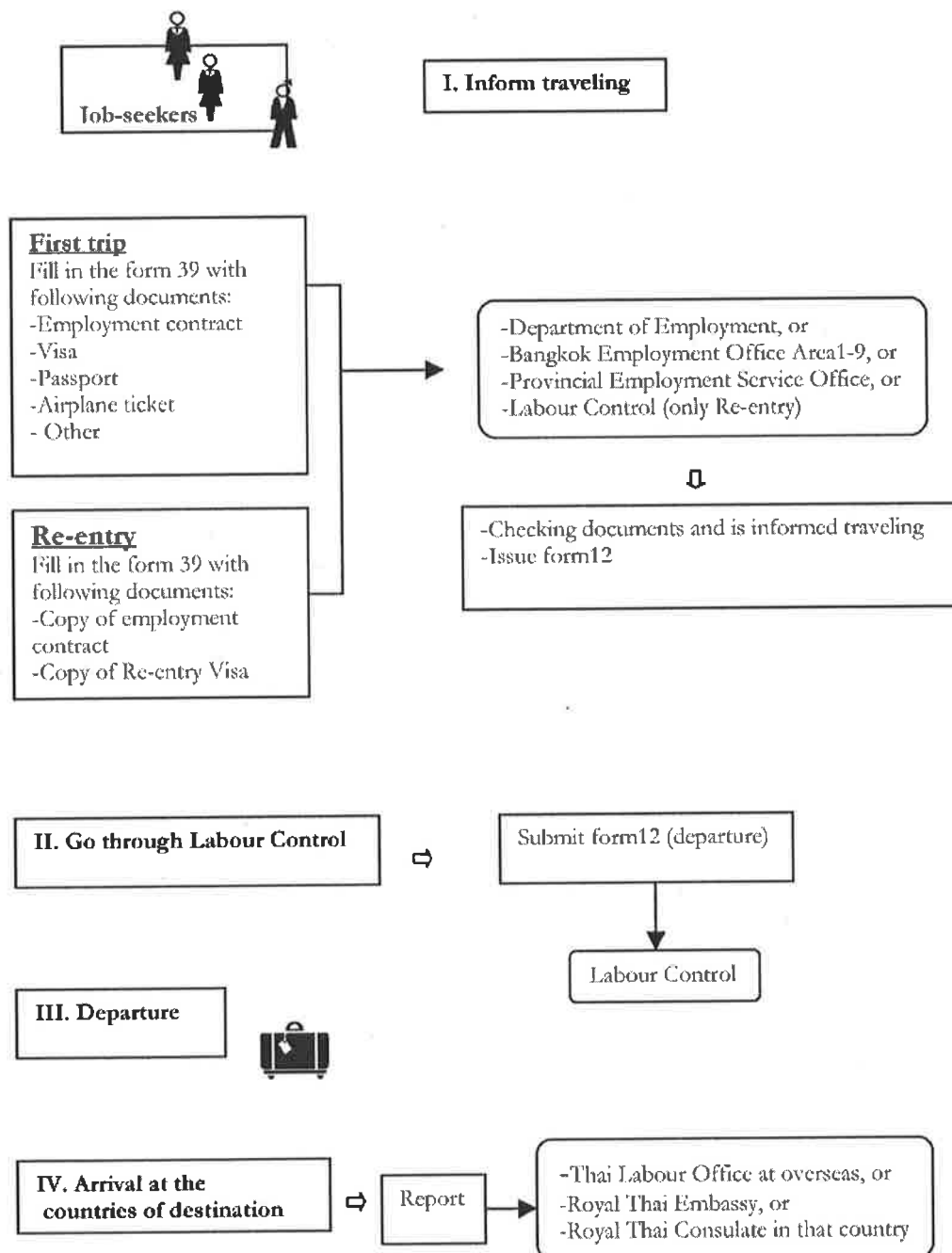


Figure 4.2 Stages of Going to Work Overseas of Workers Who Arrange Their Overseas Employment Themselves.

Source: Department of Employment Services, 1997

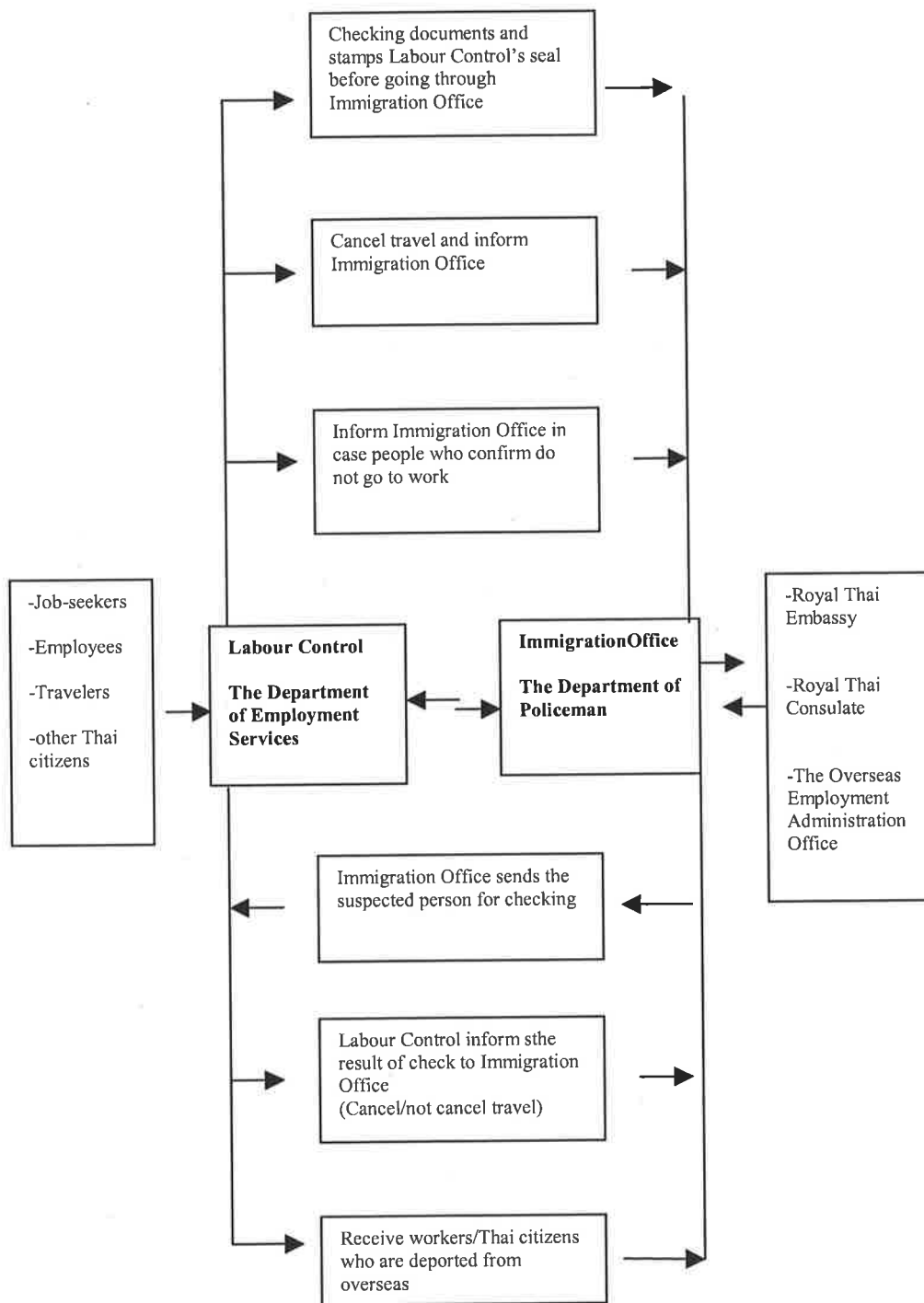


Figure 4.3 Patterns of Co-operation Between Labour Control and Immigration Offices

Office about checking persons who want to depart Thailand as shown in Figure 4.3. People who want to leave Thailand are categorized into four groups; Job seekers, Employees, Travellers, and Other Thai citizens. All of them have to go through Labour Control. In the case of people who confirm they do not go to work, they can go through the Immigration Office straight away. For people who go to work, the Labour Control officer will check the documents and stamp the Labour Control seal before they go through the Immigration Office. However, for people who confirm that they are not travelling to work, if an officer suspects that they might go to work, the officer could cancel their travel and inform the Immigration Office. Similarly, if the Immigration Office suspects that persons might be going to work overseas, they will send them to Labour Control for further checks. Then Labour Control will inform the Immigration Office of the result of the check (to cancel or not cancel the travel). At the last stage, when workers arrive in the countries of destination, they have to report to the Thai Labour Office, or Royal Thai Embassy, or Royal Thai Consulate in that country.

From 1995 to 1998 the percentage of migrant workers who arranged migration by themselves increased from 36 percent to 37, 41 and 48 percent. In 1999, however, it dropped to 43 percent (see Table 4.3). In 1999, the five countries that had the largest numbers of Thai workers going to work by self-arrangement were Asian namely, Taiwan (38,709), Malaysia (16,730), Singapore (11,773), Brunei (4,829) and Hong Kong (3,436) (Data provided by OEAO). The numbers of female workers who went to work in Hong Kong were higher than those for males. There were 2,718 females and 718 males. The numbers of male and female workers who went to work in Malaysia were nearly equal; there were 8,834 males and 7,896 females (data provided by OEAO). Migrants who already have experience working overseas commonly will arrange the return trip to work on their own.

Table 4.3 Numbers of Thais Working Overseas Through Labour Control, by Mode of Recruitment, 1995-1999

Year	Arrange migration by themselves	Sent by private recruitment agencies	Sent by DES	Sent by employers		Total
				For working	For training	
1995	74,637 (36.89)*	118,985 (58.82)	1,257 (0.62)	6,203 (3.07)	1,214 (0.60)	202,296
1996	69,719 (37.60)	104,447 (56.33)	2,414 (1.30)	3,345 (1.80)	5,511 (2.97)	185,436
1997	76,013 (41.38)	95,083 (51.77)	1,652 (0.90)	4,641 (2.53)	6,282 (3.42)	183,671
1998	92,212 (48.09)	87,659 (45.72)	1,270 (0.66)	4,115 (2.15)	6,479 (3.38)	191,735
1999	88,038 (43.50)	104,660 (51.71)	731 (0.36)	3,672 (1.81)	5,315 (2.62)	202,416

Source: Calculated from data provided by OEAO

* The number in parenthesis shown percent

4.4.2 Workers Are Sent by Private Recruitment Agencies

Workers who want to go to work overseas but cannot find jobs by themselves might use the service of private recruitment agencies. People who go to work overseas by this method have to pay service charges or commissions to the agencies (Singhanetra-Renard, 1992). To send workers to work overseas, private recruitment agencies need to follow the following stages and conditions:

1. ask permission for recruiting or announcing job seekers in advance⁵;
2. send job seekers for checking health and testing skill levels;
3. ask permission for sending job seekers to work overseas;
4. send job seekers to attend pre-departure orientation;
5. send money for The Overseas Workers Welfare Fund⁶; and
6. arrange worker's departure from the Kingdom through Labour Control.

⁵ Agencies cannot recruit or announce before they get a permit from the Director-General of DES. DES will check the work positions to ensure that when job seekers apply for jobs they will get the jobs (Department of Employment Services, 1997).

⁶ The Overseas Workers Welfare Fund has been established for helping workers who were deserted overseas to come back to Thailand. This fund helps workers who work overseas as well as provides activities for selecting, testing skill and training the skill for job-seekers before going to work overseas (Handbook introduction the Department of Employment Services, 1999).

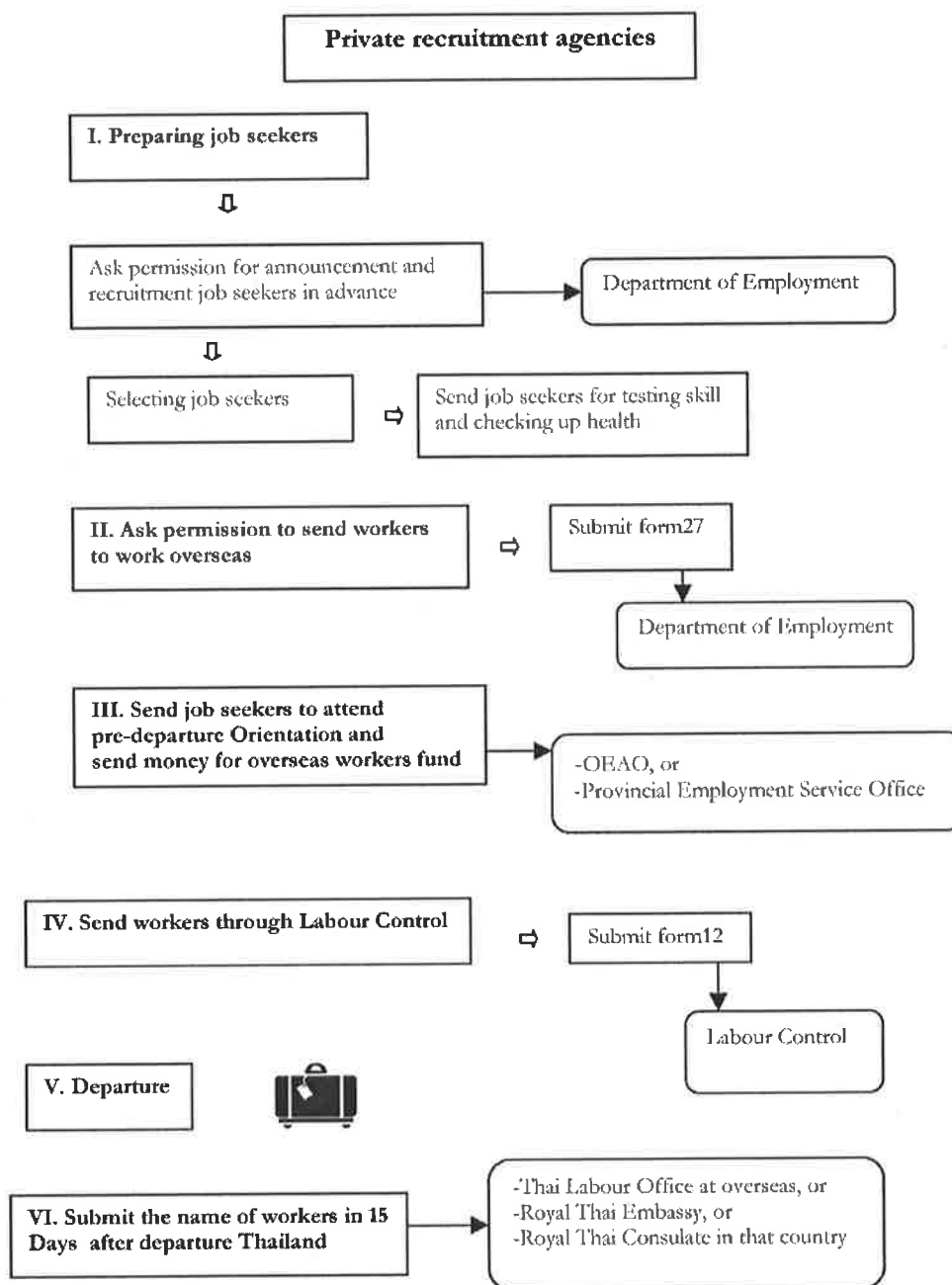


Figure 4.4 Stages of Going to Work Overseas When Sent by Private Recruitment Agencies

Source: Modified from DES, 1997.

As shown in Figure 4.4, in the first stage private recruitment agencies need to prepare job seekers. First of all private recruitment agencies have to ask permission for

announcing vacancies and recruiting job seekers in advance from the Department of Employment Services. After that the agency will select job seekers, test their skill levels and check their health. This stage will take about 4 days (Department of Employment Services, 1997). Then the second stage is asking permission to send workers to work overseas. The agencies have to ask permission for sending workers by filling in Form 27 (Figure 4.5). The agencies have to provide full details of prospective workers, their name, surname, number of identity card, address, present occupation, educational attainment, length of stay abroad, name of employer and address of workplace abroad (Handbook of Working Abroad, DES, 1999). The time to process this stage takes about 3 days. In stage three, job seekers have to attend pre-departure orientation at the OEAO or Provincial Employment Service Office. The officials will inform job seekers about their rights, duties, and how to behave while working abroad (leaflet, Office of Labour Affairs). Then the agency sends workers through Labour Control, submit Form 12 and go through immigration. Agencies, again, have to inform the Director-General of Department of Employment Services or the employment registrar within 15 days after the date those workers leave Thailand.

The private recruitment agencies are a popular mode among Thai workers who are going to work overseas. In 1999, there were 247 agencies that were officially permitted to send workers abroad (Silapra-archa, 1999). In their study, Jones and Pardthaisong (1999) report that about 75 percent of the agencies officially permitted in 1995 were located in Bangkok, followed by the Northeast and a small number of agencies in the other regions (see Figure 2, Jones and Pardthaisong, 1999, p.38). The major countries of destination that had large number of workers sent by private agencies in 1995 to 1999 were Taiwan, Israel, Singapore, and Brunei (Table 4.4).

เลขรับที่.....
วันที่.....
ลงชื่อ.....ผู้รับคำขอ
หลักฐานครบถ้วนและถูกต้องวันที่
.....

คำขออนุญาตส่งคนหางานไปทำงานในต่างประเทศ

เขียนที่.....

วันที่.....เดือน.....พ.ศ.....

๑. ข้าพเจ้าบริษัทจัดหางาน.....จำกัด
โดย นาย/นาง/นางสาว.....เป็นผู้รับอนุญาตจัดหางานเพื่อไปทำงาน
ในต่างประเทศ สำนักงานตั้งอยู่เลขที่.....หมู่ที่.....ต.รอก/ชอย.....
ถนน.....ตำบล/แขวง.....อำเภอ/เขต.....
จังหวัด.....เลขหมายโทรศัพท์.....เลขหมายโทรสาร.....
ใบอนุญาตเลขที่.....มีความประสงค์ที่จะขออนุญาตส่งคนหางานไปทำงานกับ
บริษัท.....ตั้งอยู่เลขที่.....
ตู้ ปณ.....ถนน.....เมือง.....ประเทศ.....
รหัสไปรษณีย์.....เลขหมายโทรศัพท์.....เลขหมายโทรสาร.....
เป็นจำนวน.....ตำแหน่ง รวม.....คน โดยคนหางานจะเดินทางประมาณ
วันที่.....เดือน.....พ.ศ.....

๒. พร้อมกับคำขอนี้ ข้าพเจ้าได้แนบหลักฐานเอกสารมาด้วยแล้ว

๒.๑ กรณีขออนุญาตจัดส่งคนหางานที่ผ่านการอนุญาตให้รับสมัครไว้เป็นการ
ล่วงหน้า (จต ๑)

(๑) สำเนาหนังสืออนุญาตให้ประกาศรับสมัครคนหางานเป็นการล่วงหน้า
(จต ๑) จำนวน ๑ ชุด

(๒) หนังสือของนายจ้างในต่างประเทศแต่งตั้งผู้รับอนุญาตจัดหางาน
เพื่อไปทำงานในต่างประเทศ ให้เป็นตัวแทนผู้มีอำนาจในการลงนามในสัญญาจ้าง ซึ่งได้รับการ
รับรองโดยหน่วยงานของรัฐหรือหอการค้าของประเทศที่คนหางานจะไปทำงาน หรือของประเทศ
ที่นายจ้างถือสัญชาติหรือโดยสถานทูตไทยหรือสถานกงสุลไทย หรือสำเนาภาพถ่ายเอกสาร
ดังกล่าว ซึ่งผู้รับอนุญาตจัดหางานเพื่อไปทำงานในต่างประเทศ รับรองว่าเป็นภาพถ่ายจาก
ต้นฉบับจริง จำนวน ๒ ชุด

Figure 4.5a Form 27 Application for Permission to Send Job Seekers to Work Overseas (In Thai)

(๓) หนังสือของนายจ้าง ขอให้ผู้ยื่นคำขอจัดหาคนหางานไปทำงานกับ นายจ้างในต่างประเทศ ที่มีรายละเอียดตำแหน่งหรือลักษณะของงาน จำนวนคนหางาน ค่าจ้าง ชั่วโมงการทำงาน ระยะเวลาการจ้าง สวัสดิการ อาหาร ที่พัก และค่าใช้จ่ายในการเดินทาง จำนวน ๒ ชุด

(๔) แบบสัญญาจ้างระหว่างนายจ้างในต่างประเทศ กับคนหางานที่มี รายละเอียดเกี่ยวกับสภาพการจ้างตาม (๓) จำนวน ๒ ชุด

(๕) สำเนาเอกสารเกี่ยวกับการอนุญาตให้นายจ้างในต่างประเทศนำคนหา งานเข้าไปทำงาน ซึ่งผู้รับอนุญาตจัดหางานเพื่อไปทำงานในต่างประเทศรับรองว่าเป็นภาพถ่ายจาก ต้นฉบับจริง จำนวน ๒ ชุด

(๖) บัญชีรายชื่อคนหางานเพื่อไปทำงานในต่างประเทศ (จง.๑๑) จำนวน ๕ ชุด

(๗) บัญชีรายชื่อคนหางานที่ผ่านการตรวจสอบสุขภาพและการทดสอบฝีมือ ตามมาตรา ๓๖ (๒) และ (๓) แล้ว จำนวน ๕ ชุด ยกเว้นคนหางานที่ไปทำงานตำแหน่ง กรรมกร แรงงานทั่วไป หรือตำแหน่งที่ตนมีใบรับรองความรู้ความสามารถจากสถาบันหรือ สมาคมอาชีพแล้ว หรือตำแหน่งที่กรมพัฒนาฝีมือแรงงาน สถานทดสอบฝีมือที่มีใบอนุญาต มิได้ เปิดดำเนินการทดสอบฝีมือในตำแหน่งนั้น ให้ส่งเฉพาะหลักฐานผ่านการตรวจสอบสุขภาพ จำนวน ๕ ชุด

(๘) ตัวอย่างสัญญาจัดหางานตามแบบ จง.๓๓ จำนวน ๒ ชุด

(๙) สำเนาหนังสือเดินทางของคนหางานที่จัดส่งไปทำงานต่างประเทศ ทุกคน

(๑๐) คำแปลภาษาไทยของเอกสารตาม (๒) (๓) (๔) และ (๕) จำนวน อย่างละ ๒ ชุด

กรณีมีสำนักงานแรงงานไทยตั้งอยู่ในประเทศที่คนหางานจะไปทำงาน เอกสาร ตาม (๒) (๓) และ (๔) ต้องผ่านการตรวจรับรองจากสำนักงานแรงงานไทยในประเทศนั้นก่อน

๒.๒ กรณีขออนุญาตจัดส่งคนหางานที่ผ่านการอนุญาตให้รับสมัครเพื่อจัดส่งไป ทำงาน (จต ๒)

(๑) สำเนาหนังสืออนุญาตให้รับสมัครคนหางาน (จต ๒) จำนวน ๑ ชุด

(๒) เอกสารตาม ๒.๑ (๕) (๖) (๗) (๘) (๙) และ (๑๐)

๓. ข้าพเจ้าขอรับรองว่าจะปฏิบัติตามเงื่อนไขที่อธิบดีกำหนดในหนังสืออนุญาต และ ตามสัญญาจัดหางานที่แนบมาพร้อมนี้ทุกประการ

ลายมือชื่อ.....ผู้รับอนุญาตจัดหางาน
(.....)
ประทับตราสำคัญของนิติบุคคล

Continued Figure 4.5a Form 27 Application for Permission to Send Job Seekers to Work Overseas (In Thai)

Application for Permission to Send Job Seekers Working Overseas

At.....

Date

1. I am recruitment agency

By Mr./Mrs./Miss has been permitted to send workers abroad.

Address of office Telephone Fax

Permit certificate No. would like to ask permission to send workers to work with

Company..... Address

The number of position Total number of workers

Date that workers will depart Thailand

2. Documentary evidence are enclosed herewith.

2.1 In case ask permit to send workers who granted to recruit in advance

- (1) A copy of permit letter for announcement for recruitment in advance.
(2) A Power of Attorney certified by the authorities or the Chamber of Commerce or the Royal Thai Embassy or Consulate responsible for the Thai worker in the host country.
(3) Two copies of Demand Letter or Order stating the number and occupational skills of workers needed, the prescribed qualification standards, the wages for each position, the compensation, benefits and welfare.
(4) Two copies of Working Contract between overseas employer and workers in (3).
(5) Two copies of document granting permission for the Thai worker to work in that country.
(6) Five list of the name of workers.
(7) Five list of the name of workers who passed health checking and skill testing for technician and evidence of passing the health check for other workers.
(8) Two examples of employment contract.
(9) Copy of the passport of all workers.
(10) Two copies of document (2) (3) (4) and (5) translated into Thai.

In case it has Thai Labour Office in the country where the Thai worker will be employed, documents (2) (3) and (4) have to certified by Thai Labour Office in that country.

2.2 In case ask permit to send workers who were granted to send to work overseas.

- (1) A copy of permit letter for announcement for recruitment.
(2) Document the same as 2.1 (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) and (10)

3. I acknowledge that I will follow the conditions that the Director -General of Department of Employment Services restrict in permit letter. And follow Employment contracts that is enclosed herewith.

Signature person who granted employment.

()
Put one's juristic person chop on

Figure 4.5b Form 27 Application for Permission to Send Job Seekers to Work Overseas (Translated from Thai document)

4.4.3 Workers Sent by the Department of Employment Service

If some employers and job seekers do not want to use the service of private recruitment agencies, the service of the Department of Employment Services is another alternative. According to Thai law, overseas employers cannot recruit workers directly; they have to use a private recruitment agency or go through DES.

Table 4.4 Number of Workers Sent by Private Recruitment Agencies, Major Countries of Destination, 1995-1999

Year	Countries of destination/ Number of workers				
1995	Taiwan 90,282	Israel 9,955	Brunei 8,027	Singapore 5,613	Hong Kong 1,821
1996	Taiwan 69,340	Israel 14,169	Brunei 5,769	Singapore 7,937	Malaysia 854
1997	Taiwan 70,055	Israel 10,416	Singapore 5,802	Brunei 5,769	Korea 971
1998	Taiwan 63,034	Israel 9,872	Brunei 5,559	Singapore 4,663	Singapore 783
1999	Taiwan 75,539	Israel 11,492	Singapore 10,686	Brunei 2,527	Libya 991

Source: Data provided by Overseas Employment Administration Office.

Employers do not need to pay for this service and job seekers pay only for necessary expenses such as health checks and airfares. According to the Thai Manpower Employment Guide (leaflet, Office of Labour Affairs) the overseas employer is required to submit the following documents:

1. A Power of Attorney which authorises DES to recruit workers and to apply for visas, certified by the Thai Labour Attache Office of the Royal Thai Embassy or Consulate responsible for the Thai worker in the host country.
2. Demand Letter or Order stating the number and occupational skills of workers needed, the prescribed qualification standards, the wages for each position, the compensation, benefits and welfare.

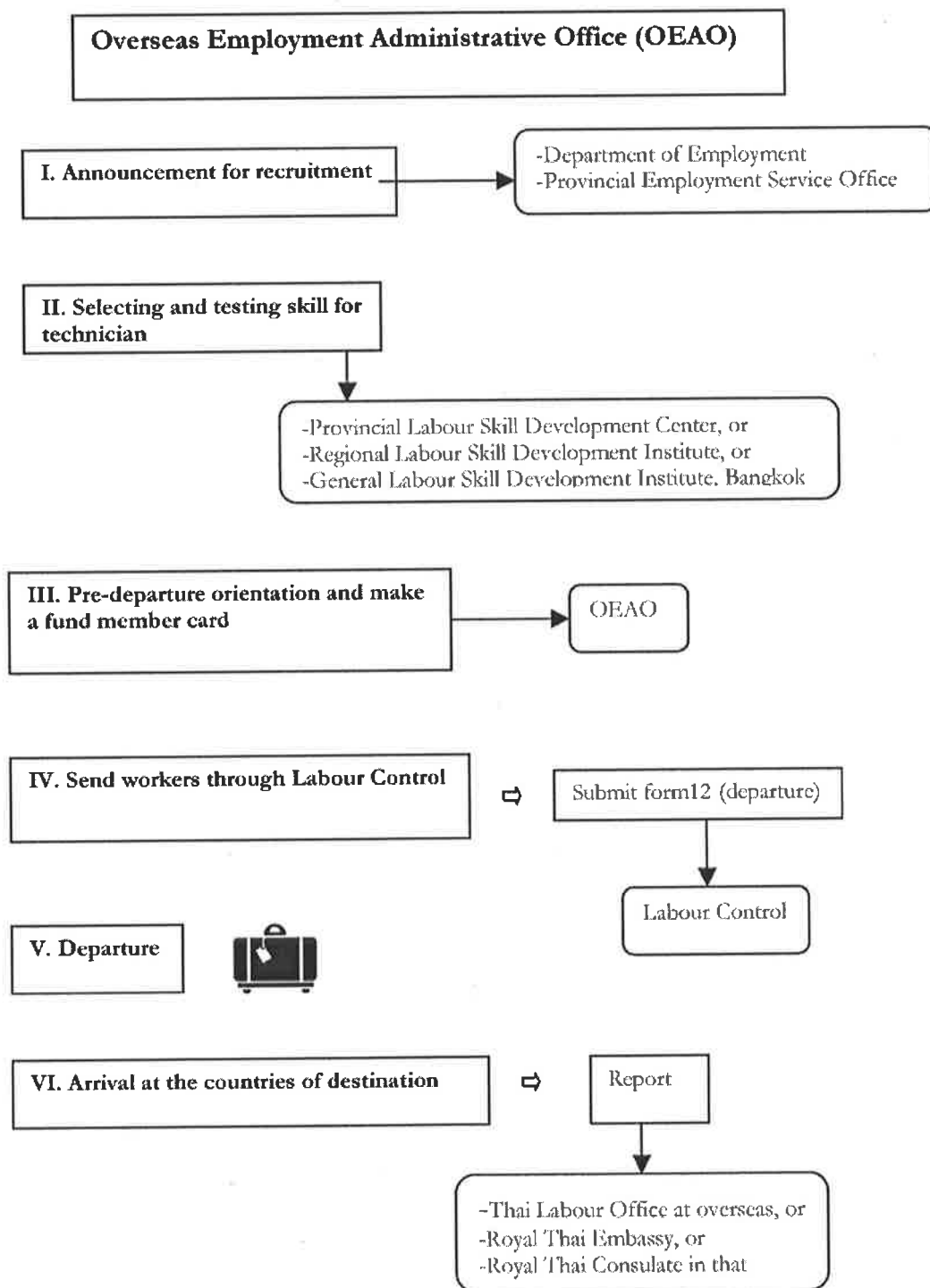


Figure 4.6 Stages of Going to Work Overseas When Sent by the Department of Employment Services

Source: DES, 1997.

3. Copy of the Certificate of Registration or Permit to operate business in the country where the Thai workers will be employed.
4. Document granting permission for the Thai worker to work in that country, i.e. Visa N.O.C.
5. Model or Standard Form of Employment Contract in English.

Figure 4.6 shows that once the DES is contacted by overseas employers the OEAO will announce the job vacancies the notice boards at the OEAO, Department of Employment Services and send them to every Provincial Employment Service Office for announcing. Then, in the next stage, the OEAO will select the job seekers and test their skill level in the case of technical positions. Like the other job seekers sent by private recruitment agencies, before departing the country, they have to attend pre-departure orientation and pass through Labour Control, and they have to report to the Thai Labour Office, or Royal Thai Embassy, or Royal Thai Consulate in the destination country when they arrive.

Even though job seekers do not have to pay the OEAO for the service, the numbers of workers that are sent to work overseas by the OEAO are small each year. In 1997 there were 1652 and this decreased to 1270 in 1998, and to only 731 in 1999 (see Table 4.3). This is because the processes jobseekers must go through before they can go to work take a long time. The process shown in Figure 4.6 from stage I to stage IV will take two or three months (estimated by officials). Thus relatively few Thai migrants use the services of the OEAO. This is due to the complicated and extensive paperwork required which takes time and money to complete (Punpuing and Archavanitkul, 1996, p.70). Stern (1998, p.39) pointed out, "The main reason is that migrants do not wish to face the confusing and slow Thai government bureaucracy". Recently, Sobieszczyk (2000, p.402) also explained the weak point of authorised recruitment is that it frequently takes a long time between application and departure mainly because of the complex and time-consuming process of skills and health

certification, obtaining employment visas, obtaining contract approval by the Labour Ministry, and arranging for pre-departure training at the Labour Ministry. This situation is also the case in Indonesia as Hugo pointed out that “most workers choose to migrate illegally in order to avoid the Indonesian exit tax and bureaucratic delays” (Hugo, 1995: 281). The mode of going to work overseas by being sent by the Department of Employment Services is not popular among Thai migrant workers.

4.4.4 Workers Sent by Employers

Thai workers can be sent to work overseas by employers who not only have enterprises in Thailand but also overseas. Employers who would like to send their employees to work outside Thailand to gain experience have to apply for permission (Figure 4.7). To do so, the employers can apply at the Department of Employment Services, Bangkok Employment Office Area or Provincial Employment Service office by filling in Form 23 “Application for Permission to Take Employees Working Overseas” (Figure 4.8). In the meantime, the employers have to submit the number of employees, the employment contract and work permit for employees as well as the documents that allow the workers to enter the country of destination. Furthermore, the employers have to give evidence to show that workers are employees of companies and receive money or a wage from those companies. This is because the DES needs to ensure that the workers are real employees and that they are not a disguised form of sending “jobseekers” to work overseas. The process of stage I takes one day. After employers have got the permission to send employees to work, in stage II they have to take employees to attend pre-departure orientation and go through Labour Control before departing Thailand. The numbers of Thai workers sent by employers are not many when compared to migrant workers who arrange migration by themselves or are sent by private recruitment agencies.

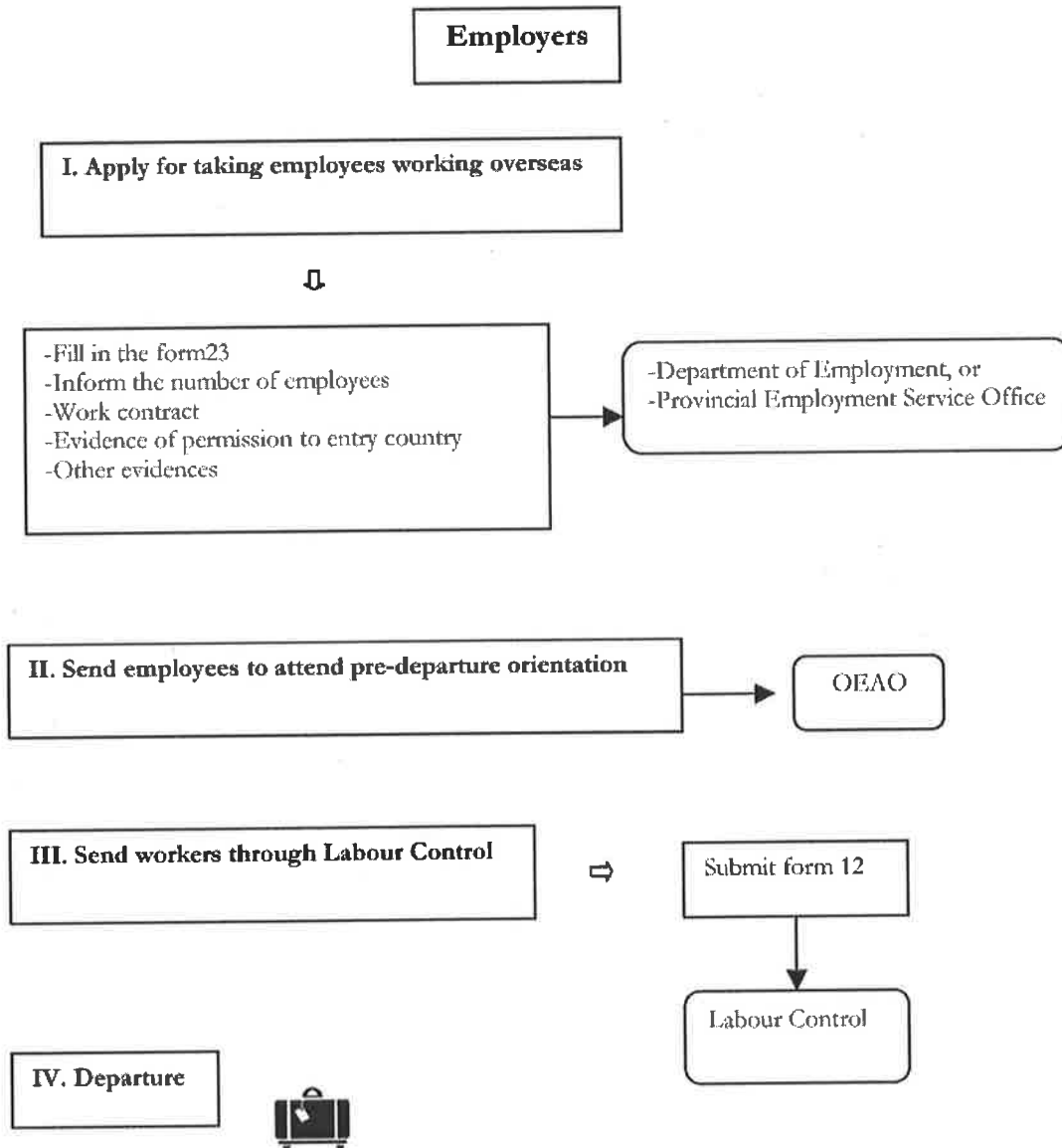


Figure 4.7 Stages of Going to Work Overseas When Sent by Employers.
Sources: DES, 1997.



เลขรับที่.....
วันที่.....
ลงชื่อ.....เจ้าหน้าที่
หลักฐานครบถ้วนและถูกต้องวันที่
.....

คำขออนุญาตพาลูกจ้างไปทำงานในต่างประเทศ

เขียนที่.....

วันที่.....เดือน.....พ.ศ.....

ข้าพเจ้า.....อายุ.....ปี บัตรประจำตัวประชาชน
 เลขที่.....ลงวันที่.....ออกให้ ณ
 อำเภอ/เขต.....จังหวัด.....สัญชาติ.....
 อยู่บ้านเลขที่.....ตรอก/ซอย.....ถนน.....
 หมู่ที่.....ตำบล/แขวง.....อำเภอ/เขต.....
 จังหวัด.....เลขหมายโทรศัพท์.....ตำแหน่ง.....
 บริษัท/ห้างหุ้นส่วนจำกัด.....ตั้งอยู่เลขที่.....
 ตรอก/ซอย.....ถนน.....หมู่ที่.....
 ตำบล/แขวง.....อำเภอ/เขต.....จังหวัด.....
 เลขหมายโทรศัพท์.....มีความประสงค์ขออนุญาตพาลูกจ้าง จำนวน.....คน
 ตามบัญชีแนบท้าย ไปทำงานกับ (หน่วยงานชื่อ).....
 ตั้งอยู่เลขที่.....ตู้ ปณ.....ถนน.....เมือง.....
 รหัสไปรษณีย์.....ประเทศ.....เลขหมายโทรศัพท์.....
 เลขหมายโทรสาร.....โดยจะออกเดินทางประมาณวันที่.....

พร้อมกับคำขอนี้ ข้าพเจ้าได้แนบหลักฐานและเอกสารดังต่อไปนี้

- (๑) สำเนาสัญญาหรือเอกสารแสดงการว่าจ้างระหว่างผู้ว่าจ้างในต่างประเทศกับ
ผู้ขออนุญาต ซึ่งผู้ขออนุญาตรับรองว่าเป็นภาพถ่ายจากต้นฉบับจริง

Figure 4.8a Form23 “Application for Permission to Take Employees to Work Overseas” (In Thai)

- (๒) สำเนาหนังสือรับรองการจดทะเบียนนิติบุคคลและรายละเอียดผู้ถือหุ้น (แบบ บอจ.๕) ซึ่งรับรองไว้ไม่เกินหกเดือน
- (๓) สำเนาเอกสารแสดงการอนุญาตของส่วนราชการหรือหน่วยงานของรัฐที่อนุญาตให้ลูกจ้างเข้าไปทำงานในประเทศนั้น ซึ่งผู้ขออนุญาตรับรองว่าเป็นภาพถ่ายจากต้นฉบับจริง
- (๔) สำเนาเอกสารแสดงการอนุญาตของส่วนราชการแห่งประเทศไทยของผู้ว่าจ้างที่อนุญาตให้ผู้ขออนุญาตนำลูกจ้างเข้าไปทำงานในประเทศ ซึ่งผู้ขออนุญาตรับรองว่าเป็นภาพถ่ายจากต้นฉบับจริง
- (๕) สำเนาสัญญาจ้างระหว่างผู้ขออนุญาตกับลูกจ้างที่จะไปทำงานในต่างประเทศ ซึ่งจะต้องกำหนดรายละเอียดเกี่ยวกับสภาพการจ้าง จำนวน ๒ ชุด
- (๖) บัญชีรายชื่อลูกจ้างที่จะไปทำงานในต่างประเทศ จำนวน ๕ ชุด

ข้าพเจ้าขอรับรองว่าจะปฏิบัติตามเงื่อนไขที่อธิบกำหนดและสัญญาการจ้างที่แนบมาพร้อมนี้ทุกประการ

ลายมือชื่อ.....ผู้ยื่นคำขอ

(.....)

ตำแหน่ง.....

ประทับตราสำคัญของนิติบุคคล (ถ้ามี)

Continued Figure 4.8a Form23 “Application for Permission to Take Employees to Work Overseas” (In Thai)

Application for Permission to Take Employees to Work Overseas

At.....
Date

I am Age..... Identity card No.
Date of issue Place of issue Nationality
Residence address Telephone
Position Company/limited partnership
Address Telephone
Would like to ask permission to send employees person as the list enclosed herewith
to work with (name of company) Address
.....
Postcode Country Telephone Fax
Date of departure (estimate)

Documentary evidence enclosed herewith.

- (1) Copy of contract or document to show the hiring of the overseas employer and the person requesting permission.
- (2) Copy of the Certificate of Registration of juristic person and details of persons who hold shares that certified not more than 6 months.
- (3) Copy of document granting permission for sending employees to work in that country.
- (4) Two copies of employment contract between person who ask permission and employees who will go to work overseas stating conditions in accordance with the employment contract.
- (5) Five list of the name of employees who will go to work overseas.

I acknowledge that I will follow the conditions that the Director-General of Department of Employment stated as well as follow hiring contracts that is enclosed herewith.

Signature person who submit

()

Position

Put one's juristic person chop on (If has)

Figure 4.8b Form23 “Application for Permission to Take Employees to Work Overseas” (Translated from Thai document)

4.4.5 Workers Sent Overseas for Training

Some workers are sent overseas for training, this group of workers is called “Trainees”.⁷ The Provision of Employment Service and the Job Seekers Protection Act of 1985 did not stipulate conditions for sending employees for training overseas until 1995 (DES, 1997:17). Figure 4.9 shows that in the case of sending workers for job training, if the training is not over 45 days, employers inform the employment registrar before leaving Thailand by filling in Form 46 (Figure 4.10). If it is for more than 45 days, employers have to get permission from the Director-General of the Department of Employment Services or from a person who is delegated by the Director-General, before emigration by filling in Form 44 (Figure 4.11). In a case where the time of training is more than 45 days, it has to be checked to ensure that the person is really going to go overseas for training, and are not simply going overseas to work (DES, 1997). Normally the duration for training should not be over 6 months. However, the law allows a maximum time of not over 1 year (DES, 1997).

In Figure 4.9, at the same time that employers inform or ask permission to send employees to train overseas, they have to submit the training program or time table of training as well as documents that allow employees to enter the country of destination. After they have obtained permission, employers have to take employees to attend pre-departure orientation and through Labour Control before departure. Because employees have to come back to work with their employers after the training is over, it is the responsibility of employers to report to the Director-General of the Department of Employment Services or the person who is delegated by Director-General within 15 days after employees re-enter the Kingdom.

⁷ Trainees are “persons admitted by a country other than their own to acquire particular skills through on-the-job training. Foreign trainees are therefore allowed to work only in the specific institution providing the training and are allowed to stay for a limited period” (Bilsborrow et al., 1997, p.37).

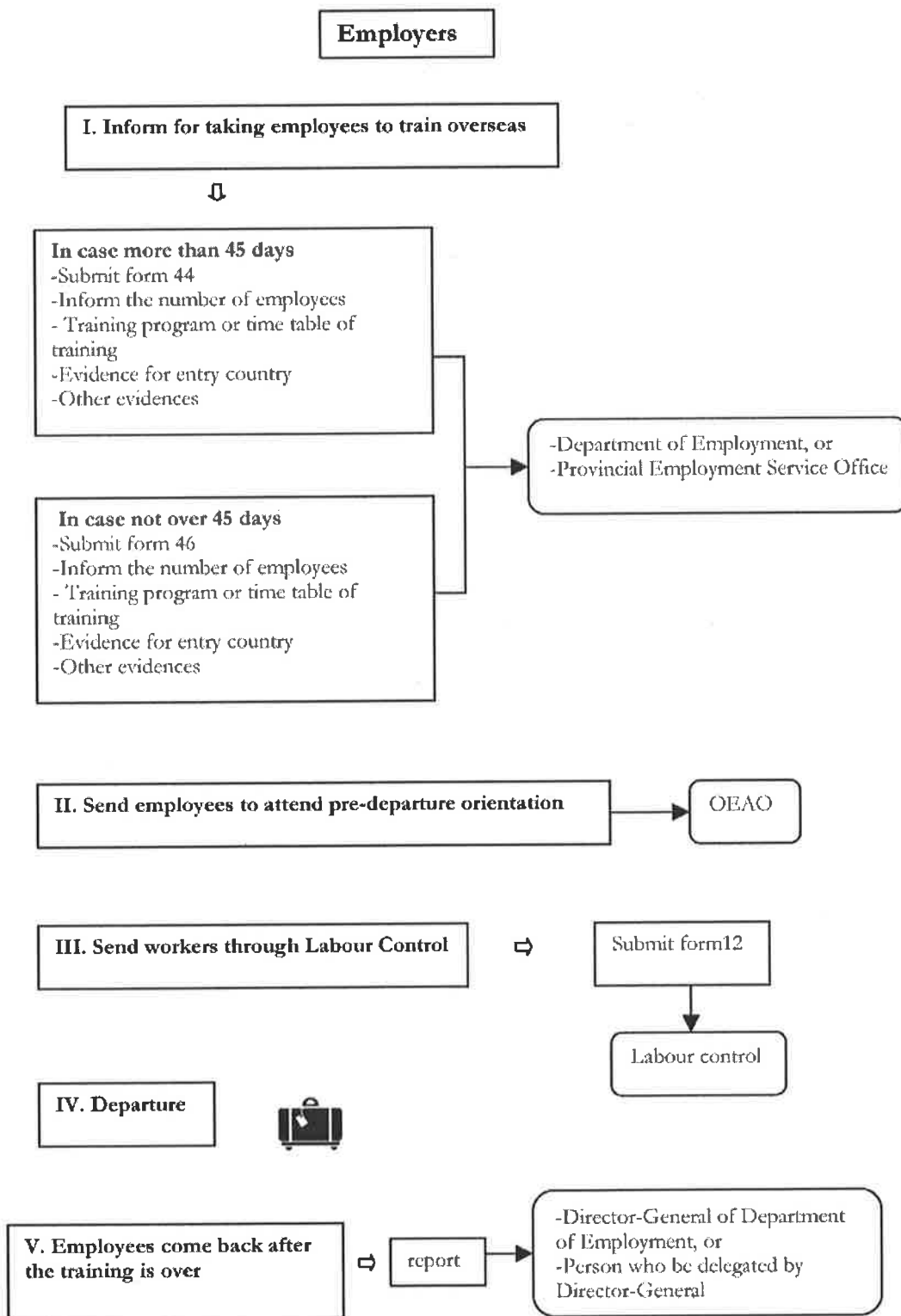


Figure 4.9 Stages of Sending Employees for Training.

Sources: DES, 1997

แบบแจ้งการส่งลูกจ้างไปฝึกงานในต่างประเทศไม่เกินสี่สิบห้าวันตามมาตรา ๔๘ ทวิ (๑)

เขียนที่.....

วันที่.....เดือน.....พ.ศ.....

เรียน อธิบดีกรมการจัดหางาน

ข้าพเจ้า นาย/นาง/นางสาว.....อายุ.....ปี
 สัญชาติ.....อยู่บ้านเลขที่.....ตรอก/ซอย.....ถนน.....
 หมู่ที่.....ตำบล/แขวง.....อำเภอ/เขต.....
 จังหวัด.....รหัสไปรษณีย์.....เลขหมายโทรศัพท์.....
 บัตรประจำตัวประชาชนเลขที่/หนังสือเดินทางเลขที่.....ลงวันที่.....
 ออกให้ ณ อำเภอ/เขต.....จังหวัด.....ตำแหน่ง.....
 บริษัท/ห้างหุ้นส่วนจำกัด.....ตั้งอยู่เลขที่.....
 ตรอก/ซอย.....ถนน.....หมู่ที่.....ตำบล/แขวง.....
 อำเภอ/เขต.....จังหวัด.....รหัสไปรษณีย์.....
 เลขหมายโทรศัพท์.....เลขหมายโทรสาร.....มีความประสงค์จะส่งลูกจ้าง
 จำนวน.....คน ตามบัญชีรายชื่อลูกจ้าง (จง.๔๗) แนบท้าย ไปฝึกงาน ณ.....
 ตั้งอยู่เลขที่.....ตู้ ป.ณ.....เมือง.....
 รหัสไปรษณีย์.....ประเทศ.....เลขหมายโทรศัพท์.....
 เลขหมายโทรสาร.....เป็นเวลา.....วัน โดยจะออกเดินทางประมาณ
 วันที่.....

พร้อมนี้ข้าพเจ้าได้แนบหลักฐานและเอกสารดังต่อไปนี้

- (๑) สำเนาหนังสือรับรองการจดทะเบียนนิติบุคคลและรายละเอียดผู้ถือหุ้น (แบบ บอจ.๕)
- (๒) หลักฐานการอนุญาตให้ผู้ฝึกงานเข้าประเทศนั้น
- (๓) หลักสูตรหรือกำหนดการอบรม
- (๔) เอกสารแสดงว่าผู้ฝึกงานเป็นลูกจ้าง
- (๕) สัญญาฝึกงาน จำนวน ๒ ชุด
- (๖) บัญชีรายชื่อลูกจ้างที่จะไปฝึกงานในต่างประเทศ (จง.๔๗) จำนวน ๒ ชุด

ข้าพเจ้าขอรับรองว่าข้อความข้างต้นเป็นความจริงทุกประการ และจะปฏิบัติตามสัญญา
 ฝึกงานพร้อมทั้งยื่นรายการเดินทางกลับของลูกจ้างที่ส่งไปฝึกงานในต่างประเทศตามแบบ จง.๔๕
 ภายในสิบห้าวัน นับแต่วันที่ลูกจ้างเดินทางกลับเข้ามาในราชอาณาจักร

(ลายมือชื่อ).....นายจ้าง

(.....)

ตำแหน่ง.....

ประทับตราสำคัญของนิติบุคคล (ถ้ามี)

Figure 4.10a Form 46 “Information to Send Employees for Training Not Over 45 Days” (In Thai)

พร้อมกับคำขอนี้ ข้าพเจ้าได้แนบหลักฐานและเอกสารดังต่อไปนี้

(๑) สำเนาหนังสือรับรองการจดทะเบียนนิติบุคคลและรายละเอียดของผู้เป็นหุ้นส่วนหรือผู้ถือหุ้น แล้วแต่กรณี

(๒) สำเนาใบอนุญาตประกอบกิจการ (ถ้ามี)

(๓) เอกสารแสดงว่าผู้ฝึกงานเป็นลูกจ้างของผู้ขออนุญาต เช่น งบค.๑ หรือบัตรรับรองสิทธิการรักษาพยาบาลของสำนักงานประกันสังคม

(๔) หลักฐานการอนุญาตให้ผู้ฝึกงานเข้าประเทศนั้น

(๕) หลักสูตรการฝึกงานในต่างประเทศ

(๖) สัญญาการฝึกงานจำนวน ๕ ชุด ซึ่งอย่างน้อยต้องมีข้อความดังต่อไปนี้

(ก) ระยะเวลาการฝึกงาน

(ข) เงินหรือประโยชน์ที่ลูกจ้างจะพึงได้รับในต่างประเทศ

(ค) อัตราค่าจ้างที่ลูกจ้างได้รับในประเทศไทยขณะไปฝึกงานในต่างประเทศ

(๗) บัญชีรายชื่อลูกจ้างซึ่งจะไปฝึกงานในต่างประเทศ

ข้าพเจ้าขอรับรองว่าจะปฏิบัติตามกฎหมายและเงื่อนไขที่อธิบดีจะได้กำหนดทุกประการ

ลายมือชื่อ.....ผู้ยื่นคำขอ

(.....)

ตำแหน่ง.....

ประทับตราสำคัญของนิติบุคคล (ถ้ามี)

Continued Figure 4.10a Form 46 “Information to Send Employees for Training Not Over 45 Days” (In Thai)

Information to send employees for training overseas not over 45 days Section 49

At
Date

Dear Director-General of Department of Employment

I am Mr./Mrs./Miss Age
Nationality Resident address
postcode..... Telephone
Identity card No. /Passport No. Date of issue
Place of issue Position
Company/limited partnership
Address Telephone
Would like to sent employees person as the name list enclosed herewith to train
at Address
postcode Country Telephone Fax
Length for training Date of departure (estimate)
.....

Evidence documents are enclosed herewith.

- (1) Copy of the Certificate of Registration of juristic person and detail of persons who hold shares.
- (2) Document granting permission for trainee to entry in that country
- (3) the training program or time table of training
- (4) Document to show that trainees are employees
- (5) Two copies of Training contract
- (6) Two list of the name of employees who will be trained overseas (form 47)

I acknowledge that all information above is truth and will follow training contract. And will report traveling back of employees who sent for training overseas (form 45) in 15 days after employees entering the Kingdom.

(Signature) Employer

(.....)

Position

Put one's juristic person chop on (If has)

Figure 4.10b Form 46 “Information to Send Employees for Training Not Over 45 Days” (Translated from Thai document)



แบบ จง.๔๔

เลขรับที่.....
วันที่.....
ลงชื่อ.....เจ้าหน้าที่
หลักฐานครบถ้วนและถูกต้องวันที่
.....

คำขออนุญาตส่งลูกจ้างไปฝึกงานในต่างประเทศ

เขียนที่.....

วันที่.....เดือน.....พ.ศ.....

ข้าพเจ้า.....อายุ.....ปี สัญชาติ.....
 อยู่บ้านเลขที่.....ตรอก/ซอย.....ถนน.....
 หมู่ที่.....ตำบล/แขวง.....อำเภอ/เขต.....
 จังหวัด.....รหัสไปรษณีย์.....เลขหมายโทรศัพท์.....
 บัตรประจำตัวประชาชน/หนังสือเดินทางเลขที่.....
 ลงวันที่.....ออกให้ ณ อำเภอ/เขต.....จังหวัด.....
 ตำแหน่ง.....บริษัท/ห้างหุ้นส่วนจำกัด.....
 ตั้งอยู่เลขที่.....ตรอก/ซอย.....ถนน.....
 หมู่ที่.....ตำบล/แขวง.....อำเภอ/เขต.....
 จังหวัด.....รหัสไปรษณีย์.....เลขหมายโทรศัพท์.....
 เลขหมายโทรสาร.....มีความประสงค์ที่จะขออนุญาตส่งลูกจ้าง
 จำนวน.....คน ไปฝึกงานในต่างประเทศกับ (หน่วยงานชื่อ).....
 ตั้งอยู่เลขที่.....ตู้ ปณ.....
 เมือง.....รหัสไปรษณีย์.....ประเทศ.....
 เลขหมายโทรศัพท์.....เลขหมายโทรพิมพ์.....เลขหมายโทรสาร.....
 โดยมีกำหนดระยะเวลาในการฝึกงาน.....เดือน.....วัน ซึ่งจะออกเดินทางประมาณ
 วันที่.....เดือน.....พ.ศ.....และมีกำหนดระยะเวลาที่ลูกจ้างจะ
 เดินทางกลับเข้ามาในราชอาณาจักรประมาณวันที่.....เดือน.....พ.ศ.....

Figure 4.11a Form 44 “Apply for Sending Employees for Training more Than 45 Days” (In Thai)

- (๒) สำเนาหนังสือรับรองการจดทะเบียนนิติบุคคลและรายละเอียดผู้ถือหุ้น (แบบ บอจ.๕) ซึ่งรับรองไว้ไม่เกินหกเดือน
- (๓) สำเนาเอกสารแสดงการอนุญาตของส่วนราชการหรือหน่วยงานของรัฐที่อนุญาตให้ลูกจ้างเข้าไปทำงานในประเทศนั้น ซึ่งผู้ขออนุญาตรับรองว่าเป็นภาพถ่ายจากต้นฉบับจริง
- (๔) สำเนาเอกสารแสดงการอนุญาตของส่วนราชการแห่งประเทศของผู้ว่าจ้างที่อนุญาตให้ผู้ขออนุญาตนำลูกจ้างเข้าไปทำงานในประเทศ ซึ่งผู้ขออนุญาตรับรองว่าเป็นภาพถ่ายจากต้นฉบับจริง
- (๕) สำเนาสัญญาจ้างระหว่างผู้ขออนุญาตกับลูกจ้างที่จะไปทำงานในต่างประเทศ ซึ่งจะต้องกำหนดรายละเอียดเกี่ยวกับสภาพการจ้าง จำนวน ๒ ชุด
- (๖) บัญชีรายชื่อลูกจ้างที่จะไปทำงานในต่างประเทศ จำนวน ๕ ชุด

ข้าพเจ้าขอรับรองว่าจะปฏิบัติตามเงื่อนไขที่อธิบติกำหนดและสัญญาการจ้างที่แนบมาพร้อมนี้ทุกประการ

ลายมือชื่อ.....ผู้ยื่นคำขอ

(.....)

ตำแหน่ง.....

ประทับตราสำคัญของนิติบุคคล (ถ้ามี)

Continued Figure 4.11a Form 44 “Apply for Sending Employees for Training more Than 45 Days” (In Thai)

Apply for sending employees for training more than 45 days

At
 Date
 I amAge Nationality
 Home address Telephone
 Identity card No. /Passport No..... Date of issue Place of issue
 Position Company / limited partnership
 Address Telephone
 Would like to apply for sending employees person for training with
 Address postcode Country
 Telephone Fax
 Length for training Date of departure (estimate)
 And those employees will travelling back to the Kingdom (estimate date)

Evidence documents are enclosed herewith.

- (1) Copy of the Certificate of Registration of juristic person and detail of persons who hold shares.
- (2) Copy of the Certificate of Registration or Permit to operate business (if has)
- (3) Documents to proof those trainees are the employees of company such as Income Tax I.
- (4) Document granting permission trainees to entry in that country
- (5) the training program at overseas
- (6) Five copies of Training contract at least stating
 - (a) the length of training
 - (b) the compensation, benefit and welfare
 - (c) the wage of employees while they are training overseas
- (7) The name list of employees who go for training overseas

I acknowledge that I will follow the law and conditions that the Director –General of Department of Employment Services restrict.

(Signature) Person who apply
 (.....)

Position

Put one’s juristic person chop on (If has)

Figure 4.11b Form 44 “Apply for Sending Employees for Training more Than 45 Days” (Translated from Thai document)

On 27 August 1998 there was an announcement by the Labour and Social Welfare Ministry that all workers have to go through Labour Control before departure from Thailand (Silapra-archa, 1999). This is to prevent the smuggling of workers out of the country, cheating and defrauding the workers, as well as to protect job seekers and employees who want to go to work overseas (Silapra-archa, 1999). At Labour Control, workers have to submit Form 12 with departure documents namely, passport, employment contract, work contract and permission letter (in the case of training for more than 45 days). These procedures are required for proving that those persons have the correct documents and have followed all the stages stipulated by the DES. The processes Thai workers must go through to work overseas is very complicated and time consuming.

4.5 Mode and Procedures of Travelling to Work of Migrant Workers in the Four Southern Border Provinces

This section assesses how migrant workers from the four southern border provinces access work overseas. Migrant workers from this area mostly migrate to work in Malaysia by self-arrangement rather than use the services of private recruitment agencies, Department of Employment Services or employers. In their study, Laodumrongchai *et al.*, (2000) found that among workers from Pattani and Satun who returned from working in Malaysia the highest percentage arranged travelling by themselves (91.8 percent). While workers from northern and northeastern parts of Thailand who mostly go to work in Japan, Taiwan and Singapore used the service of private agencies (59.7, 81.5 and 64.8 percent respectively).

People who live in the four southern border provinces seem to have their work waiting for them before migration to work in Malaysia. Prasompong and Songmuang

(1990) pointed out that people in Tan Yong Po which is a sub-district of Muang district in Satun province migrate to work in Malaysia when they knew that there was work available. They usually gained information from

- people in Tan Yong Po who had earlier migrated to Malaysia and came back to the village and asked them to go along;
- Malaysian employers who came to the village and had relatives in Satun or knew the families of migrant workers in the village very well;
- a middleman (Nai Na) who was asked by the Malaysian employers to recruit workers for them.

Consequently it is often social contacts which provide the basis for people to move to work in Malaysia.

A study by Wittayapreechakul (1990) focused on the role of social networks in labour circulation to Malaysia in a case study of Cha Rang village, Yaring district, Pattani. She found that social networks played a role in labour circulation to Malaysia. Their function is to serve as sources of information about conditions of work and other conditions in the destination areas. This information is related to the jobs that they will undertake, the distance in going to work, the nature of the work, wages, hiring procedures, benefits they will receive (lodging, food, medical care), method of travel, travel costs, and other costs as well as sources of jobs and the community at the destination areas. Wittayapreechakul concluded that the assistance of social networks in both the origin area and destination areas facilitates and reduces uncertainty in labour circulation. With the help of their social network, migration of people from the four southern border provinces to work in Malaysia is not difficult. Thus it is common for people in these provinces to travel to work in Malaysia by using a border pass and some travel and work without any documents.

4.5.1 Travelling by Using a Border Pass

Normally people who live in Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun use a border pass to travel between Thailand and Malaysia to visit friends and relatives in Malaysia. A border pass is issued for convenience to people who live along the border (Thailand-Malaysia) to visit friends or relatives on the other side. By using a border pass, people from these provinces can travel to Perlis, Kedah, Perak and Kelantan and travel up to 25 Kilometres from the border. However, they can stay in Malaysia no longer than 3 months.

People in these areas not only use a border pass to visit friends and relatives, but also use it for travelling to work in Malaysia. By using a border pass, people gain benefits as follows;

- they can apply for a border pass at the districts in which they live and/or at the districts that have a border with Malaysia. It means they travel only within the province or travel to adjacent provinces (Satun, Songkhla, Yala or Narathiwat) in case of people who live in Pattani. If they apply for a passport they have to go to Had Yai district, Songkhla or Bangkok;
- it is easy to obtain a border pass. The process to apply for a border pass takes 1-2 days only;
- it is not expensive. The fee for applying for a border pass is cheap when compared to the fee for a passport. They pay 10-20 Baht while the fee for a passport is 1,000-1,500 Baht;
- it reduces many procedures of the Employment Services Department. They do not have to inform them of leaving the country for working, their purposes are other reasons.

- it is easy to pass the border control. To exit and enter the countries, both Thailand and Malaysia, they only submit their border pass to Immigration officers to stamp without filling in any forms. If they use a passport it is necessary to fill in departure and arrival cards both at Thailand Immigration and Malaysia Immigration. Some migrant workers cannot do this so they have to pay for a person to fill them in for them.

By using a border pass they enter Malaysia legally then violate the permit by working there illegally since they do not have a work permit. Migrant workers who go to work in the agricultural sector as well as commuting migrants mainly hold border passes. Nevertheless, there are also significant numbers of migrant workers who travel to work in Malaysia without any documentation at all.

4.5.2 Travelling Without Any Documents (Undocumented Migrants)

Traveling to work in Malaysia of workers from the four southern border provinces without any documents is not a new phenomenon. It is commonplace for people who live along the Su-ngai Kolok River to cross to the other side without any documents. They can use a small boat to cross the river or pay 3 Baht (A\$0.10) for a hire boat. In addition, there are migrant workers from Satun province who go to work in Perlis and Langkawi Island, Kedah by fishing boat without any documents. Workers who go to Langkawi Island mostly enter through a fishing village near the Kedah Cement Factory that is located at the back of the Island and the opposite side to the ferry terminal.

Extensive observation in the area indicates that some workers cross the border through Immigration without any documents with no problems since both Thailand and Malaysia Immigration are not strict with local people, particular Muslims. Thai officers allow these workers to go through since they go to work to make a living and

for their family and no serious problems occur with these workers while they work in Malaysia. In addition, Malaysia Immigration officers are also not strict since they know that these workers will be in Malaysia just for work and will go back to Thailand and they have similar religious and cultural backgrounds to Malaysians so are not likely to have problems while in Malaysia.

4.6 Destination Areas and Occupations of Migrant Workers from the Four

Southern Border Provinces

Muslim migrant workers from the four southern border provinces go to work in different places in Malaysia and are engaged in several kinds of occupation. Migrant workers from Pattani and Narathiwat mainly worked in rice planting and harvesting and construction work and their destinations were Kedah and Kelantan. A study of the Southern Border Provinces Administrative Centre (1985) found that migrant workers from Pattani and Narathiwat provinces mainly engaged in construction (nearly all of them being from Narathiwat) and rice planting and harvesting (all from Pattani). Some of them also worked as general hired labour, shop helpers, baby sitters, and worked in rubber and oil palm plantations. In their study, Lukngam, Baka and Kaimuk (1985) found that the destinations of workers from Pattani were Kedah, followed by Kelantan, and Trengganu. Workers from Narathiwat mainly went to work in Kedah and Kelantan and some small numbers in other States namely; Trengganu, Selangor and Pahang. Kedah and Kelantan are the most popular destinations of labour from the southern border provinces of Thailand. Kedah is the most popular destination of labourers from Pattani. This is because it is an agricultural state or “rice-bowl area” where people from Pattani mostly worked as hired labour in paddy fields (Gosling, 1963). It has been reported that Kedah, Kelantan, Terengganu,

Perlis, Pahang and Perak were the states that had a large number of illegal workers from the four southern border provinces of Thailand. These States of Malaysia have become the main destination of migrant workers from the border province because they;

- have a large area of agricultural land,
- are close to the border of Thailand so are easy to reach,
- require a large number of labourers,
- it is easy to find a job and have job available all year round,
- labour migration between the southern border provinces of Thailand and the northern States of Malaysia has continued over many decades (Thai Labour Office in Malaysia, 1997, p.5).

Currently, there are not only flows of seasonal migrants from Pattani to work in rice field in Kedah and Perlis, migrant workers now work in different places in Malaysia and engage in several kinds of occupations. According to Ariffin (1993, p. 298),

Other than the traditional forms of migration, new waves of Thai workers have moved across the borders into regions of Northern Malaysia, especially to the Islands of Langkawi, and Penang. Their participation is mainly in the construction and small-scale trading sectors as well as in restaurants and food-catering services. Similar religious affinities and kinship linkages were also reasons for constant cross-border interflows as in the case of Thai-Muslims from southern Thailand.

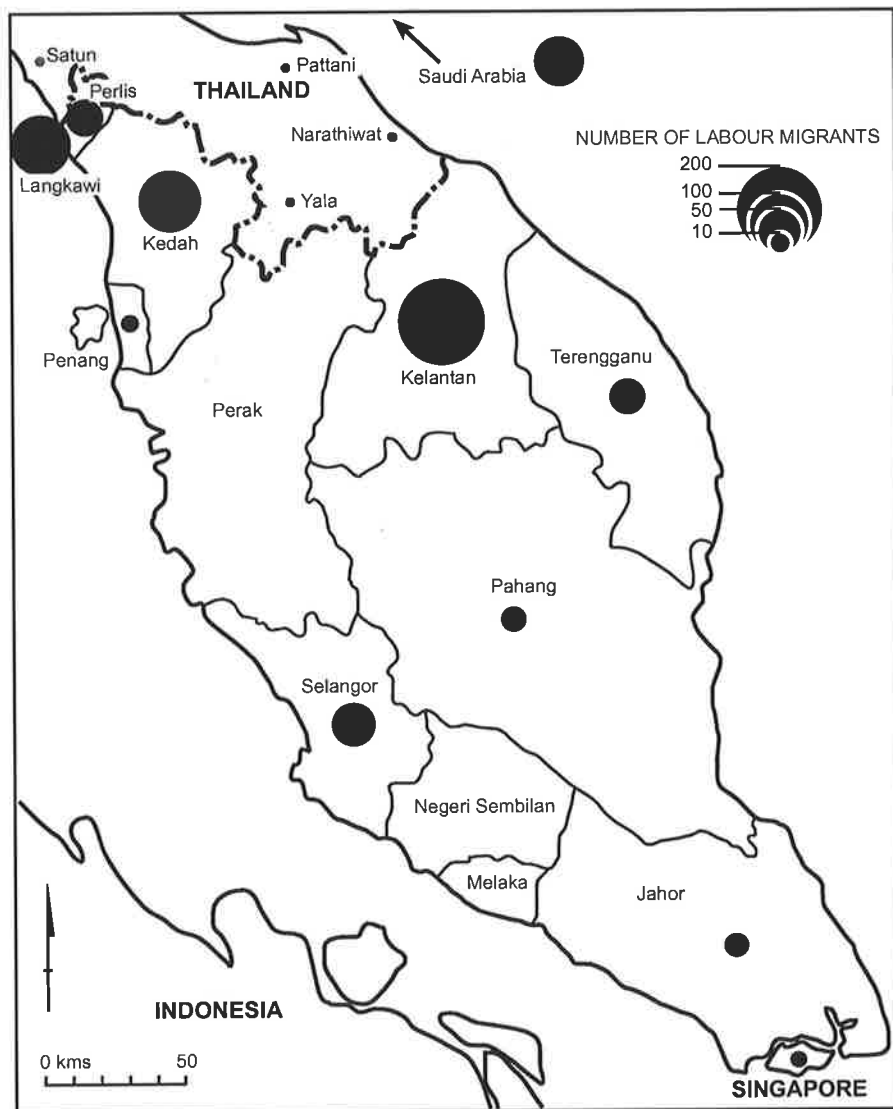
Ariffin (1993, p. 298) also pointed out, “ The restaurant business is one such sector in which many Thai workers are concentrated as cooks, waitresses and helpers”.

Data that were collected from Labour Controls in Narathiwat, Yala and Satun from the field survey in 1999-2000 showed that the main destination areas were the 4 northern States; Kelantan, Perak, Kedah and Perlis. The work of migrant workers who pass through Sungai Kolok Labour Control are rubber tapping and oil palm

cutting, forest clearing, rice transplanting, construction work and working in food shops. They mostly work in Kelantan, Perak and Kedah. While data from another Labour Control in Narathiwat, Tak Bai Labour Control show that workers, who pass through, mostly work in rubber plantation and food shops in Kelantan. Migrant workers who go through Betong Labour Control work in rubber plantations as well as food shops in Perak. Migrant workers who pass through Wang Prachan Labour control in Satun go to work in Perlis mostly are hired labourers in rice field and rubber plantation and some work in food shops.

Recently, a survey of Thai workers who are working in Langkawi Island by Provincial Employment Service Office Satun found that Thai labour mostly engage in fisheries and related work (e.g. wharf labour), construction work, food shops and rubber plantations. There are 1,400 to 1,500 male workers from Langu district, Satun province who work as fishing boat crews and 400 to 550 workers in industrial work related to fisheries, 80 percent are female migrants. There are also 400 to 500 workers that are mostly females from Satun who work as cooks and waitresses in food shops, restaurants and hotels. To a lesser extent some work as construction workers (Provincial Employment Service Office, Satun province, 2001).

The field survey conducted in eight villages of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun in 1999-2000 also found that Kelantan was the main destination of migrant workers from Narathiwat, Kelantan and Kedah were the main destination areas of migrant workers from both Pattani and Yala, while migrant workers from Satun mainly worked in Langkawi Island and Perlis (Figure 4.12). Work that migrant workers from the survey villages engaged in at destination areas was mainly in services, followed by agriculture and factory work (Table 4.5).



Destination areas	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8	Total
Kelantan	28	10	19	32	42	62	-	-	193
Kedah	16	44	14	6	-	-	14	-	94
Langkawi Isl.	-	3	2	-	-	-	16	68	89
Selangor	9	7	7	2	13	2	4	2	46
Perlis	-	3	-	1	-	-	30	-	34
Terengganu	2	2	17	1	4	4	1	-	31
Saudi Arabia	14	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	15
Pahang	-	-	7	2	3	2	-	-	14
Jahor	1	1	3	5	3	-	-	-	13
Penang	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	-	6
Singapore	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
Total	70	70	70	50	70	70	70	70	540

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Figure 4.12 Destination Areas of Migrant Workers in the Survey Villages

Table 4.5 Occupations in which Migrant Workers from the Survey Villages Were Engaged at Destinations

Occupations	Male migrant workers		Female migrant workers		Total
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
Services Work	32	20	195	51.3	227(42.0)
Agriculture Work	39	24.4	111	29.2	150(27.8)
Factory Work	7	4.4	41	10.8	48(8.9)
Trader	7	4.4	30	7.9	37(6.9)
Construction Work	37	23.1	3	0.8	40(7.4)
Fishery crew	38	23.7	-	-	38(7.0)
Total	160	100.0	380	100.0	540 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

The pattern of work in which migrant workers from the four southern border provinces were engaged in Malaysia has not changed much in the last few decades. Migrant workers still engage in agricultural work, however, currently there is occupational differentiation between males and females that are employed in Malaysia. Male migrants mainly engage in construction work and work as fishing boat crews, while female migrants are mostly engaged in the service sector in work such as cooks and waitresses in food shops and restaurant and employees in factories.

4.7 Conclusion

As Hugo (1998c, p.2) argues it is important to study the movement of females and males separately. Since the patterns of female movement differs from those of men, the causes and consequences of movement can differ from those of males and the policy implications of movement can also vary. Thus, the next three chapters will highlight the process of female international labour migration that occurs in the four southern border provinces by using a gender framework. The next chapter will

examine the causes of female migration to work in Malaysia and the influence of gender relations on the desire and ability of women and men to migrate, the status and roles in the sending society and their impact on the sex selectivity of migration, and the impact of communities of origin factors on the desire and ability of women and men to migrate.

Chapter 5

Causes of Female International Labour Migration from Southern Thailand

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the causes of female labour migration from the survey villages to work in other countries are analysed. The decision making process of migrant workers is the main focus of attention. There are several important factors which influence this process. Decision-making regarding female migration is made by an individual but households and the society and community also influence the decision to migrate (Bilsborrow, 1993). In particular the causes of migration may differ between male and female migrants. As Riley and Gardner (1993, p.196) point out:

Clearly, whatever factors influence the migration decision-making process, they do not affect everyone to the same extent. Gender often determines whether a person would even perceive migration as an option. Gender is also a crucial element differentiating what types of migration are available, whether the person has access to the resources required for migration, and whether or to what extent the person may participate in making the decision to migrate

There is then a need to examine the influence of gender in decision-making in relation to female international labour migrants. A gender sensitive approach, “a three stage analytical framework” that was developed by Grieco and Boyd (1998) has been adopted for this study. This present study not only tests Grieco and Boyd’s theoretical framework in the context of female international labour migration in a developing country in the Southeast Asian region, but it also develops it specifically for this context. Thus, this chapter employs the Grieco and Boyd model to explore the influence of gender relations on the ability to make a decision to migrate and to access relevant information among female migrant workers, the status and roles of the

women themselves on ability to migrate and reasons for migration, and finally, the influence of the sending community on their ability to migrate.

5.2 Theoretical Framework

Grieco and Boyd's (1998) three-stage analytical framework divides the process of migration into three stages; pre-migration, the act of migration, and post-migration. The pre-migration stage focuses on both systemic or macro factors and individual or micro factors in the sending country that influences the propensities of women and men to migrate. These factors are sub-divided into three areas: 1) influence of gender relations on the desire and ability of women and men to migrate; 2) status and roles in the sending society and their impact on the sex selectivity of migration; and 3) the impact of country of origin factors on the desire and ability of women and men to migrate.

Grieco and Boyd's framework explains the influence of gender relations on the desire and ability of women and men to migrate in that "The likelihood that women and/or men will migrate is determined by their abilities to make the decision and to access resources to do so". Specifically in relation to female migrants, they show that

Systems of gender stratification in families and in the societies of origin can circumscribe women's ability to make autonomous decisions (e.g. because of patriarchal power relations) and access both familial-based and public resources (e.g. family income, wage from a job, education, information) (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, Table1).

In this study, the results from the field survey regarding the ability to make a decision to migrate and to access resources among female migrant workers in the survey villages support the importance of these three elements in this framework in the southern Thailand case. It was found that the gender relations of males and females in

the family and community limited the autonomy of women to make decisions to migrate and their access to information about job opportunities in destination areas. Some of these findings are explained below.

5.3 Influence of Gender Relations on Desire and Ability of Women to Migrate

It has been argued that generally the family is the first unit that creates gender inequality in terms of the hierarchy of power (Curtis, 1986). That is, generally as the leader of household, the husband or the father has the greatest authority in the family whereas the wife or the daughter has the least. The father or the husband uses this authority over the wife and the daughters both within and outside of the house. This status of being subordinate influences the decision making process of women. Within the family, women's decision making is expected to be evaluated by other members of the household, especially the husband or the father. This situation gradually shapes the way a woman thinks, her values, her motivations for doing things including migration (Lim, 1995).

It has been noted that the influence of "super ordinate and subordinate" social relationships is dominant in Thai society (Limanonda, 2000). However, the relative status of the individuals involved is normally defined by age (younger: older; children: parents: grandparents; younger sibling: older sibling) rather than sex (male: female) (Limanonda, 2000, p. 249). Thus Thai women have enjoyed a status almost equal to that of their male counterparts since "the sphere of action for both sexes consists of complimentary roles with the family and society" (Yoddumnern-Attig, 1992, p. 8). However, while Thai women do not seem subordinate to men, for wives it is evident in Thai proverbs that it exists to some degree. A traditional Thai proverb

states that “Man is the elephant’s front legs; woman is the elephant’s hind legs” and it is common among Thai families. This suggests that man (the husband) is the leader of the family because he is compared to the front legs of the elephant while the hind legs (the wife) have to follow them.

In the Muslim communities of the southern border provinces of Thailand, the hierarchy of the family is explicit in which men (fathers and husbands) take leadership of the family (Cha-um Puk, 1984; Baka and Madaehoh, 1986). This is because Islam considers women as the weaker sex, in need of protection and men have the degree of maintenance and protection over women, thus men are guardians over women (Badawi, 1980; Ali and Ali, 2002). In their study of the status of Thai Muslim women in the southern border provinces of Thailand, Baka and Madaehoh (1986, p.17) reported that in Muslim society men must be responsible for looking after members of the family, women (wives) must be taken care of by their husband and the husbands can counsel the wife (with kind treatment). Subsequently being of subordinate status in marriage influences the decision making processes of many Thai women including those related to migration.

5.3.1 Decision Making Ability Among Female Migrant Workers

Nearly all of the female migrant workers (378 out of 380) in the survey villages indicated that they decided they wanted to go to work by themselves, but their decision to do so was not totally independent. There were only two cases of those who indicated that they were forced to go to work in Malaysia. The first made it clear that she did not want to go to work in Malaysia but she was made to because her family was very poor. Her father and mother were hired labour for transplanting and harvesting rice both in the village and in Malaysia. Her parents wanted her to help the family by going to work with them in Malaysia. She still goes to work in Malaysia but

her parents are no longer migrating to work in Malaysia since they are old. In another case, a woman was pushed by her grandmother to go to work in Malaysia. She explained that her parents have their own food shop at Rantau Panjang Market, Kelantan. Her parents left her and her younger brother and sister with their grandmother in the village. Within two years of finishing year 6 at school, her grandmother wanted her to help her parents in the food shop and now she has worked in Malaysia for two years.

In Table 5.1 results from the survey reveal that 30 percent of female migrant workers in these villages replied that they made the decision to migrate totally of their own accord. For the rest of the women, their parents made the decision or it was made jointly with another member of the family. Among single female migrants their parents were dominant in their decision making and the husband was dominant in the decision making of married female migrants to migrate overseas. In contrast it was found that male migrant workers mainly made the decision on their own (58 percent), or the decision was made jointly by parents and wives (23 and 13 percent respectively). Hence making the decision to migrate to work overseas is different between females and males.

Table 5.1 Making the Decision to Migrate to Work Overseas Among Migrants in the Survey Villages, 1999-2000

Making decision to migrate	Male		Female	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
By one's self	94	58.8	115	30.3
By parents	7	4.4	55	14.5
By one's self and parents	22	13.7	78	20.5
By one's self and spouse	37	23.1	132	34.7
Total	160	100	380	100

Source: Field survey, 1999-2000

Males were more likely to make the decision on their own than were females. Since traditionally men's responsibility to the family is mainly performed outside the house while the main work of women is within the house it would be expected for men to have greater freedom in making migration decisions (Riley and Gardner, 1993). In relation to female decisions, in particular in cases of married females, the influence of the husband on their decision was predominant. If husbands disapprove of the migration their wives are less likely to migrate or stop migrating since the custom of Muslims is that the wife must obey the husband. Indonesian Muslim women also followed their husband's wishes. According to Hardee *et al.* (1999, p.57) "...the majority of women (77 percent in Jakarta and 67 percent in Ujung Pandang) reported seeking their husband's permission to take (or keep) their current job". Responses of non-migrant females in the villages from the field survey support the power of husbands over the decisions of wives as is shown in Table 5.2. There were 20 percent (16 of 80) of female non-migrants who had been thinking about working overseas. The responses from those who had not been working overseas, because their husbands disapproved were 31.3 percent. This is similar to Riley and Gardner's (1993, p. 201) note that

If a woman welcomes it, she may seek a positive decision with regard to migration. If her husband wants her to contribute more to family income, he might also be in favour of migration. However, if he perceives his wife's work outside the home as threatening, he may delay or stop her migration altogether.

In a study of the migration of rural families from the North East of Thailand, Richter and others (1997, p.29) found that younger people were likely to consult parents, and above fifty percent of married people consulted their spouses. However, men were more likely to make their own decision than women: 21: 34 percent for

men and women consulted parents, while those consulting spouses were 29: 39 percent for men and women. Trager (1984, p.1273) also reported that in relation to the

Table 5.2 Attitudes of Female Non-migrants in the Survey Villages toward Migration for Work Overseas, 1999-2000

Have you been thinking about working overseas?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	16	20
No	64	80
Total	80	100
Why have you not gone there?	Frequency	Percent
Obligations in the family	9	56.3
Husband not allow	5	31.2
Have work at home	2	12.5
Total	16	100

Source: Field survey, 1999-2000

migration of women in the Philippines, the decisions of single young women to migrate are generally made in a family context: "...the opinion of the mother and adult children being considered, but the decision will be formulated and voiced by the father". Similarly Hugo (1995, p.285) pointed out that of female OCWs in Indonesia almost all move overseas as individuals, but the actual decision-making process often involves the family (or senior members), usually the older males.

It can be seen that women are less likely to make their decision independently. In this context joint decisions with others in the family or approval from the husband or parents are significant in the migration of female migrants from the four southern border provinces.

5.3.2 Access to Information by Female Migrant Workers in the Survey Villages

In the survey villages, migrant workers have access to knowledge about the destination areas especially regarding employment, work opportunities and other

conditions concerning migration to work in Malaysia or Saudi Arabia. Migrant workers in the villages receive information about work and other conditions in destination areas by talking to friends or relatives who have migration experience.

Table 5.3 Main Sources of Information Related to Destination Areas of Migrant Workers from the Survey Villages, 1999-2000

Source of information	Female		Male		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Relatives/friends with migration experience in village	252	66.3	129	80.6	381(70.6)
Relatives/friends in destination places	84	22.1	14	8.7	98(18.1)
Visited destination earlier	10	2.6	10	6.3	20(3.7)
Middleman /Employer in village	34	9	7	4.4	41(7.6)
Total	380	100	160	100	540(100)

Source: Field Survey 1999-2000

Table 5.3 shows that relatives and friends in the villages were the major source of information (70 percent) for male and female migrants. Relatives and friends in the villages were the main source of information because almost all of them have contemporary experience as labour migrants, commuters, seasonal or circular labour migrants. When those migrants returned or came to visit home, people who live in the villages could get information directly from them. Information from relatives and friends who had experienced migration was not only considered as the most trustworthy source but relatives and friends could also help people in the villages get a job in the destination area. This is because workers in destination areas are usually recruited by personal contract or via social networks that link the villages and the destination areas (greater detail about the roles of social networks in helping villagers to migrate and get a job will be discussed in the next chapter). Therefore, it is evident

that public sources such as newspapers, radio, television or government employment agencies as well as private employment agencies were relatively unimportant information sources for migrants in the survey villages. Indeed jobs that migrant workers engaged in the destination areas were mainly traditional jobs such as working on rice farms, rubber plantations, construction sites, sewing shops and fishing boats and news about the availability of these jobs was passed on by word of mouth rather than being advertised. Moreover, not all but most, migrant workers from the villages were employed illegally in Malaysia and Saudi Arabia, thus information from friends and relatives was important.

Prasompong and Song Muang (1990, p.27) noted that migrant workers in Tan Young Po sub-district, Satun province would migrate to work in Malaysia when they knew that there was a job waiting for them. Information about jobs in Malaysia and calls for migrant workers from villagers who were working in Malaysia was very influential in women's decision to migrate to work in Malaysia. Dorall and Paramasivam (1992) also found that information about job opportunities in destination areas from friends and relatives both in Indonesia and Malaysia was important in the decision making of Indonesian female migrants going to Malaysia.

The ability to access information by female migrant workers in the survey villages was more limited than for males. This is due to the traditions of the Muslim community that women's roles mainly are within the house while roles outside the house are dominated by men. Muslim women often stay home; males have more chance to go to public places within and outside the village (Lertrit, 1992, p.22). It is likely that male migrant workers have greater access to information in public places than females do.

In Muslim communities mosques are the most common place for villagers to meet and communicate with others. Most men in the villages go to pray at the village's mosque everyday and, in particular they attend in a congregation to pray on Fridays. This is mandatory for men but it is optional for women¹(Badawi, 1980). Muslim women in the villages mainly pray at home, though some of the elderly women pray at the mosque (Cha-um Puk, 1984; Lertrit, 1992). If there is news or information that the village headman or another person would like to announce, men will get it directly and are likely to convey it to other members (women) in the household. For men too, tea or coffee shops are popular informal information centres of the villages since villagers will come to chat and listen to news or information there (Cha-um Puk, 1984). It is common in the Muslim villages in the southern border provinces to see men sitting in the tea or coffee shops or food shops, but one is less likely to see women except those who work in the shop (Lertrit, 1992, p.41). Women in the villages will not come to sit in those shops since they are not considered suitable places for women. Instead, women should stay home talking or exchanging information with friends in their houses or nearby their houses. In addition, the dove field² is another appointment place in the village that we can see a group of males without women participating. It is another place that men can meet other friends and communicate about labour migration (see Figure 5.1). Two studies (Cha-um Puk, 1984; Lertrit, 1992) have noted that going out of the house by women in Muslim villages was less than, and not as free as, for males. Cha-um Puk (1984) found that most of the women in the village travelled to other places (such as the railway station

¹ A woman may be nursing her baby or caring for him, and thus may be unable to go out to the mosque at the time of the prayers (Badawi, 1980).

² Doves are popular among Muslim communities; they rear them for listening to the sound. Most of the villagers rear doves as a hobby, but some villagers rear them for selling and competition. In the village Muslim men will bring their dove to the field of the village or someone's house for showing it off.



Figure 5.1 Dove Field, a Meeting Place of Males in the Village, Yaring District, Pattani

and other provinces) less than males. Travelling far from home, Muslim women must have a protector (husband or father). The market was the only place that those village women were familiar with and used to go to regularly. Similarly Lertrit (1992) noted that Muslim women were less likely than men to go out from their house. They would do so on some occasions such as an important Muslim ceremony to celebrate a stage of life such as a birth, wedding, or funeral, or a Muslim custom. For example it is a tradition that in Hari Raya (The end of the Muslim fasting month, Ramadan) Muslim men (husbands and fathers) will take their family to visit relatives who live in the same village and/or in other villages. In Lertrit's study these occasions gave women a chance to meet and communicate with other relatives and friends outside their houses.

Compared to males, female migrant workers have less access to information about the working situations overseas since they do not really have much chance to

meet others outside their house. While 80.6 percent of male migrant workers got information from relatives and friends in the village, 66.3 percent of females got information from these sources. For women migrant workers, relatives/friends in destination areas (22.1 percent) were another important source of information. Relatives and friends would come to visit in the villages, send them a letter, or telephone when there were jobs available in the destination areas. Middlemen and employers in the villages (8.9 percent) were the other sources that came to talk to female migrant workers at their houses and offer them jobs.

From this analysis of the experiences of men and women in the survey villages it is evident that both groups are able to access relevant information about migration. However, it seems that the sources of this information are different. Because of their primarily domestic roles, women do not have as great a variety of social opportunities to gain access to influential information.

5.4 Status and Roles: Impact on Sex Selectivity in Migration

Men and women have different status and roles in the family and, therefore different responsibilities in production and reproduction. It has been argued that “Gender differentiation in migration patterns is often the result of the different roles, responsibilities and power that women and men have in relation to reproduction” (Bjeren, 1997, p.227). Grieco and Boyd’s three stage analytical framework explains status and role in the sending society and their impact on the sex selectivity of migration. They argue that

Women’s or man’s status, roles and stage in the life-cycle interact to determine their positions in the sending society and therefore determine their “migratory probability”. This interaction influences the opportunity women and men have to migrate at the point when the decision is being made (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, Table 1).

This framework explains further specific to female migrants as follows:

Combined with gender relations and sex stratification, it (status and role) also causes migration to be a sex selective process, shaping the sex composition of the migration flow and the type of migration leaving a sending society. It can also influence the reasons why women and men migrate (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, Table 1).

The field survey in eight villages in the four southern border provinces confirms that the feasibility of female migration was more limited than for males. Women's status and the roles that women perform did restrain their propensity to migrate. In addition, the reasons given by females for migrating to work in other countries also are related to their status and roles.

5.4.1 Impact of Status and Roles on the Labour Migration of Females in the Survey Villages

Generally in society men and women have different roles at each stage of their lives. As Guest (1993, p.5) points out:

Women and men are expected to perform different roles in the family and community. There are norms regarding behaviour considered appropriate for each role and for associated behaviour that impinges upon the performance of roles. In most societies the economic role is seen as paramount for men. The result is that men are generally responsive to the changing spatial distribution of economic opportunities and there are limited normative barriers to their movement.

The expectation in most societies is that men are responsible for the social and economic wellbeing of their families. On the other hand, women are expected to be wives and mothers and thus tied to domestic responsibilities (Yang and Guo, 1999). De Jong, Richter and Isarabhakdi (1994, p.10) have shown that in the family, women and men have different responsibilities in the family and economic activities. They found that the presence of dependent members in the household had an opposite impact on men and women. In a household with children under age six and elderly,

men were likely to intend to move, while women were unlikely to do so. In addition several studies found that married women stopped migrating and found jobs close to the home base to suit their family responsibilities (Singhanetra-Renard, 1987) and some stopped their working because of child care responsibilities (Ariffin, 1999; Hardee *et.al.*, 1999; Hwang, 2002). It is clear that married women generally find it more difficult to migrate than other groups because of their expected role as care taker for the families.

It was found in this study that the status and roles of females in the family, particularly related to being a wife, meant that women's opportunities to migrate were limited. In Islam, women and men have different roles defined by religious rules such as the following:

Islam recognizes and fosters the natural differences between men and women despite their equality. Some types of work are more suitable for men and other types for women. This in no way diminishes either's effort nor its benefit. God will reward both sexes equally for the value of their work, though it may not necessarily be the same activity.

While maintenance of a home, providing support to her husband, and bearing, raising and teaching of children are among the first and very highly regarded roles for a woman, if she has the skills to work outside the home for the good of the community, she may do so as long as her family obligations are met.

The Qur'an states: "Men are the maintainers of women because Allah has made some of them to excel others and because they spend of their wealth (for the support of women)." (4:34). This guardianship and greater financial responsibility is given to men, requires that they provide women with not only monetary support but also physical protection and kind and respectful treatment.

(Ali and Ali, 2002, p.1-2).

Cha-um Puk who studied the roles of Thai Muslim women in Ban Ru Samelae (a Muslim fishing village in Pattani province), found that the main roles of married Thai Muslim women were to guard their husband's home and be a good wife and good

mother. In addition they also helped the husband to supplement the family income by working in the village, some women bringing fish or food to sell at market (Cha-um Puk, 1982, p.57). Being small traders in the markets is an acceptable economic role for Muslim women in the southern border provinces (Cha-um Puk, 1982; Prachuabmoh, 1989; Lertrit, 1992; Taneerananon, 1996). In practice, Muslim women sit on the floor selling food, vegetables, fish, and fish products (such as dried fish, fish crackers etc.) in markets (see Figure 5.2). This is similar to other regions of Thailand where it is a tradition that women engage in trading and marketing (Singhanetra-Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn 1992). Being a market trader is acceptable among Muslims because women can continue their family obligations. Women will go to the market in the morning and finish by late morning, or work half of a day and then go home to take care of their husband and children and do the household chores (Lertrit, 1992). Thus, even when Muslim women work outside the home, they only do so in occupations which do not compromise their duties within their family

Besides engaging in trading at the market, Muslim women in these areas have worked in other kinds of jobs such as shop helpers, waitresses, cooks, employees in factories or as general hired labourers locally and in others countries (Lertrit, 1992; Lanui, Chema and Lanui, 1997). Women, both married and single, have been increasingly obliged to work outside the household. The survey villages were not an exception. In some situations the fact that the family could not survive on the income earned by the male household head alone might encourage the migration of women. As presented in Table 5.4 economic issues constituted the main problems in the survey villages and the economic status of the villages was average to poor. Compared to the previous 5 years, there were a greater number of people in the villages who were unemployed and had migrated to seek jobs outside the villages.

These also include married women in those villages, despite the social pressures on married women.



Figure 5.2 Muslim Women Traders at Ma Krood Market, Pattani

Table 5.4 Attitudes of Non-migrants toward the Situation in the Villages, 1999-2000

Situation in the villages	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8	Total
The main problems of village									
-Economic	17	13	13	14	5	18	15	13	108(67.5)
-Social (drugs, robbery, etc.)	-	1	7	4	6	2	-	-	20(12.5)
-Education	1	6	-	1	2	-	5	7	22(14.0)
-Changing behaviour of teenagers	2	-	-	1	7	-	-	-	10(6.0)
Economic status of villages									
Rich	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4(2.5)
Average	11	6	10	20	16	18	13	19	113(71.0)
Poor	9	12	10	-	-	2	7	1	41(26.0)
Very poor	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2(1.0)
People who are unemployed compared to the previous 5 years									
More	16	16	11	8	15	14	15	14	109(68.0)
Same	-	3	6	11	5	4	4	5	38(24.0)
Less	4	1	3	1	-	2	1	1	13(8.0)
People who are working outside the village compared to the previous 5 years									
More	20	14	17	7	18	9	16	6	107(67.0)
Same	-	6	1	13	2	2	4	11	39(24.0)
Less	-	-	2	-	-	9	1	3	14(9.0)

Source: Field survey, 1999-2000

V.1 Ban Bakong

V.2 Ban Ya Mu Chalaem

V.3 Ban Panare

V.4 Ban Ta No Pu Yo

V.5 Ban Tu Ra

V.6 Ban Pa Da Do

V.7 Ban Khok Sai

V.8 Ban Ta Lo Sai

The results from the field survey in the eight villages found that none of the village heads actively opposed the movement of their villagers to go to work in other countries. Although some village headmen preferred their villagers to work within the villages they recognised that there were a limited number of jobs available in the village. Therefore going to work in Malaysia or Saudi Arabia was better than remaining home and being unemployed in the home village. Most of the non-migrants in the villages also accepted the migration of their fellows from the villages. The reasons they gave were the following;

- there was no work at home (while there were jobs available in Malaysia and Saudi Arabia),
- migrant workers could earn money for their families and higher wages (the wage for similar jobs at destination were higher than in the villages),
- labour migration was temporary migration; migrant workers left the villages for short periods of time.

However, when non-migrants in the survey villages were asked whether it was good for single young women, married women, single young males and married males to work overseas, and their reasons, it was found that the attitude of non-migrants to each group of international labour migrants in the survey villages was different. It was evident that married males (71.3 percent) were the most accepted to migrate to work overseas, followed by single young males, single young women and, finally, married women (65.6, 28.1 and 26.9 percent respectively) (see Figure 5.3).

The reasons given by non-migrants toward each group of labour migrants in the survey villages are given in Table 5.6. It shows that 63.8 percent of non-migrants in the survey villages thought that it was good for married males to migrate to work

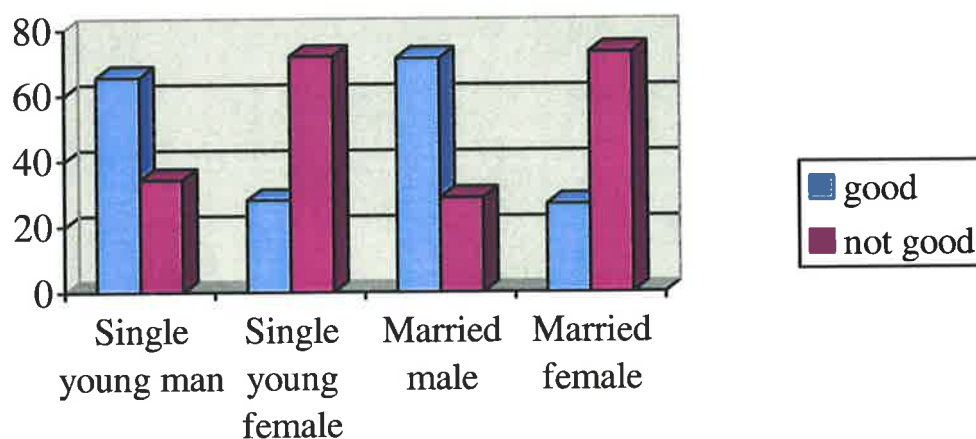


Figure 5.3 Attitude of Non-migrant Villagers toward International Labour Migration of Single Young Females, Married Females, Single Young Males and Married Males in the Survey Villages, 1999-2000

Table 5.5 Reasons Given by Non-migrants Regarding the Working Overseas of Single Young Females, Married Females, Single Young Males and Married Males in the Survey Villages, 1999-2000

Overseas workers	Percent of reasons given by non-migrants	
	support the migration (good)	not support the migration (not good)
married males	1.earn money for family (63.8percent)	1.lack person to guard the family (30.6 percent) 2.create family problems (5.6 percent)
single young males	1.reduce social problems (26.3 percent) 2.helping family (20.6 percent) 3.experience (18.1 percent)	1.changing behaviour (29.4 percent) 2.should continue study (3.1 percent) 3.lack labour at home (2.5 percent)
single young females	1.earn money (14.4 percent) 2.experience (6.9 percent)	1.risk (53.1 percent) 2.too young to go to work (6.9 percent) 3.better stay close to parents (15 percent) 4.should continue study (3.8 percent)
married males	1.increase income of family (14.4 percent) 2.helping husband to earn money (9.4 percent)	1.lack person take care house chores (65.6 percent) 2.not acceptable by religion rules (7.5 percent)

Source: Field survey, 1999-2000

overseas because they can earn income for their family. The reasons that it was not good for married males to migrate were that the family would lack a leader to protect the family (30.6 percent) and the other reason was that it could create family problems (5.6 percent). In the case of single young males, migrating to work overseas was good because it reduced social problems in the village especially drug taking, followed by the fact that they helped the family to gain more income and it was a good experience going overseas. On the other hand, non-migrants thought that it was not good for young single males to work overseas since their behaviour changed after they returned from work (such as, they did not help the family, they floated around in the village or city, spent money in wasteful ways). Some non-migrants thought the young men should continue further study and some thought that going overseas caused a general lack of labour to help families in the villages.

The reasons given for it to be good for single young females to migrate to work were that they could earn money for themselves or for their family and it was good to experience working overseas before marrying. In contrast, non-migrants were also concerned about the safety of young female migrants. It was not good for single young females to work overseas since it was a risk. Some thought that young females should stay close to their parents at home and they were too young to go working abroad. Moreover, some non-migrants thought that young females should continue further study. The labour migration of young single females in the survey villages was considered to be a "risk" related to the purity of female migrants. It is common among these villagers that parents arrange marriage for their daughters at an early age. This is because it is a role of parents to ensure that their daughter is a pure girl on the day of marrying (The Prime Ministers Office, 1980, p.38-39). Therefore activities outside the house, workforce participation, and freedom in general are restricted for

girls. Parents try to keep their daughter at home to protect her against the development of relationships with other men than those of her own family. In the case of daughter(s) in the family or household who need to migrate to work, their parents will make sure that they work in suitable jobs for women and their good reputation is maintained in the general opinion of the villages so she can get married. In the study of Ong (1987) in Malaysia, disapproval of women's migration has focused generally on the risk of sexual misbehaviour by migrant women.

In contrast to this, the reasons given in these villages for married women not migrating to work overseas related to their roles as wives or mothers. The reasons were that they should stay home to serve husbands, cook, and clean the house, as well as look after children. This is because house chores are seen to be the responsibility of women, particularly wives and mothers. Some non-migrants thought that migrating to work overseas by women was against their religious beliefs. It was hard to accept married women being away from home and separated from their husbands. Also in a Javanese village, Hetler (1990) found that married female migration met with considerable social disapproval by village women. However some of the non-migrants in this study thought that it was good for married women to go to work because women could increase the family's income and help their husbands to earn more money for their families. It is noticeable that this supportive attitude among non-migrants toward the migration of married women was found in the cases where married women migrated with their husband, or with the whole family, or commuted to work in Malaysia.

The attitudes of non-migrants reaffirm that roles considered appropriate for males and females are different in the study area. That is, the husband is regarded as a leader and breadwinner who is responsible to earn wages for the family, while

women's main roles are reproductive duties (pregnancy, childbirth, breast-feeding and child rearing) and housework. Women can also engage in economic activity or migration to work if it is necessary to help the family where the income solely earned by the husband is not sufficient. We can conclude that these attitudes influence sex selectivity in the labour migration of this area.

5.4.2 Reasons for the Labour Migration of Female Migrants in the Survey Villages

Villages

The answers of female and male migrant workers toward the question "Why did you migrate to work overseas?" are shown in Table 5.7. Responses from the survey found that the reasons for migration to work given by female migrant workers mainly related to the needs of the family more than to satisfy their own needs.

Table 5.6 Reasons for Migrating to Work Overseas of Male and Female Migrant Workers in the Survey Villages, 1999-2000

Reasons for migrating to work overseas	Male		Female	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
No work at home	80	50	98	25.8
Want to work and earn money	28	17.5	72	18.9
Helping family/parents	1	0.6	49	12.9
Good income	23	14.4	36	9.5
Improve family status	7	4.4	28	7.4
Follow parent	8	5.0	28	7.4
Job available	5	3.1	28	7.4
Calling by friends/relatives	-	-	21	5.5
Experience	6	3.7	9	2.4
Have relative there	2	1.3	5	1.3
Cannot speak Thai	-	-	3	0.8
Earn extra money during school holidays	-	-	3	0.8
Total	160	100	380	100

Source: Field survey, 1999-2000

No work available at home was the most common reason both male and female migrants gave as the main reason for migrating to work overseas (50 and 25.8 percent for males and females respectively). Other reasons for females were wanting to work and earn money (18.9 percent) and helping family (12.9 percent). The reasons for male migrants were wanting to work and earn money (17.5 percent) and seeking a good income overseas (14.4 percent). Thus, labour migration of migrants seems mainly to be a response to the lack of economic opportunities in the local communities.

Among female migrants stage of life and marital status have a considerable influence on their reasons for migration. Table 5.7 shows reasons to migrate to work overseas of female migrant workers in the survey villages by marital status and from this table it is clear that the reasons for single females and married females were different. For married females their role as wife or mother to contribute to the family's income is important. Some 13.5 percent migrate overseas to work to improve the family's situation because they could earn good income in working overseas. In the case of the single female migrants, some 31.4 percent want to work and earn money, although 14.9 percent given the reasons that they wanted to help the family or parents. Some single young female migrants wanted to earn money by migrating to work overseas to reduce the economic burden on their parents. Giving some money which is earned from working overseas to the parent is considered as gratitude of the daughter and is a way to pay their debt back to their parents. Gratitude to parents has been taught in Muslim societies as stated in the Qur'an:

And we have enjoined on the person (to be good) to his/her parents: in travail upon travail did his/her mother bear his/her and in years twain was his/her weaning: (hear the command) "Show gratitude to me and to your parents: to me is (your final) Goal. (Qur'an 31:14) (Badawi, 2000)

Table 5.7 Reasons for Migrating to Work Overseas Given by Female Migrant Workers in the Survey Villages, By Marital Status, 1999-2000

Reasons for migrating overseas	Single female migrants		Married female migrants		Total
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
No work at home	49	26.1	49	25.5	98(25.8)
Want to work and earn money	59	31.4	13	6.8	72(18.9)
Helping family/parents	28	14.9	21	11	49(12.9)
Good income	10	5.3	26	13.5	36(9.5)
Improve family status/poor	2	1.1	26	13.5	28(7.4)
Follow parent	7	3.7	21	10.9	28(7.4)
Calling by friends/relatives	8	4.2	13	6.8	21(5.5)
Experience	7	3.7	2	1.0	9(2.4)
Have relative there	3	1.6	2	1.0	5(1.3)
Cannot speak Thai	3	1.6	-	-	3(0.8)
Working during school holiday	3	1.6	-	-	3(0.8)
Job available	9	4.8	19	10	28(7.4)
Total	188	100	192	100	380(100)

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Expressing gratitude to parents is common among countries in Southeast Asia. It was found in the case of Filipino female migrants that by migrating to work abroad female migrants could support their families since they earn more money as migrant domestic workers overseas (Cheng, 1999). In Thai society, "Gratitude and obedience are stressed as a daughter's virtues, and for a majority of young Thai women migration is motivated by the desire to repay their parents for their parents having raised them" (De Jong, Richter and Isarabhakdi, 1994, p.5). Phongpaichit (1993, p.46) studied the migration of the girls from the region of Dok Kam Tai in the Northern part of Thailand who work as masseuses in Bangkok, also found that

They were not fleeing from a family background or rural society which oppressed women in conventional ways. Rather, they were engaging in an entrepreneurial move designed to sustain the family units of a rural economy which was coming under increasing pressure. They did so because their accustomed position in that rural society

allocated them a considerable responsibility for earning income to sustain the family.

Thus, single female migrants are motivated by not only the desire to earn their own money but also help the family or parents.

5.5 Impact of Sending Communities on the Desire and Ability of Women to Migrate

The last area that Grieco and Boyd's framework considers to influence the desire and abilities of women and men to migrate are the impact of country of origin factors. That is "macro/structural characteristics of the country of origin (e.g. level of economy, state of technologies in industries, integration into world economy) influence the migratory decisions and behavior of both women and men". With regard specifically to female migrants, it explains that "macro/structural characteristics of the country of origin combined with gender relations and the position of women in the sending society affect women and men differently, leading to an increase in the level of sex selectivity in migration flows" (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, Table 1).

To understand why people migrate from one place to another, especially across the borders of nation-states, it is important to understand the context in which migration is taking place (Goldscheider, 1984; Mazur, 1984). According to Mazur, "The changes associated with moving out of rural areas can only be understood through reference to the social, economic, and demographic characteristics of the households, villages, and regions from which migrants come" (Mazur, 1984, p.209).

The characteristics of the community in this study are considered to include the infrastructure (public, education and transportation facilities), community social and economic circumstances, the main problems in the villages, economic status, mode of production and job availability in the villages. This background helps to

understand the situation and problems in the village context from which labour out-migration occurs. The migration of people out of the four southern provinces seems to be influenced by the community context especially by the economic situation which is predominantly based on subsistence production with low efficiency of production, small land holdings, and high unemployment and underemployment of the labour force. However, it is not only the economic conditions of villages in which migration occurs which influence the mobility, but social networks of migrants in the villages also play important roles. The social networks provide information about job opportunities that are open to females in the destination countries. Migration along established social networks reduces risk as well as provides support for female migrants in the destination area. These social networks assisted the relaxation of social norms that tie Muslim women to the house and influence their decision to migrate to work overseas.

5.5.1 Infrastructure in the Survey Villages

All eight survey villages are provided with public facilities such as electricity, public telephones, mosques, fresh markets, health centers or small hospitals, banks, post offices and police stations. The mosque is a major centre in each Muslim community. They also have a community periodic market in the village or within three kilometres in a neighbouring village or sub-district. There is a health centre in each sub-district that treats only out -patients for general illnesses. There is one located in Ban Ya Mu Chalaem, in Ban Khok Sai, in Ban Pa Da Do and in Ban Ta Nu Pu Yo. However, there is also a district hospital for in- and out -patients in all districts. Services such as post offices, banks and police stations are not located in the villages; if the villagers have some functions to carry out in any of these places, they have to travel to the district or province capital where these services are located.

There is a local police station in one village, Ban Ya Mu Chalaem. The public facilities in the communities did not appear to be factors that cause villagers to migrate to work overseas.

For education facilities, there is a government primary school, the office of the National Primary Education Commission service, at the village level. The ratio of primary schools to villages is 1:2. In the villages that do not have a school, students can go to a school in an adjacent village. None of the survey villages has a secondary school. The secondary schools of the Department of General Education are located only in the capitals of districts and the capitals of provinces. Each district has only 1-2 such schools. Students in the villages have to travel each day to the district or capital of the province for education above primary school. This inconvenience makes the numbers of students who continue to study at the higher level after they have completed primary level very low in this area. In addition to these educational trends, many Muslim students enter religious schools in the community (*Pondok*³) after finishing compulsory study (year 6) in government schools (Taneerananon, 1996) (Figure 5.4). In the four southern border provinces the number of Islamic private schools is higher than government schools (Pattani Provincial Office, 1998, p.44). In Pattani, for example, in 1999, there were 17 secondary schools in the Department of General Education (Pattani Provincial Statistical Office, 2000, p.38) while it was reported that in 1998 there were 165 schools of the Office of the Private Education Commission; 85 teach both religion and general academic courses, 80 teach only religion (Pattani Provincial Office, 1998, p.44).

³ *Pondok* are Islamic schools that are popular in the communities of Malay Muslims in Southern of Thailand. *Pondok* teaches the way of thinking and traits of Muslims. Students stay in a hut or *pondok* while they study and work for teachers instead of paying money. There are two kinds of *pondok*; *in-pondok* for singles and *out-pondok* for those who are married (Soontornpasat, 1998).



Figure 5.4 An Islamic Private School and Pondok in Pattani, Southern Thailand

It can be seen that the educational attainment of female migrant workers in the survey villages was low. As indicated in Table 5.8, 23 percent of female migrant workers did not have formal education. Most female migrant workers (62 percent) attained only primary school level. Female migrant workers who were educated at higher than primary level constitute only 14 percent and few of them have got a diploma. It was hard to find a job for people who have education in primary school locally (Lanui, Chema and Lanui, 1997). However, those female migrant workers from the survey villages could get a job in Malaysia that did not require a high level of education.

Table 5.8 Education Attained by Female Migrant Workers in the Survey Villages, 1999-2000

Education attainment of female migrant workers	Total	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8
% No formal education	23	22	66	2	43	20	20	14	4
% primary school	62	66	32	84	57	72	74	52	58
% secondary school (Mattayom 3)	14	10	2	14	-	8	6	30	36
% Diploma	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Transportation in the four southern provinces facilitates the migration of female migrant workers in this area. There are good road links between and within provinces as well as with Malaysia (as discussed in Chapter 1). There are local roads mostly built of asphalt and concrete that link villages, sub-districts and districts. Between district and district and the capital of the province there is the Provincial or Changwat highway which links all areas. The Provincial highways are in good condition and wider than local roads. At the village level, there are roads that link to local roads, and some of the survey villages have local roads cut through the villages (See Appendix II).

The roads that have been improved to make it convenient and easy for people who live in the survey villages travel to other places as well as to Malaysia. Normally people in the survey villages use buses and mini buses (Song Taw) for traveling to the district centres (Tuo Amphor) or the provincial centres (Nai Muang). People from the villages that are located close to the Provincial highway, Ban Khok Sai, Ban Ta Lo Sai, Ban Tu Ra, Ban Panare and Ban Ta No Pu Yo can get the buses or mini buses that run past their villages. In the other three villages, Ban Bakong, Ban Ya Mu Chalaem, Ban Pa Da Do through which big roads do not pass, most people use a

motorcycle to go to the point that they can get a bus or mini bus. Usually, if the distance is short the motorcycle is a popular mode of transportation for people in the survey villages. It is convenient and economical to drive particularly within the villages and between houses and the places that they work, and also for transporting the harvest (Figure 5.5).



Figure 5.5 Using the Motorcycle to Transport Rice Harvest

The good transportation network facilitates circular labour migration of workers in the survey villages enabling them to work in Malaysia. In her study of labour circulation to Malaysia in Ban Cha Rang, Pattani, Wittayapreechakul (1990, p.61) reported that initially (from 1937 to 1957) migration to work in Malaysia of seasonal migrant workers was very difficult and took a long time. Migrant workers from the village spent 14-15 days traveling on foot from Pattani to Malaysia via Betong district, Yala province. In that time migrants had to prepare food and bedding

since they had to stop at several places before they got to Malaysia. It was only males that migrated. Later on (about 1963) there were both male and female migrant workers who travelled by bus and train and it took 4-5 days since they had to sleep at railway stations for 2 nights, one night at Khok Pho station, Pattani, and another night at Padang Besar station, Songkhla, before they caught the train to Malaysia and walked to rice farming villages. Later, about 1970, the taxi became the popular mode of traveling to work in Malaysia. The taxi cost 60 Baht per person and took 3-4 hours from the village to Padang Besar or Sadao border crossing point. Today, compared with the past, travelling to work in Malaysia is easier, faster and cheap. From Pattani to Sadao by taxi it takes about 2 hours and the fee costs 100-120 Baht. The convenience of transportation encourages people to migrate to work, including females.

5.5.2 The Main Problems in the Villages

The main problems in the survey villages are economic and these have been a major factor which has caused females to migrate to work outside their village. In the interviews with the key informants, the sub-district headman, the village headman and the vice-village headman regarding the problems being faced by the villages, economic problems were most commonly stated as significant in the survey villages but drug taking and the changing behaviour of teenagers were also mentioned.

The village headman in Ban Ba Kong stated that the main problem that her village was facing was economic. She related that unemployment was the main problem. This was due to two causes; firstly in the village, the only jobs available were those on farms and they did not require large numbers of workers. Another problem was the teenagers who were in school did not aim for a higher level because they could not see the point of studying in higher education. So, once they finished

the primary school that was compulsory, instead of intending to further their study at a higher level, they became unpaid labourers helping to do farm work in their households. Since there were not many jobs available in the village, they earned barely enough to survive which created problems. She pointed out that these problems were common in other villages as well and that they were a major cause of the migration of people to work outside the village. For Ban Ya Mu Chalaem and Ban Ta No Pu Yo, the economy, education and labour migration were the problems which were mentioned. The village headmen commented that the main problem in their villages was that villagers do not have secure jobs. The majority of villagers work as day hire labourers, and sometimes jobs do become available in the village but sometimes do not, (for example, sometimes in the village labourers are needed for loading rubber onto trucks, cutting down trees, picking up fruit or driving a car, but these will not be needed everyday). Thus the labourers have to migrate to find jobs outside the village. Because mostly these villagers are poor, they could not afford to send their children to study at a higher level. "As a result it creates a problem cycle: when there is no job, there is no money for education; when there is no education, people cannot find a good job or become unemployed; then they have less money or no money so they cannot give their children a good education. This cycle of problems is difficult to solve", remarked the village headman of Ban Ta Nu Pu Yo.

The main problems of Ban Panare and Ta Lo Sai were economic due to a decrease in the amount of fish that could be caught. The fishermen are only able to catch a small number of fish while the price of oil for boats has increased. A number of fishing households have had to stop working on their boats and have had to migrate to work as hired labourers in other areas, especially as fishing crews in Malaysia. For Ban Ta Lo Sai, the village headman stated that drugs are also a big problem since

fishing has long days working in the sea and is very lonely. The fishermen addressed their loneliness by smoking cigarettes. They then began to add heroin to the cigarettes and gradually they became addicted.

Now, drug taking is not only a problem among fishing villages but also for many teenagers who are unemployed and living in the border villages (Provincial Office of Pattani, 1998; Provincial Office of Satun, 2000; Provincial Office of Narathiwat, 2000). The village headman of Ban Khok Sai also nominated drug taking as one of the major problems in his village, followed by the changing behaviour of teenagers, particularly males who are unemployed or stay with their parents without working. The village headmen of Ban Pa Da Do and Ban Tu Ra also mentioned this problem. The neglect of children's education and upbringing by parents were the main problems mentioned by village headman of Ban Tura. He said that parents were reluctant to send their children to government schools but rather sent them to Islamic schools or Pondok. In fact the neglect of their children's manners was owing to the fact that parents spent most of their time working in Malaysia, so they did not have much time to discipline their children.

It was clear however that the economic situation in the villages not only caused men to seek work outside the villages but also caused women to migrate to work outside the village both locally and overseas as well.

5.5.3 Employment and Jobs in the Survey Villages

The basic economic problem of the survey villages is poverty, which is not different from villages in other regions of Thailand. Table 5.9 indicates that most villagers in Ban Ba Kong, Ban Ya Mu Chalaem and Ban Pa Da Do are engaged in rice farming. Villagers are engaged in rice farming and rubber in Ban Khok Sai, rubber in Ban Ta No Pu Yo and fruit gardening in Ban Tu Ra. There are two villages

where the villagers were mostly involved in small coastal fisheries, Ban Panare and Ban Ta Lo Sai. People in these villages are faced with the problems of underemployment and seasonal unemployment as well as limited numbers of jobs.

Table 5.9 Main Economy of the Survey Villages in 1999-2000

Village	Main economic activity of villagers
Ban Ba Kong	Rice Farming
Ban Ya Mu Chalaem	Rice Farming
Ban Panare	Fishing
Ban Ta No Pu Yo	Rubber
Ban Tu Ra	Fruit garden
Ban Pa Da Do	Rice Farming
Ban Khok Sai	Rice Farming and rubber
Ban Ta Lo Sai	Fishing

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

In these villages income from the main occupation of the household in the agricultural sector was not the main source of cash of the households, and income from these sources was not sufficient for their family's survival for the following reasons:

- land holding size is too small for providing a sufficient living;
- low productivity;
- the market price of products was low, while the cost of production was high;
- some years production failed because of flood or drought;

- production is used for household consumption more than for commercial gain;
- paddy seeds and rubber strains were endemic species, low in quality and quantity;
- traditional techniques of production were used.

As a result villagers had to take on additional jobs and depend on income received from work as hired labourers during the off-season. This situation is similar to other rural areas of Thailand (Singhanetra-Renard, 1985). But villagers in the four southern border provinces besides migrating to work locally also migrated to work in Malaysia (Wittayapreechakul, 1990).

In the rice farming villages the paddy is rain fed so farmers will work about 6 months and not work in their fields for the other 6 months. Thus disguised unemployment and seasonal unemployment frequently occurs among villagers who were engaged in rice farming. In Ban Ya Mu Chalaem, for example, the village headman explained the time frame for working in rice farming is that farmers will plough in August then sow the paddy in late August to early September. During October to late November they will transplant rice shoots and use one week to apply fertiliser. Harvesting will begin in late February to March. Thus farmers have no work to do after they have transplanted for 3 months (from December to February) and again for 4 months after the harvest (April to July), until the next season starts in August (Table 5.10). Since there was not many non-agricultural jobs available in the villages, after finishing transplanting, farmers mostly will go to work in Malaysia as hired labourers in rice fields or rubber plantations. Normally husband and wife and other members (sons/sons in law, daughters/ daughters in law) in the household would

Table 5.10 Timetable of Rice Cultivation in the Survey Villages

Activities	Time											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Ploughing/Sowing								→				
Transplanting/fertiliser									→			
Harvesting			→									

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

migrate to work in Malaysia together. Gender did not seem to influence the seasonal type of movement and migrant workers leaving the village in the short period between the seasons of transplanting or harvesting. How long they spend in working in Malaysia depends upon the work available there. If there is a lot of work, they will stay long periods of 30 to 40 days at a time. Wives or daughters/daughters in law normally migrate to work to support or supplement the income of families. However, after Malaysians began to use machines for harvesting rice, and some areas also use the technique of seed throwing instead of transplanting, the demand for labourers has declined (Prasompong and Song Muang, 1990). In the survey villages from which people traditionally migrate to work in rice fields (Ban Ya Mu Chalaem (V.2) and Ban Khok Sai (V.7)), it was found that female migrant workers who used to migrate for harvesting have had to stop migrating because there were no jobs available. Presently, female migrant workers in these two villages besides being employed in rice fields and rubber plantations were also employed as waitresses and sewing workers in Malaysia (Table 5. 11).

In Ban Ba Kong (V.1) and Ban Pa Da Do (V.6) villagers were mainly engaged in rice farming, but there were a few female migrant workers from these two villages who are employed in rice fields in the destination area. In Ban Ba Kong, females

migrated to work in rubber and tobacco plantations as well as working as waitresses in Malaysia and as sewing workers in Saudi Arabia. Females in Ban Pa Da Do are also mainly employed as sewing workers and in baby sitting. However, these female migrants were not seasonal labour migrants. This reflects the fact that they have less responsibility for rice farming in the home villages than males.

In Ban Ta No Pu Yo (V.4), the majority of householders were rubber gardeners and day hire labourers in rubber gardens. These gardeners are generally unemployed in the rainy season⁴ and when the rubber trees drop their leaves. Rubber gardeners cannot work at this time because rainwater will damage latex and when trees drop their leaves the trees will not have enough latex. In a year gardeners can work between six and eight months. In addition the average size of land holdings of rubber gardeners in the village were small, less than 16 rai. Thus most rubber garden land holders do not own sufficient land to earn a living. Hired labourers earned about 100 Baht per day. However, work for them is not secure so their income depends on whether there are jobs available in the village. It was found that most migrants both male and female from this village migrated to work in rubber plantations in Malaysia (see Table 5.11 and Table 5.12). The pattern of migration is similar to that of migrants from rice farming villages; the husband and wife migrated to work together and some also took their child/children with them. The wife migrated to work to help the husband earn more income. Income that they earned from working in Malaysia would be spent for household consumption when they came back to stay in the village.

In the fishing villages, Ban Ta Lo Sai and Ban Panare, activity is dependent on the weather but in a year fishermen usually work between four and six months. The

⁴ The rainy season in the Southern part of Thailand is divided into two periods, the first period of rain is from south western monsoon between May to October and the second raining period is from north eastern monsoon between November to January (Narathiwat Provincial Office, 2000).

Table 5.11 Occupations in which Female Migrant Workers in the Survey Villages were Employed at the Destination Countries, 1999-2000

Occupation	Number of female migrant workers in the survey villages								
	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8	Total
Services Work									
Baby sitting	1	-	4	-	10	11	-	1	27
Domestic work	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	4
Sewing	10	-	-	-	1	16	-	-	27
Waitress	13	7	39	1	6	9	16	13	104
Cook	-	-	1	1	5	-	5	2	14
Cashier	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2
Shop Assistant	-	-	-	-	4	6	4	1	15
Reception	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Agriculture Work									
Rubber plantation	11	9	-	22	-	1	-	-	43
Tobacco	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Rice Field	-	31	-	3	-	4	21	-	59
Medical Herb	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Oil Palm	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Factory Work									
Fish Cracker	5	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	8
Garment	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Small Dried Fish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	31
Wood Crafting	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Construction Work	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	3
Trader									
Food Shop	3	1	1	-	2	-	1	-	8
Cloth/Clothing/Grocery	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
Wholesale	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
Market Fruit Trader	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	13
Total	50	50	50	30	50	50	50	50	380

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Table 5.12 Occupations in which Male Migrant Workers in the Survey Villages were Employed at the Destination Countries, 1999-2000

Occupation	Number of male migrant workers in the survey villages								
	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8	Total
Factory work	1	-	1	-	3	-	1	-	6
Sewing	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Rice field	7	12	-	-	1	1	2	-	23
Rubber	-	3	-	11	-	-	1	-	15
Fish cracker	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Food shop	2	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	6
Construction work	-	4	1	3	10	14	5	-	37
Waitress/cook	-	1	-	6	2	3	11	-	23
Fishing crew	-	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	20
Furniture making	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	160

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

sub-district headman of Ban Panare said that from December to January fisherman could not catch fish because the weather was too severe for them to work at sea. This period of almost three months at the end of the year and the beginning of the new year was the monsoon season. These fishermen have to wait until the end of February before they could catch fish again. Fishermen also were faced with the problem of high costs because of the increased price of gasoline used for the operation of their boats and the high wages for their crews. In Ban Ta Lo Sai, a wife has had to become a helper for her husband in their boat because they cannot afford to hire any labour. This situation did not occur in the past but these days, women help in operating the rudder, removing fish from the nets and in fishing. Other employment opportunities for women are limited in fishing villages. They are able to cut off the fish heads, dry fish, make fish crackers, and sell fish in the village or in a community market (Figure 5.6). The income generated from these occupations is very low. Cutting fish heads, for example, for 3 days work they can earn only 40 Baht and these jobs are not available all year since it relies on fish being caught. However, if they work as a cook, waitress or baby-sitter in Malaysia, they can earn 300 to 500 Baht per day. Thus there are a large number of females, in the fishing villages who migrate to work in Malaysia. As shown in Table 5.11 and 5.12 the work the females from the fishing villages, Ban Panare (V.3) and Ban Ta Lo Sai (V.8) are employed in in Malaysia, is different from that of the male migrants from the villages. Females from Ban Panare mainly worked as waitresses while females from Ban Ta Lo Sai worked as employees in small dried fish factories, in particular these were single young females. These single females were able to migrate because they did not have domestic work at home, but they could help by contributing their income to the family.



Figure 5.6 Cutting Fish Heads and Making Dried Fish in the Fishing Village, Pattani

In Ban Tu Ra (V.5) there were 537 households in the village, only 80 of which were engaged in the agricultural sector: 60 households were fruit gardeners and 20 households were rubber gardeners. There were no rice fields in this village. Since there were few jobs available in the village, the other households worked as traders and hired labourers both in the Su-ngai Kolok District and in Malaysia. Because this village was located near the Thailand -Malaysia border it is easy for villagers to cross the border to work in Malaysia. Nearly all female migrant workers in the village commuted to work in Malaysia and some worked at home but received orders to embroider fabric from Malaysia and travelled to Malaysia to deliver the product. It was found that female migrants from this village mostly were married females, in particular fruit traders and shop owners were all married. They could migrate to work since they are able to maintain their reproductive roles while they engaged in productive roles.

It is the different roles and status of men and women in the household that determine gender-selective migration flows. Some women in the survey villages did not follow, or engage in the same work as, male migrants because they do different work in the home villages.

5.6 Conclusion

There are many potential causes for labour migration. The influence of gender relations in the family, the roles and status that are assigned differently to men and women by religion and social norms are more important in shaping female than male migration. The subordinate status of females in the family limits their autonomy to make the decision to migrate. Joint decisions with others in the family or approval from the husband or parents are important in the migration of females. Women's

status and the roles that women perform in the family did hold back their propensity to migrate because reproductive roles and responsibility for housework are considered the most important roles of women, particular the mother and wife. But the limitation of jobs available in the villages, insufficiency of family income and the existence of strong social networks has created the acceptance of female migration. However, in the survey villages males are still more accepted than females to migrate to work overseas.

Chapter 6

Migration Policy and Female International Labour Migration

6.1 Introduction

Another major influence upon female international labour migration is the Thai emigration policy operating at both national and regional levels. Furthermore Malaysian regulations relating to immigration also have a major impact on the experience of female migration. How these regulations influence the ways in which migration may be obstructed or facilitated are examined here. This factor is frequently overlooked in examining the causes and consequences of migration but it is of major significance in the Asian context. It also needs to be pointed out there are influences on migration which operate regardless of the activities of governments. In the southern border provinces of Thailand, social networks play a large part in providing information and facilitating international labour migration, in particular undocumented migration, and operate largely outside of the influence of the policies and regulations of both sending and receiving countries.

6.2 Policy of the Country of Origin

When workers want to migrate internationally, they are faced by the migration laws and regulations of both the country of origin and the country of destination but these regulations often exert quite different influences on men and women. Grieco and Boyd argue, “ Policies of the country of origin can differentially condition women’s and men’s ability to exit and emigrate”(Grieco and Boyd, 1998, Table 2). Their framework explains that there are influences specific to female migrants in the following way: “ Policies can either implicitly or explicitly encourage or discourage

women to emigrate. Policies are often influenced by assumptions about the status and roles of women in the family and society” (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, Table 2). To understand the international migration process it is necessary therefore to examine the roles of these policies, including how the policies both constrain and facilitate migration. They can be particularly important for women (United Nations, 1996, p.99).

6.2.1 Thailand International Labour Migration Policy: The National Level

The migration of Thai workers to work overseas has been encouraged by the Thai Government from the 1970s until today. The Fifth National Social and Economic Plan (1982 -1986) was the first that explicitly encouraged the emigration of Thai labourers to work abroad. Earlier, from the mid-1950s to 1960s, there were numbers of skilled Thai people, mainly doctors, nurses, and engineers, who went to work in the United States and England (Amara, 1991; Chantavanich et al., 2000) but the Thai Government did not encourage the emigration of these skilled people since it caused a “brain drain”. On the other hand, the emigration of Thai workers in the mid-1970s to the Middle East was encouraged and facilitated by the Government because of the large amount of remittances transferred by the migrant workers (Amara, 1991).

The Fifth National Social and Economic Plan stated clearly that the Thai Government provided strong support for the emigration of migrant workers overseas. At the same time, the Government took immediate action to solve problems relating to this migration. The Government set up various training programs to improve the workers’ skills as required by the destination countries. In the Sixth National Social and Economic Plan (1987-1991) and the Seventh National Social and Economic Plan (1992-1996), Government continued to promote Thai workers to work overseas by

attempting to enlarge labour markets for Thai workers, develop workers' skills and language and reduce the cost of going to work overseas as well as to provide money loans for migrant workers (Pongsapich, 1997). As an additional measure, recently, in 1997 when the country was faced with financial and economic problems, the Government actively promoted Thai workers to work overseas (Employment Service Department, 1997). Sending workers overseas was one of the strategies to reduce the unemployment problem of Thai workers who were either laid off or underemployed as well as to earn more foreign currency (*Migration News*, 30 June 1999). These policies which encourage Thai workers to work overseas appear gender neutral, but conditions differ in relation to migration to work in other countries between Thai male and female workers.

According to Lim (1995) national policies of the countries of origin can influence migration through prohibitive or promotional activators that may affect male and female migrants differently. With respect to Thai policy this is certainly the case. The Thai Government banned certain types of work for Thai women namely construction work and domestic work in the early 1980s (Singhanetra-Renard, 1992). However, the ban was introduced more to protect the image of the Thai Government more than to protect Thai women workers (Hirunkitti, 1982). During the 1970s and 1980s thousands of Thai workers sought employment abroad in the Gulf region mainly in construction work (Amara, 1991; Singhanetra-Renard, 1992). During that time government policy constrained the migration of female workers so the flow of Thai labour was dominated by males, however in the late 1980s the ban was lifted in response to increasing demand for household workers in the Middle East and in East Asia and Europe (Singhanetra-Renard, 1992). As Singhanetra-Renard (1992, p. 193) pointed out,

The bulk of Thai migration to the Middle East involved men. While young Thai women often work in construction in Thailand, the government prohibits the recruitment of women for such work overseas. Those restrictions have, however, been changed in the late 1980s in response to demand for household maids in East Asia, Europe, and the Middle East.

Hirunkitti (1982) also pointed out that Employment Service Department and the Foreign Affairs Ministry did not initially support sending Thai women to work in the Middle East as domestic workers, because the Government was concerned that this kind of job could create problems for women workers such as sexual harassment or rape by the employer. At that time, some women did go to work as domestic workers but also some worked as prostitutes. Among the latter some moved with the intention of working as a prostitute while others were lured away with the promise of other jobs but were forced into prostitution (Hirunkitti, 1982; Skrobanek, 1994). Some women sneaked out to work in the Middle East as prostitutes and this created a bad reputation for the country. Thus, the Government was strict and controlled the emigration of Thai women to work overseas more than men since none of occupations were banned for Thai male migrants (Singhanetra-Renard, 1992). Even at present, the conditions for emigration and working overseas are different between male and female Thais.

According to Thai laws and regulations, Thai workers who want to go to work overseas have to follow the procedures of the Department of Employment Service which state that in the case of a woman going to work, unlike a man, she needs a consent letter and a copy of the identity card of the person who gave the consent¹. Female migrant workers in the four southern border provinces mostly went to work in Malaysia by using a border pass rather than going through the procedures of the Department of Employment Services. In applying for a border pass, however, if a

woman travels alone, she (if aged under 20 years old) has to get consent from her parents or husband (in the case of married women). On a border pass application form the parents or husband have to sign to show that a woman who is related to them as a daughter or wife is approved to travel. But males who are aged over 20 years old do not need to do this to get a border pass. If a woman travels with her family, the status in the border pass of the woman is “joint traveller” or “follower” of the person who holds the border pass, mostly a father or a husband (see Figure 3.4). However, entering Malaysia by female migrant workers is easy and convenient because there was an agreement signed in 1940 with respect to traffic across the boundary between British Malaya and Thailand and it is still in operation at the present. This agreement was set up to facilitate the travel of people who live in the southern border provinces of Thailand to the four northern states of Malaysia, namely, Perlis, Kedah, Perak and Kelantan. Therefore, despite the dependent status created by the policy, as mentioned earlier, by using a border pass female migrant workers gain immediate benefits such as, it is easy to obtain, the process to apply takes one or two days only, it is not expensive, it reduces many procedures of the Department of Employment Service and it is easy to cross the border. Thus, the subordinate status of women in the family influences the laws and regulations regarding migration to work overseas and this is also found in other countries. In Indonesia, for example, Indonesian women who want to work overseas have to get approval from by their family as well. As Hugo (1995, p.285) has pointed out,

The involvement of parental or spouse approval is institutionalized in Indonesia where women wishing to work overseas as domestic helpers have to present a letter of approval from their family as part of the official administrative procedure.

¹ The person who consents in the case of single women normally are their parents, for married women it is their husbands

This indicates that the subordinate status of women in the family influences the laws and regulations in that women have to seek the approval of their family or husband while it is not necessary for men to do so.

Thus, since the mid-1980s, the Thai Government has encouraged Thais to work overseas. However, Government has some regulations to control and protect Thai workers who go abroad. That means there are many complicated steps and documents required by the Department of Employment Service for the workers to complete the process. Consequently, many Thai migrant workers, especially females, have faced difficult experiences in going to work overseas. The Department of Employment Service has taken responsibility for Thai workers overseas regarding employment services, sending workers to work and protecting workers, both before travelling and while working overseas until they come back to Thailand. The influence of the Department in the various stages of the act of migrating can be divided into three important roles: control, protection and promotion (Employment Service Department, 1997).

1) Control of Overseas Work

According to the Employment Service and Job Seekers Protect Act, 1985 and the revised Employment Service and Job Seekers Protect Act, 1994, Thai workers can go to work in other countries legally five ways through the procedures of the Department of Employment Service (as discussed in detail in Chapter 4, section 4.4). It is the responsibility of The Overseas Employment Administration Office (OEAO) to oversee and control the sending of Thai workers overseas. Workers, recruitment agencies or employers who want to go to work or send workers to work overseas have to provide their travelling plans to the Department of Employment Service and get

permission before they can leave the country. This is in order to control emigration of Thai citizen who are leaving the kingdom to work overseas.

However, the procedures of the Department are complicated and cost both time and money (Punpuing and Archavanitkul, 1996; Stern, 1998; Sobieszczyk, 2000). Thus, to avoid the confusion caused by this system, migrants use the services of private recruitment agencies. The migrants pay a commission to recruiters but they are often overcharged and cheated by recruiters (Singhanetra-Renard, 1992, Sobieszczyk, 2000). Migrants have often been promised high-paying jobs with good working conditions but many later discovered that their jobs were more difficult than expected and the wages relatively low. In some cases, there were none of the jobs that were promised (Chantawanich, 1999). Migrants who have used illegal recruitment agencies to take them to work overseas are more vulnerable particularly in the case of Thai women migrating to work in Japan. As Muroi (1996, p. 42) reported,

...members of the syndicates forge passports, do all the necessary arrangements, take the women to Japan and hand them over to Japanese brokers, mostly *yakuza* gangsters, who pay between 1.5 and 1.8 million yen per woman for a commission to a Thai broker. The Japanese brokers place the women in bars and club all over Japan and charge 3 to 3.5 million yen as a commission for the women. The bar/club owners add some extra money to the commission and tell the women that they have a "debt" of 3.5 to 4 million yen to repay. ...The Thai women are burdened with an enormous debt although there are no legal grounds on which they have to repay it.

The national and local Government, through the Director General of the Department of Labour and the provincial governors, are authorized to cancel, suspend or stop the licenses of dishonest recruitment agents. However the Government has not been able to get rid of those agents. Chantawanich (1999) has pointed out that many of these agencies are owned by influential people who have made huge profits out of the labour exportation business. Thus the Ministry has difficulty revoking their licences

and they can easily re-open their businesses under new company names. Job recruitment has remained a major problem in Thai labour emigration.

Therefore, in order to eradicate the exploitation of migrants by recruitment agents as well as facilitate migrant workers to go to work overseas, the Government needs to reduce the time required for the legal processes in sending migrant workers overseas. There is a need to make it easier for migrants to access all required procedures so that they can be carried out in one place in a “one stop shop”. If the process is not complicated, more workers who wish to go to work overseas might be persuaded to do so formally. Furthermore, once migrants can manage to organize to work overseas by themselves, using the service of recruitment agencies will be less necessary. This has certainly been the experience in a country like the Philippines (Lim and Oishi, 1996).

2) Role in Protection

In order to organize overseas work for Thai workers, migrant workers have to submit the necessary documents regarding working overseas. Recruitment agencies as well as employers are required to submit the numbers of workers, an employment contract, a work permit as well as documents that allow the workers to enter the country of destination to the Department of Employment Service stating the conditions before they can announce, recruit and send workers overseas. This is aimed to protect workers from being employed in foreign countries under unfair conditions and to make sure that their wages, welfare and conditions of working are suitable. However, this process takes a long time and can damage the interests of both recruiters and employers in receiving countries. Employers might change their target markets to seek workers from other sending countries.

Pre-departure orientation is another stage in the procedure that workers have to attend before leaving the country. The Government holds this orientation to protect migrants by giving them knowledge about their rights, duties, and how to behave while working abroad. Again, it has been pointed out that there is a problem with orientation in that there is not enough time for dealing with the important things that migrants should know (Chantavanich, 1998). As Chantavanich (1998) has mentioned, workers' language skills and knowledge about foreign labour laws and immigration in receiving countries are expected to be included in the orientation. However the hasty preparation leaves the emigrants with inadequate information about their destination countries. This leads to some Thai workers being unable to adjust to conditions abroad: some are exploited by their employers, others break the laws of the receiving country.

The checking by Labour Control is the last process before migrant workers leave the country. By the Employment and Job-Seeker Protection Act, 1985 in Section 62, job seekers before leaving the country, have to pass through Labour Control and submit Form 12, the "Declaration of Leaving the Kingdom to Work Overseas", to the Labour Control officer. At this stage the Labour Control officer will check the necessary documents to enter and work in other countries. This is aimed at protecting the workers from being defrauded and from working illegally in the receiving country. If workers do not have the proper documents for working, it is illegal both in Thai law and in the receiving country's law. If any worker does not follow the process that is stipulated in Section 62 that workers have to go through Labour Control they will be jailed for not more than 6 months or fined not more than 10,000 Baht or both. In Section 63, the Labour Control officer can check that workers

have the proper documents in going to work overseas and have passed all the processes of the Department of Employment Services and if an officer finds workers do not have proper documents, the officer can cancel the trip of that worker. In addition, if officers suspect any person might go to work overseas informally they can check and can also cancel the trip if they find that the person intends to migrate to work.

This Labour Control role, which is the last process before the migrant worker leaves the country, is aimed at protecting the workers. As far as migrant workers have work contracts and other proper documents, they will receive protection from the laws of both Thailand and the country to which they go to work. Nevertheless, it has been observed that Thailand's policy to protect its citizens abroad has not been completely successful due to the illegal status of many workers (Chantavanich, 1999). The number of illegal Thai women even outnumbered their male counterparts in some countries, Hong Kong and Japan for instance (Punpuing and Archavanitkul, 1996). Thus the Government's role in protecting potential migrants impacts significantly upon women (for more details regarding an operation of illegal migration in seeking work overseas see section 7.1).

3) Promotion Role

It was not until 1997 that the Government had an active role in promotion, and especially in seeking out, overseas jobs for Thai workers. In the past, the Government did not have a policy to actually seek jobs, they let it be the responsibility of private recruitment agencies. In an interview with the head of Provincial Employment Service Offices in the study area, it was explained that the reason was because of understaffing in the Employment Service Department as well as an insufficient budget to seek jobs overseas or "buy" job positions, as some private recruitment agencies did.

Thus, the Department would only send Thai workers to work once the office was contacted by overseas employers to recruit workers for them. However, since Thailand was faced with the economic crisis of 1997, the Government has changed its policy to actively assist Thai migrants who wish to go abroad for employment. For example, the Labour Minister has since then been promoting Thai workers to travel overseas by going overseas and looking for jobs and negotiating job positions for Thai workers as well as inviting the governments of other countries to visit Thailand in order to enlarge the labour market for Thai workers.

Since 1997 the Government has also provided funds which workers can borrow with a low interest of 12 percent. This is intended to support Thai workers who wish to work abroad by paying less interest than they do in the private sector. It has been found that some migrants have borrowed money for going to work overseas with interest as high as 60 percent (Singhanetra-Renard, 1992). The Government's funding program is intended to encourage more Thai workers to go to work overseas. There is another program by means of which the Thai government tends to increase the potential of Thai workers to work overseas and that is a training program. However, this training program concentrates primarily on construction workers and mechanics. There are few programs that promote the skills of women workers. Rather than reduce the wages or welfare of female Thai workers to compete with other sending countries, the Government should promote their migration by increasing their skills. While women are receiving vocational training, the Government can also develop their language skills, culture and the immigration and foreign labour laws of other countries. Such training can help reduce the problems of pre-departure orientation and facilitate female migration (Chantavanich, 1998).

6.2.2 International Labour Migration Policy: The Regional and Provincial Levels

Generally, the offices of the Employment Service Department at the regional and provincial level receive policy directly from the central office in Bangkok. In practice the offices in the regional and provincial levels will set up their own policy, goals and practical plans which fit their local situation as well as to meet the national policy. However, the plans of the region and each province can differ and their plans related to emigration of male and female workers can also be different. This was the case as in the case study area, Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun. The Vice-Director of the SBPAC and Governors of the four provinces were interviewed about their attitude to female migration and the plans or policies regarding the migration of female workers to work overseas. From the interviews, it was found that female migrant workers were not constrained by the SBPAC or provinces because there have recently been no serious problems occurring for female migrants from these four provinces working in Malaysia. In addition, migrating of the people from this area to work in Malaysia has occurred for a long time. Working in Malaysia is not harmful and migration to work in Malaysia of Muslim people in this area are a customary part of their livelihood also networks have been built up so there are protection mechanisms.

From the interviews there was also no special or particular plans or policies to encourage or discourage the migration of female workers in this area to work in Malaysia. However, the border crossing of local people to Malaysia has been relaxed by both Labour Control and the Immigration office. There was a verbal order from the SBPAC to slacken the rules for local people who travel into Malaysia. This

flexibility was done in order to avoid sensitive issues that might occur from Muslims and government officers in this area.

By law, Thai workers who want to go to work overseas have to go through Labour Control before the Immigration office. However, the Labour Control officers do not use the national laws and regulations against local people in the southern area because there is a special agreement in crossing the border between the southern part of Thailand and northern states of Malaysia. In the interview with the head of Labour Control in the area, he stated that officers knew that local people who held a border pass would go to work in Malaysia. Some of them even told officers that they went to work. However, they hold the border pass and the reason for leaving the country given in the border pass was to go to visit relatives, so, they pointed out, “we have to let them go”. He explained further that if officers were to cancel the trip of local people, the officers would face the problem of acting against the basic human right of people’s freedom to travel and also the officers do have to live in the local community. Moreover, it would create a big problem because the officers might have to cancel the trips of hundreds of migrants. Furthermore, the government officers know that the local people go to work in Malaysia in order to make a living for their family so if they cancel their trip, people could not work and could not make an income. Thus, it not only creates a problem for the worker but it can create problems for the province as a whole. Therefore, the migration regulations for local people, both men and women, are not strictly applied so that, despite gender difference in migration policy as a whole, the migration patterns from this area are not significantly affected.

6.3 Receiving Country Policy: Malaysian Regulations

Besides the laws and regulations of their own country, migrant workers have to obey the immigration laws and regulations of the country of destination. For example, according to Malaysian labour law, foreign workers are treated as local workers regarding payment, Malaysian law and other benefits (Kassim, 2000). Therefore, Thai workers who want to work abroad should at least understand legislative rights and obligations of the destination country.

This study found that Malaysian Immigration officers are relaxed towards the local people in southern border provinces of Thailand since the movement of these people has occurred for a long time and the officers are familiar with them. The Malaysian Immigration officers know that these workers will be in Malaysia just in order to work, and they will go back to Thailand. Also these workers have similar religion, language and cultural background to Malaysians so they are not likely to have problems while in Malaysia. Occasionally Malaysian Immigration allows people from the Thailand side entry into Malaysia without documents as shown in Figure 6.1. In the Figure is an official announcement of the Department of Immigration of Perlis, Malaysia, which stated that any person who wanted to go to the border market at Wang Kian, Malaysia, on Thursday and Friday would have to travel with a passport or border pass and go through Immigration. From Saturday to Wednesday, Wang Kian Immigration relaxed the entry to Malaysia so that people could travel without a passport or border pass.

It is clear that the regulations and laws of Malaysia do not curtail the migration of female migrant workers in this area. In fact females gain benefit from the spatial and cultural relationships between the southern part of Thailand and the northern

states of Malaysia to facilitate their migration. Malaysia also gets the benefit of a supply of cheap labour.

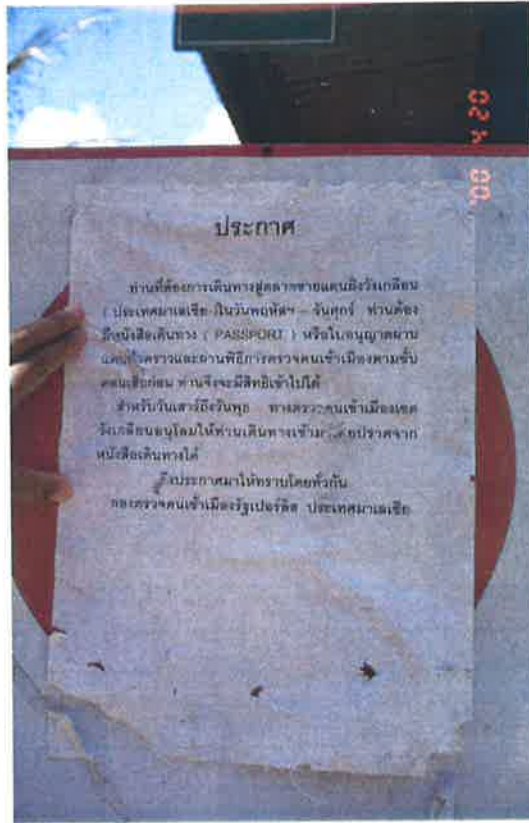


Figure 6.1 An Official Announcement of the Perlis Immigration Department, Malaysia

6.4 Social Networks

It is evident that there was a long history of cross border movement between the northern states of Malaysia and the four southern border provinces of Thailand, traditionally for the purpose of harvesting and planting as well as visiting relatives (Suwannathat-Pian, 1993; Ariffin, 1993; Gosling, 1963). In addition, the official boundary between Thailand and Malaysia is meaningless for local people particular along the Kolok River since they still cross the river to visit each other. Thus, this boundary line cannot stop the flow of the people between the two areas (Wittayaprechakul, 1990).

The special relationship and the close relationship of people between the southern border provinces of Thailand and the northern states of Malaysia makes the role of intermediaries significant for female migration in these provinces, perhaps even more significant than policy (Massey, 1988). This is because the actions of intermediaries, in the case of female international labour migration in the survey villages this is their social network², can increase the likelihood that females will migrate because they act as networks linking potential female migrants with labour demands in destination countries (Grieco and Boyd, 1998). There were flows of female migrant workers from the survey villages to Malaysia and Saudi Arabia because there were social networks linking their villages of origin and the destination areas. This link occurs because both labour migrants and permanent migrants from the villages still keep their links and relationships with people who remain in the origin villages. Almost all labour migrants are temporary migrants, returning or coming to visit home while working in destination countries. Permanent migrants still maintain contact with people in the villages by coming to visit them in the villages or via letters or telephone calls. Moreover, these migrants not only keep their relationships with people in the origin area but also broaden their relationships with people to include employers in the destination areas. Thus, social networks both in the origin areas and destination areas play important roles in providing information about work and other conditions in destination areas as well as getting a job. These social networks ensure the migrants a job position and reduce the risk of cheating from the recruiters as well as assist the movers to obtain housing and to adjust themselves in the destination area. One influence of social networks is the occupational and spatial clustering of migrant

² Social networks are “set of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin” (Massey, 1988, p. 396).

workers from each village at the destination. Moreover, this network also helps perpetuate migration from the villages since once migration is started it will continue as long as the job opportunities in the village are still limited.

Of the 380 female migrant workers sampled from the eight survey villages, 189 females were currently working in a foreign country and 191 females were returned migrants. All of these women were unskilled workers, 51.3 percent were employees in service industries, then there were agricultural workers (29.2 percent), followed by labourers in factories (10.8 percent), traders (7.9 percent) and a few worked in construction (0.8 percent) (Table 6.1). The service roles that female migrants were involved in included waitresses, cooks, cashiers, receptionists, shop assistants, baby sitters, domestic workers and seamstress. In agricultural work, they worked in paddy fields, rubber plantations, palm oil plantations, tobacco fields and medical herb gardens. The labourers in factories were mostly engaged in small dried fish and fish cracker factories. There were three kinds of traders: 1) those who own a shop, 2) petty traders in the market and 3) wholesale traders.

Table 6.1 Types of Work that Female Migrants Engaged in at the Destination Area

Type of work	Frequency	Percent
Services Work	195	51.3
Agricultural Work	111	29.2
Factory Work	41	10.8
Trading	30	7.9
Construction Work	3	0.8
Total	380	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

The kinds of work that females in each village were involved in at the destination areas were different due to the basic economics of the village, its location and the social networks of each village. Females from rice farming and rubber garden villages mainly took on agricultural work in which they had basic skills or knew about the context of the work (90 percent of V.4 and 78 percent of V.2 females worked in the agriculture sector, see Table 6.2). It was also the traditional practice of people from the rice farming village to migrate to work in rice fields in Malaysia after they had finished planting and were waiting for the harvesting season. In Ban Ya Mu Chaleam (V.2) for example, there were two middleman (Tua Tan Nai Jang) in the village who were contracted by employers when they need labourers to work for them. The middleman would then collect people who want to go to work and informed the Malaysian employers about the date of leaving. The employers would wait at the border to bring the labourers to the rice fields and send them back to the border after their work was finished. Some employers even visit their labourers at their home villages since they would like to know where the labourers live so that next time they can contact them in the village. However, work in rice fields has decreased so that some of the females from the rice farming villages have sought jobs in service work. Among women from Ban Ba Kong (V.1), 48 percent worked in service work and 36 percent worked in agricultural work. Khok Sai (V.7) is another village that had almost the same percent of females working in service and agricultural work. There were 56 percent in service work and 42 percent in the agricultural sector. Significantly, none of the females from the fishing villages, Ban Panare and Ban Ta Lo Sai (V.3 and V.8) migrated to work in agriculture; 90 percent of V. 3 females worked in service work while 62 percent of females in V.8 were involved in factory work. All of the females from V.8 who worked in factories

Table 6.2: Percent of Different Types of Jobs which Migrant Females Engaged in at the Destination Countries

Occupations	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8
Employee in service sectors	48	16	90	6.7	52	86	56	38
Employee in agricultural sectors	36	80	-	90	-	10	42	-
Labourers in factories	10	-	3	3.3	-	2	-	62
Traders	6	2	2	-	48	-	2	-
Construction works	-	2	2	-	-	2	-	-

Source: Field survey, 1999-2000

Table 6.3 Persons Who Accompanied Female Migrant Workers From the Survey Villages at First Migration, 1999-2000

Persons who accompanied female migrant workers	Frequency	Percent
Friends, neighbours	133	35
Relatives	95	25
Group*	57	15
Members of family or household	49	13
Alone	28	7.4
Employer, middleman in village	9	2.4
Employer, middleman from Malaysia	9	2.4
Total	380	100

Source: Field survey, 1999-2000

* travelled in a group of people of more than three persons (such as female migrants who travelled with friends and relatives, with spouse and friends, with employer and relatives, with employer and friends or with their whole family)

migrate to work in a small dried fish factory in Langkawi Island where most male migrants from their village went to work as fishing crews. In Tu Ra village (V.5) too, no one was engaged in agriculture or factory work. The work that the females in V.5 were involved in was different from the other villages in that almost half of them (48 percent) were traders and 52 percent worked in service works. Female migrants who

own the shops have relatives on the Malaysia side of the border and help to find the shop for them.

In this study, none of the female migrant workers who migrated to work in Malaysia or Saudi Arabia used the service of a private recruitment agency (Table 6.3). It was found that the majority of female migrant workers from the survey villages followed the trail of pioneers or experienced migrants from the villages. Those females tended to travel to work overseas with friends, relatives, and other members in the family as a group. As shown in Table 6.3, at the time of their first migration, 35 percent of female migrant workers migrated to work in the company of friends or neighbours in the villages who had moved to work before. Some 25 percent went to work with relatives and 13 percent travelled to work with members of their families. Table 6.3 also reveals that some females (15 percent) migrated to work with a group. In Ban Ya Mu Chalaem (V.2), for example, females mainly migrated as a group since most of them (62 percent) migrate to work in rice fields as a team. Working in rice fields needs a group of about 10 persons working together. Migrants in the village would collect a group of family, friends or relatives before migrating to work in Malaysia. In Ban Panare (V.3) where females migrate mainly to work as waitresses, some also travelled to work as a group with their employers and friends, relatives or sisters. While data was being collected, there was a Malaysian car in Ban Panare. A field assistant pointed out that “if you see a Malaysian car it means that at least 6 females from the village will go to work in Malaysia or have just come back from working in Malaysia”. Normally about 2 to 3 or up to 10 female migrants in Ban Panare worked in the same food shops or restaurants in Malaysia thus they would travel together. Overall, only 7.4 percent of female migrants who moved to work alone and these cases were found mainly in Ban Tu Ra (V.5) where the village is

located near the border. Female migrant workers from this village used to visit the destination earlier and the place that they went to work was close to their house so they could travel to work alone. Moreover, migration was a long established pattern of behaviour there, the women had moved many times before.

Table 6.4 shows that the main reason given by female migrant workers from the survey villages to choose the places to work in the destination areas was they knew people who have already worked there (43.4 percent). The next most quoted reasons were there was work available for them there (24.2 percent), they could get a good income (11.6 percent) and it was close to home (11.1 percent). Knowing some friends and relatives who were working at the destination made the migrants feel safe because they realized that they would support them to live and work there.

Table 6.4 Reasons Given For Selecting Destinations

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Have work there	92	24.2
Know people work there	165	43.4
Close to home	42	11.1
Have relatives /friends live there	27	7.6
Good income	44	11.6
Know employer	10	2.6
Total	380	100

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Friends and relatives were important in providing information about migration and assistance in getting a job and finding accommodation. One of the respondents mentioned that her grandmother has lived in Saudi Arabia for twenty years and she asked her to work there because her grandmother knew that there were some jobs

available. Without the social network linkage with the migrant workers in Mecca, workers from the survey villages would probably not be able to migrate to work there. This is mainly because there is a language problem and they are not free to travel in Saudi Arabia as they do in Malaysia. Thus, it can be seen that the network links between the origin and the destination areas play an important role in both the initial move and perpetuating labour migration flows (Massey *et. al.*, 1998).

This study found that female migrants from each village have linkages connected with their social networks that provide information and help in migrating and getting a job that facilitates the migration of female migrants.

6.5 Conclusion

In this study of four southern border provinces, the migration of female migrant workers was not found to be constrained by the policy of either Thailand or Malaysia. Female labour migrants from this area benefit from the close proximity and long history of a close relationship between the areas and the relationship between people in the two areas. However, most of the female migrant workers in this area leave the country to work legally. While they enter Malaysia legally, they work there illegally.

Chapter 7

Impacts of Migration on Female Migrants and Their Communities

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, it was found that the decisions of female migrant workers' from the survey villages in the four southern border provinces to work overseas were mainly initiated by the women themselves, although often husbands or parents were also important in their decision making. In addition, the reasons for females working overseas were mainly related to the needs of their families. The impacts of female migration on the economy of the family as well as of the community as a whole were clearly positive. However, there were less favourable social impacts of migration on families and communities due to the absence of female migrants, particularly mothers. Some female migrant workers earned an income of their own from working overseas; other female labour migrants improved the economy of their families, but could not benefit themselves or change their status within their families and communities.

In this chapter the experience of female migrants while they were working in the destination areas is described. The impacts of international labour migration on the females involved were investigated in the area of origin after the female migrants returned to their villages. The impacts of migration on the female migrants were evaluated by members of the female migrants' household, non-migrants in the villages and the female migrants themselves. How female migration impacted upon their origin communities was also explored.

7.2 Experiences Female Migrant Workers in the Destination Country

The experiences of women in the destination country can vary with their age, marital status and the work that they engage in at the destination, but the mode of overseas labor recruitment is also important (Sobieszczyk, 2000). The majority of female migrants were in the 25-34 age group (33 percent), followed by 15-24, 35-44 (25 and 22 percent) and 10 and 7 percent were in the age groups of 45-54 and 55+ respectively. When considering the age at the first time that these females migrated to work, it was found that more than half of them (61 percent) were in the age group of 15-24, followed by 25-34 and 35-44. Hence the survey women tended to migrate when they were young (Figure 7.1).

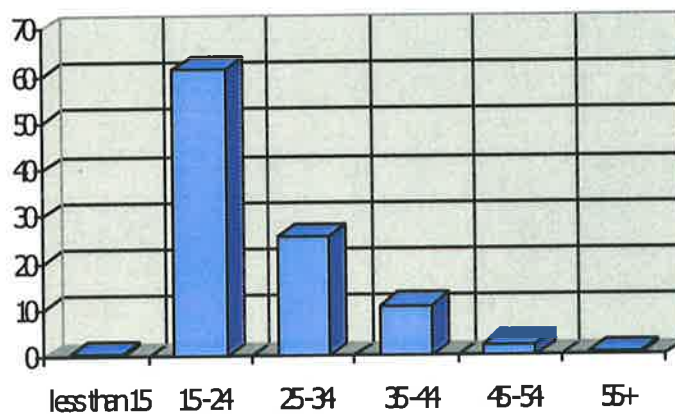


Figure 7.1 Ages of Female Migrant Workers from the Survey Villages the First Time They Migrated to Work Overseas

However, the age at migration was also related to the type of work in which they were engaged. The average age of females who worked in agriculture was older than those who worked in services. Mostly the females who worked in the agricultural sector were married and migrated to work with their husbands or with a group of relatives and friends from their villages (see also Thaweessit, 1986; Wittayapreechakul, 1990). Females who worked as traders also migrated when they

were a bit older; 40 percent of those first migrated to work when they were 25-34 years old. Most young females worked as baby sitters, waitresses in food shops or restaurants, or shop assistants. Eighty eight percent of females who were baby sitters went to work when they were 15-24 years old. Some 75 percent and 73 percent of domestic workers and employees in service work and 65 percent of employees in factories also migrated to work when they were 15-24 (Table 7.1). Services work and factory work were chosen by young single females more than by older married females. Thus it can be seen young female migrants often work in the services sector while older and married more than single women worked in the agricultural sector.

Table 7.1 Ages of Female Migrants Migrating to Work for the First Time by Type of Work

Age	Types of work					Total
	Agriculture work	Services work	Factory work	Construction work	Trading	
Less than 15	-	1(0.5)	1(2.4)	-	-	2(0.5)
15-24	49(44.1)	147(75.4)	27(65.9)	2(66.7)	8(26.7)	233(61.3)
25-34	38(34.2)	35(18)	10(24.4)	1(33.3)	12(40)	96(25.3)
35-44	21(19)	9(4.6)	2(4.9)	-	8(26.7)	40(10.5)
45-54	3(2.7)	3(1.5)	-	-	2(6.6)	8(2.1)
55+	-	-	1(2.4)	-	-	1(0.3)
Total	111(100)	195(100)	41(100)	3(100)	30(100)	380(100)

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Female migrants were asked about their experience of working overseas with regard to conditions at the work place. They were asked whether they were satisfied with their employers, income, and co-workers at their work place. From this, it was

found that the majority of female migrant workers were satisfied with their conditions while working in the destination countries, as showed in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Satisfaction of Female Migrant Workers toward Working and Living Conditions in the Destination Countries

Living and working conditions	Frequency	Percent
Employers		
Satisfied	344	90.6
Not satisfied	7	1.8
Self-employment	29	7.6
Total	380	100.0
Income		
Satisfied	371	97.6
Not satisfied	9	2.4
Total	380	100.0
Co-workers		
Satisfied	334	87.9
Not satisfied	2	.5
Do not have co-workers	44	11.6
Total	380	100.0
Working places		
Satisfied	346	91.1
Not satisfied	7	1.8
Commuter	27	7.1
Total	380	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

In response to the question “Are you satisfied with employers”?, 90 percent of the female migrants answered, “yes”. Only 1.8 percent of female indicated that they were not satisfied with their employers. Some 86 percent of the women were content that their employers treated their employees equally in the workplace (Table 7.3).

This contrasts significantly with the reports of a high level of exploitation in many other female international migrations. Some of the reasons for the lack of exploitation are undoubtedly the nature of the migration system under study and the fact that the women tend to move in groups with relatives and friends.

Table 7. 3 Treatment of Employers towards Employees in the Work Place

Taking care of employers	Frequency	Percent
Same	328	86.3
No other employees	22	5.8
Self-employment	30	7.9
Total	380	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Continuing to work with the same employers is an indication that the female migrant workers were content to work with their employers. Table 7.4 shows that 45.5 percent of female migrant workers migrated to work in the same work and with the same employers each time they migrated. Some female migrants worked with the same employers for up to 10 years. The highest percentages of female migrants who went back to work with the same employers were found in Ban Pa Da Do (V.6) (88 percent), Ban Ta Lo Sai (V.8) (78 percent) and Ban Panare (V.3) (52 percent) (Table 7.5). In other villages, however, namely Ban Ta No Pu Yo (V.4), Ban Ya Mu Chaleam (V.2), Ban Ba Kong (V.1) and Ban Khok Sai (V.7), more than 50 percent of the female migrants did the same type of work but changed employers. This does not necessarily mean that they were dissatisfied with their employers, however, females

who undertook the same work but changed employers mostly got their work through middlemen (Tua Tan Nai Jang) in the villages more than through relatives, friends or by knowing the employer personally. In the cases of females from Ban Ya Mu Chalaem, for example, most of them migrated seasonally to harvest and transplant in rice fields. Some of them might migrate to work with the same employers, but some changed employers depending on when they were going to work and also depending on the Tau Tan Nai Jang (middlemen) in the villages. Normally, Tua Tan Nai Jang have contact with many employers (Nai Jang) in Malaysia and where the migrant workers are sent depends on who recruits the workers. Some females might have gone to work for two or three employers; the first time they went to work with one employer, the second time they worked with another one, the third time they might have come back to work with the first employer. Generally it seems the case that in this area female migrant workers are content with their employers.

Table 7.4 Employers and Work at Each Migration of Female Migrant Workers in the Survey Villages

Type of works/ Employers	Frequency	Percent
Same work/change employers	160	42.1
Same work/same employers	173	45.5
Change work/change employers	8	2.1
First trip/single trip	9	2.4
Self-employment	30	7.9
Total	380	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Table 7.5 Employers and Work at Each Migration of Female Migrant Workers from the Survey Villages

Type of work/	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8	Total
Employers									
-Same work/ change employers	33 (66)	36 (72)	18 (36)	26 (86.7)	3 (6)	5 (10)	28 (56)	11 (22)	160 (42.1)
-Same work/ same employers	14 (28)	5 (10)	26 (52)	2 (6.6)	23 (46)	44 (88)	20 (40)	39 (78)	173 (45.5)
-Change work/ change employers	-	3 (6)	3 (6)	2 (6.6)	-	-	-	-	8 (2.1)
-First trip/single trip	-	2 (4)	2 (4)	-	-	1 (2)	1 (2)	-	9 (2.4)
-Self-employment	3 (6)	1 (2)	1 (2)	-	24 (48)	-	-	-	30 (7.9)
Total	50 (100)	50 (100)	50 (100)	30 (100)	50 (100)	50 (100)	50 (100)	50 (100)	380 (100)

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

It was also found that the majority of females did not have problems in communicating with their employers. While the female migrants were working in a foreign country, 82.6 percent of them spoke Dialect Malaysia, 10.3 percent spoke Thai, 6.8 percent spoke Standard Malaysia and .3 percent spoke both Thai and Dialect Malaysia (Table 7.6). Some 52.6 percent and 28.7 percent of these female migrants worked with employers who spoke Standard Malaysia and Dialect Malaysia respectively. The rest of their employers spoke Thai, Chinese and Arabic (Table 7.7). In this study, 31.8 percent of these female migrants spoke the same language as their employers. Among those who did not speak the same language, 50.5 percent understood the language, but their speaking was limited. For 4.8 percent their

speaking was adequate. Only 5 percent could neither understand nor speak with their employers and needed an interpreter to help them (Table 7.8).

Table 7.6 Language for Communication that Female Migrants from the Survey Villages Used while Working Overseas

Language	Frequency	Percent
Dialect Malaysia	314	82.6
Thai	39	10.3
Standard Malaysia	26	6.8
Dialect Malaysia/Thai	1	.3
Total	380	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Table 7.7 The Language Used by Employers in the Destination Areas of Female Migrant from the Survey Villages

Language	Frequency	Percent
Standard Malaysia	200	52.6
Dialect Malaysia	109	28.7
Thai	16	4.2
Chinese	11	2.9
Arab	10	2.6
Chinese/Standard Malaysia	4	1.1
Self-employment	30	7.9
Total	380	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Table 7.8 Ability of Female Migrant Workers from the Survey Villages to Communicate with Overseas Employers

Ability to communicate	Frequency	Percent
Self-employment	30	7.9
Speak the same language with employers	121	31.8
Good communication	18	4.8
Can communicate, but not good	192	50.5
Cannot communicate	19	5.0
Total	380	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

In relation to income, 97.6 percent of female migrant workers were satisfied with their income. Compared with the income they could earn in Thailand by working in similar kinds of job, they earn much more overseas. One female in Ban Panare, who worked as a waitress, for example, explained that she worked as a waitress in her village before she migrated to work in Kuala Lumpur. She got 1,500 Baht per month by working in the village, while she got 3,500 Baht making drinks (Tam Nam) in a restaurant in Malaysia. Her sister who worked in the same restaurant, but migrated to work before her, got 5,000 Baht per month for helping in the kitchen and serving food. For females who sewed clothes in Saudi Arabia, they were paid 100 to 200 Baht per one complete article, but, the pattern of article determines how easy or difficult it is to sew. In one day they could complete 4 to 5 articles, thus they could earn about 400 to 800 Baht per day or 12,000 to 24,000 Baht per month. They have never ever worked and earned as much money as this in the village.

Among the few females who were not satisfied with their income, this was because they earned less pay than they expected or they were not paid at all. One young single female who worked in the food shop owned by her parents complained:

“... it is because I work for my parents. If I worked for others in a food shop I think I could get more money”. Two females who were domestic workers complained that they worked for long hours so their employers should pay them more. Some had not received their salary for the last 2 months of work and some of the female migrants did not get paid at all.

Focussing on relationships with their colleagues, it was found that 87 percent of female migrant workers were satisfied with their co-workers. Female workers mainly worked with other migrants from Thailand, both from the same village and from other villages. Most of them explained that co-workers were very good in helping each other. This is because they knew each other before going to work as well as there being generally a cooperative and mutually supportive relationship between co-workers. Some 8 percent said their co-workers were Malaysian, .3 percent worked with migrants from the same villages and Malaysians and with migrant workers from Indonesia (Table 7.9). However, the Thai migrant workers do not seem to have problems of working with co-workers from other countries.

Table 7.9 Co-workers of Female Migrant Workers from the Survey Villages

Co-workers	Frequency	Percent
Same village	211	55.5
Other villages	72	18.9
Do not have co-workers	44	11.6
Malaysian	30	7.9
Same village and other villages	21	5.5
Indonesian	1	.3
Same village and Malaysian	1	.3
Total	380	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

While female migrants were working in the destination country, 91 percent of them were satisfied with their working place and housing. Only 1.8 percent were not satisfied. Some of the main complaints about workplaces were that it was remote or was located in forest or mountain areas with many mosquitoes.

For those female migrants who were employed in rice fields, their housing and food were provided by employers. Some of these migrants said that the food that employers provided for them was better than they had at home in the villages. These females had food three times a day and each meal also had dessert. Thus females who worked in rice fields would have most of their wage to bring back home since they did not pay for food and housing. In rubber plantations, employers normally build temporary housing for their employees in the plantation but they have to take responsibility for their own food. Some female migrants explained that the cost of food and other things in Malaysia was more expensive than in the village in Thailand. Some brought rice from the village with them when they went to work in Malaysia. Some participants said that they did not eat regular meals because their work finished late so they might have their first meal about 2 or 3 pm.

Those female migrants who worked in service work mainly stayed with employers or stayed in the house or apartment that employers provided for them, and they also ate food with their employers. Females who worked in the food shops or restaurants, worked for an average of 8 to 10 hours per day and in one week they had one day off. They got paid monthly. It was found that the conditions of the workplaces and housing for females who worked in big cities or in the capital city of a country were better than those in small towns (Figure 7.2 and Figure 7.3).



a. Outside of Housing



b. Inside of Housing

Figure 7.2 Housing Conditions of Female Migrants Who Worked As Waitresses in Kuala Lumpur



a. A Restaurant in Kuala Lumpur, Workplace of Females from Ban Panare



b. A Restaurant in Langkawi Island, Kedah, Workplace of Females from Ban Ta Lo Sai

Figure 7.3 Work Place Conditions of Female Migrants Who Worked as Cooks in Kuala Lumpur and Langkawi Island, Kedah

Females from Ban Ta Lo Sai who worked in small dried fish factories on Langkawi Island, Kedah said that their work was not hard and they did not have to work outdoors in the sun as they did in the village. Figure 7.4 shows the different conditions of workplaces producing small dried fish in the village and in Malaysia. In the village they still use the traditional method by boiling the small fish and letting them dry in the sun, while in Malaysia they use steam and drying machines in producing the small dried fish. Thus there are jobs available all year for females to work in the factories in Langkawi Island, while making small dried fish in the village can only be done for about 6 months since rain constitutes an important limitation. The females who worked in factories stayed in rooms on the second floor of the factories. In the case of married women, they stayed with their husbands in houses that are built separately at the rear of factories (Figure 7.5). The employers also provide food for workers, and female migrant workers have one day off every two weeks. Overall, therefore, these migrant workers in the fish industry were satisfied and better off than if they remained in their villages.

The conditions of working and living for female migrant workers who migrated to work in Saudi Arabia were different from the conditions of those who worked in Malaysia. Migrant workers in Saudi Arabia had to pay for housing and food themselves. Some of the women and their husbands shared one apartment with other workers from the same village or from other villages as well as other countries. Some of the female migrants rented houses and stayed separately with their husbands and children (Figure 7.6). The female migrants explained that they could manage their own time in working. They could stop when they wanted to, but most of them worked long hours even at night. One female said, "We (she and her husband) have

to work very hard to earn as much money as we can. We do not have time to stop and eat. We eat at the sewing machines”.



a. Working Conditions in Langu District, Thailand



b. Working Conditions in Langkawi Island, Malaysia

Figure 7.4 Working Conditions While Producing Small Dried Fish in Langu District, Thailand and in Langkawi Island, Malaysia



a. Room of Female Migrant Workers Who Migrate Individually



b. House of Female Migrant Workers Who Migrate to Work with Family

Figure 7.5 Room and House of Female Migrant Workers Who Worked in Small Dried Fish Factory in Langkawi Island, Malaysia



a. Living in Shared House with Others Migrant Workers



b. Living in Separate House with Family

Figure 7.6 Living Conditions of Female Migrant Workers in Saudi Arabia

When these female migrant workers were asked: While working overseas were you subject to any exploitation or abuse?, the majority of them replied that they had not been abused. As shown in Table 7.10, 86.7 percent of female migrant workers from the survey villages answered that they had not been cheated. However, of the ones who had worked in Malaysia, 7.1 percent replied that they had been cheated by employers.

Table 7.10 Experience of Exploitation of Female Migrant Workers in the Destination Country

Experience of exploitation	Frequency	Percent
No	353	86.7
Yes	27	7.1
Total	380	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Interestingly, the experience of those female migrant workers in the southern border provinces of Thailand is unlike Thai female migrant workers in other regions. Those who migrated to work in other countries namely Japan, Hong Kong or Taiwan, for example, were faced with unpleasant working and living conditions, particularly those who worked illegally in Japan (Sobieszczyk, 2000). Other important problems that female migrants in other destination countries found were related to difficulty in communication with employers and co-workers, and the impact of different cultures and customs. Female workers from the four southern border provinces, however, did not have these problems in Malaysia. A study of Laodumrongchai (2000) stated that Thai workers in Taiwan, both males and females, had worked for very long periods. As a result this created stress and strain in the working environment and on their living conditions as well as on the psychological wellbeing of the workers. There

were high percentages of Thai workers who were unsatisfied with their working conditions. In addition, the Thai workers faced problems in communicating while working in Taiwan, and food was another problem of the Thai workers in Taiwan since they did not like the food that the employers provided (Laodumrongchai, 2000). For Thai workers in South Korea communication was the greatest problem (Kang, 2000). Moreover the difference in living customs and the difficulty in adjusting to Korean life was also pointed out by Thai workers in South Korea. In Hong Kong, Thai female workers who worked as domestic helpers stated that their income in Hong Kong was high compared to the equivalent and prevailing rates and standards in Thailand (Sek-Hong and Lee, 2000, p. 213). However, 45 percent of these domestic helpers felt that “they had been deprived of a fair deal and were susceptible to the employer’s ‘exploitation’” (Sek-Hong and Lee, 2000, p. 215). Some 60 percent complained about their work in that their workload was too heavy and home domestic duties were boring. Communicating with the employers and unfamiliar traditions, customs and practices were problems among Thai domestic helpers in Hong Kong.

Thai female migrants from the north of Thailand who worked in Japan faced serious problems in the destination areas due to the recruitment process and the work in which they were engaged in Japan. As Sobieszczyk (2000, p.408) explained:

Some potential migrants wish to migrate abroad but cannot raise enough money to pay for the travel expenses and recruiter’s commission at the time of their migration, ...Therefore, they may arrange to go abroad with a recruiter who pays these expenses up front and then turns the migrant over to an overseas employer who reimburses the recruiter for the migrant’s travel expenses and pays the recruiter’s commission. The migrant workers are then held in debt bondage by the overseas employer, usually for a set amount of time or until they have repaid a fixed amount of money which usually includes a very high rate of interest.

Each worker ended up with at least 700,000 Baht debt and if they are disobedient, during the period of their debt bondage, these migrants female workers were vulnerable to abusive or unfair treatment by their overseas employers. In one study it was shown that during the five years from 1990 to 1995 the debt for each Thai girl rose from 700,000 -800,000 Baht to 1,000,000 -1,200,000 Baht (Assavanonda, 1997). These situations lead these women to be vulnerable to financial exploitation and physical and mental abuse in the work place (Wille, 2001). As a result of the harsh life and social pressure some Thai female workers had been forced to become involved in commercial sex activity (Muroi, 1996) or to commit suicide (Assavanonda, 1997).

In contrast, none of the female migrant workers from the survey villages went to work overseas by using the services of a private recruitment agency. They migrated with the help of their personal social networks. These social networks reduce risks experienced by migrant workers by getting jobs for them and helping them in migrating to work by accompanying new migrant workers from the villages. The assistance of social networks diminishes the problems of being defrauded, cheated, and deceived by unscrupulous recruitment agencies which most of the female migrants in other regions of Thailand are forced to face (Skrobanek, 1996; Sobieszczyk, 2000).

Even though most of the female migrants from the southern border provinces were satisfied with the living and working conditions and particularly income in destination areas, the fact that they were working there illegally still exposed them to the possible risk of exploitation.

7.3 Impacts of Migration of Female Migrants in the Origin Area

As Grieco and Boyd (1998) argue, migration can impact on the status of migrants positively, negatively or neutrally. For female migrants the impact of migration on their changing status can be explained by their analytical framework in relation to gender roles at different levels:

The position of migrant women in their families can be positively or negatively influenced, especially by labour force participation which can alter inter-familial power differentials. The change in their position in the wider receiving society depends on the comparative advantages/disadvantages of the gender stratification systems of both the sending and receiving societies. The position of women in one area (e.g. societal) can improve through migration while the other (e.g. familial) remains essentially the same (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, Table 3).

In this study it was found that the power of female migrants in the family was not changed. Despite the fact that female migrants could earn money from working overseas, their subordinate status and their main roles in the family were not changed. Some female migrant workers gained more respect from members in the family since they brought money back to the family. However, those female migrants mostly were coproviders, they are not the primary providers of households. The leader and breadwinner of families still are a father or a husband. For single female migrants, they still depend on their parents, and their migration is more likely to supplement family income rather than be the main income of family.

7.3.1 Migration and Female Empowerment

Migration can be an empowering process for women but its effects in this area can be positive, negative or neutral (Grieco and Boyd, 1998; Hugo, 1999). Information concerning the changing empowerment of female migrants was obtained from discussions with, and interviewing, female migrants themselves, members of their families and with non-migrants as well as direct observation in the survey villages. Hence the issue of migration and female empowerment in the study area was addressed from a number of perspectives.

7.3.1.1 Non-migrants' Views

In the eight survey villages, 20 non-migrants from each village were asked their opinions on the impact of migration on female migrants. It was found that more than 80 percent of them considered that the livelihood of female migrants was better than before they went to work overseas (Table 7.11). Female migrants improved their appearance by wearing nice, clean and expensive clothes. Some of the women had more gold ornaments. In addition non-migrants considered that the economic situation of women who went to work generally improved over that before they left. The women have enough money to spend for food, health and improving their housing as well as the education of their child/children. Some of the females could buy land and set up their own business from their income. Fifteen percent believed that the economic conditions of female migrants did not change and believed that the income from working overseas was simply used in regular consumption. A few non-migrants (5 percent) stated that health of female migrants got worse.

Table 7.11 Opinions of Social and Economic Changes of Female Migrants Before and After Working Overseas by Non-migrants, 1999 -2000

Condition	Before	After
Housing	Rent or not in good condition	Have their own, better condition or built new one
Land	Less	More
Other assets	Less	More
Saving	Less	More
Debt	More	Less
Consuming Food	Good	Better
Health	Good	Better
Clothing	Cheap	Expensive
Gold Ornament	Less	More

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

However, women who experienced working abroad were given the same or less respect than if they would have stayed in the village. This is because of traditions of the Muslim community in the south of Thailand that a woman's place is in the home as already mentioned in chapter 5. Thus, communities still discount and devalue women who show the initiative to work outside the village. In the case of single women who migrate to work in serving meals were they are maligned by villagers who look upon them with critical and jaundiced eyes. Unlike this study, a study on female international labour migration in Northern Thailand, Sobieszczyk (2000, p.419-420) found that

Former female international migrants in the sub-district had purchased land, houses, vehicles, and luxury goods for themselves and their families, thus women “finding money” by working abroad as prostitutes was a fairly common and accepted occurrence. For many lower-class families, this was an acceptable temporary career choice, with the financial benefits outweighing at least some of the social stigma associated with such work.

The values and norms of communities can influence the opinion of people in the communities, which can affect the attitude toward migration of females and impact on female migrants differently.

7.3.1.2 Female Migrants' Views

In order to examine the impacts of international labour migration on the role and empowerment (social and economic) of the women involved, the use of remittances and the situation of females before and after they went to work overseas were compared.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the reasons given by females for migrating to work in other countries are related to their roles and status. The reasons for migration to work given by female migrant workers mainly involved responses to the needs of the family rather than to satisfy their own needs. Table 7.12 shows that female migrants spent money from working overseas on their families more than on themselves. The use of remittances is mainly for daily consumption of households (64.5 percent). Some 14.2 percent used remittances for buying other household goods, the others spend them on repairing or building houses, their children's education and buying land or setting up a small business.

Table 7.12 Spending of Remittances from Working Overseas of Female Migrants in the Survey Villages

Types of spending money	Frequency	Percent
Daily needs (food, clothing, ect.)	245	64.5
Buy other household goods	54	14.2
Improve/repair/build new houses	37	9.7
Pay for schooling of self/household members	21	5.5
Save money (buy gold ornament, jewellery)	10	2.6
Got no money	3	.8
Invest in non-farm business	3	.8
Buy/rent/improve land	3	.8
Pay for social function	1	.3
Pay debt	1	.3
Total	380	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

In Table 7.13 the positive impacts of female international labour migration on households which were mentioned by members of female migrant households also showed that labour migration of females was good for the economic status of households. Women working overseas made the household's economic status better (52 percent), improved their livelihood (31 percent), meant more money to spend (28 percent) as well as reduced the burden of household expenditure (6.3 percent). Female outmigration did not create labour shortages in the village but it did create problems in households. Female members gave the following negative impacts of the absence of women: lack of people to do housework (45 percent), lack of people to look after children and elderly in the households (22.5 percent), and no one to take care of the husband (6.9 percent). In addition it created family problems (12 percent) such as, children being left behind with grandparents or relatives, separating of

family, children lacking the love and warmth of their mother. Some 8.1 percent of parents indicated that they worried when daughters worked far away from home.

Table 7.13 Opinions of Members of Female Migrant Households Toward International Labour Migration of Females in Their Household, 1999-2000

Good Impacts of Female International Labour Migration on Households	Frequency	Percent
- Households have better economic status	83	52.0
-Livelihood is better	31	19.3
- Households have more income	28	17.5
- Reduce the burden of household's expend	10	6.2
- None	8	5.0
Total	160	100.0
Bad Impacts of Female International Labour Migration on Households	Frequency	Percent
- Lack of people to do housework	72	45.0
- Lack of people to look after children	36	22.5
- Worry about the safety	13	8.1
- No one take care a husband	11	6.9
- Family have to be separated	8	5.0
- Children left behind with others	8	5.0
- Children lack warmth from mother	3	1.9
- None	9	5.6
Total	160	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Female migrants did not seem to gain more power in the family, although the income from their migration made a significant contribution to the family. The main roles of women were not changed much after they went to work overseas. The roles expected of females within the family are considered to be more important than working outside the house. For single young females, it was found that they gained

some power in decision making in certain areas and were freed from parents' control while they were working overseas, but when they returned they did not have this freedom. For example, Pa, a 24 year old returned migrant is married with two children, a 3 year old daughter and a 14 month old son. Her husband was working with a fishing boat crew in Selangor, Malaysia. For the last 5 years, Pa worked as a waitress in a restaurant in Kuala Lumpur. She said that she enjoyed working in Malaysia since she could go to a shopping center in Kuala Lumpur on her day off and she went out with friends to parks or watched sport. At home, it was not considered appropriate for women to do this. Sometimes she wanted to go to Tani (local abbreviation for the capital city of Pattani), but she could not because her mother did not allow her to do so.

In addition the decision to go or stop working overseas of females is not totally the decision of the female migrants themselves. For example, La, a 21 year old employee in a small dried fish factory in Langkawi Island returned because she got married and got pregnant. Now she has one son, 8 months old. She felt uncomfortable when she had to ask for money from her husband. When she worked she had her own money to spend and buy the things that she wanted. She said that she wants to go back to work again, but her husband wants her to stay at home. As a wife and mother, obedient to her husband, looking after the family is considered more important than working outside the house (Ali and Yothasamut, 1982, p.56). Ki is a young single 18 year old who went to work in Malaysia as an assistant in the food shop of a factory's canteen. She had worked there for three years. She returned to the village because no one else could stay with her elderly father and look after him. She said that "I do not like to work in the village, there is only tapping rubber that I can do here". Living in the village, she missed things she did in Malaysia, wearing nice

clothes and talking with people. She said that "In the village I feel bored". Another migrant, Ya worked as a cook in a small dried fish factory in Langkawi Island. She said that her employer was nice. He would let her keep the money that was left over from food shopping. While working with him, she went back to visit her parents in the village. The employer gave her some extra money as well as gifts for her parents. Ya had worked with her employer for four years before returning to the village. Her father asked her to come back to look after her mother because her mother was sick. Both Ki and Ya, actually did not want to return home but they did so because of the roles traditionally expected as daughter.

Some married migrant women stated that migration to work overseas made them lose power over their children. The children were disrespectful or ignored things that they were told to do. This situation was found especially in Ban Ta Nu Pu Yo (V.4) because women mainly migrated to work on rubber plantations. The migration of such women takes a year each time and they are away longer than female migrants in other villages. Migrating to work in rice fields takes about 45 days, small dried fish factories about 14 days, service work such as waitress, cashier or shop assistance between 1-3 months and some are commuters. Female migrant workers, except those working in rubber plantations did not have to leave their children in the home villages for a long time so they were not faced with the disobedience of their children. Female migrants in Ban Tu Ra (V.5) who were commuting to work in Malaysia, however, felt guilty about leaving their role as a mother. The women said that they had to leave home very early in the morning and could not prepare breakfast for their children. They had to leave their children with their husband or other relatives to look after all day. In some families the little ones are left with an elder sister to look after while the mother was working in Malaysia.

Though, females migrated to work to help the families, they felt that their obligation as a mother is important and their performance in this area was seen as inadequate.

Table 7.14 Female Migrant's Self-Assessment of the Impact of International Labour Migration, 1999-2000

Good impacts of migration	Frequency	Percent
Better off	217	57.1
None	57	15.0
Experience Overseas	36	9.5
Earn self income	27	7.1
Able to take care family	21	5.5
Buy land/set up business	8	2.1
Gain respect	7	1.8
Cleaver/ more responsibility	7	1.8
Total	380	100.0
Bad impacts of Migration		
None	263	69.2
Homesick	69	18.2
Do not want to work in villages	17	4.5
Be looked bad by others in villages	10	2.6
Made Parent worry about them	8	2.2
Worse health /sick	6	1.6
Could not further study	4	1.1
Others(did not get wage, be cheated)	3	.8
Total	380	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 1999-2000

Overall, impacts on female workers of migration to work overseas, as assessed by female migrants themselves were good rather than bad. Table 7.14 shows that more than half of female migrant workers (57 percent) said that their economic status was better off than before they migrated to work. In addition some 15 percent said that they could earn their own income (7.1 percent), were able to take care of the family (5.5 percent) and could buy land/set up business (2.1 percent). Strong family ties are reflected in separation from family being the major bad impact of women working overseas.

Most respondents stated that their living conditions and income have improved as a result of migration. Household's economic status has improved as a result of female migration as well. However, female migrants both married and single when they returned to the villages still retained a subordinate status in the family. It can be seen that "The relation between economic contribution and power in the family is thus not always direct, but appears to be related also to the expected roles of women within the family" (Riley and Gardner, 1993, p.202). This is the case of female international labour migration from the southern border provinces of Thailand.

7.3.2 The Impact of Migration on the Village

The migration of female migrants not only impacts on the females who are involved, as those female migrants are part of communities, there is also an impact on the communities they leave. The migration could have an important impact on villages because of the money, goods, attitudes, behaviour etc. that women bring back from the destination areas as well as the effects of their absence. This discussion of the impact of migration on the villages or communities is based largely on direct observation in the survey villages and interviewing of village heads.

7.3.2.1 Physical Impact on Villages

Change in housing is obvious evidence of the money earned from working overseas. Generally, the houses in the eight villages were single separate dwellings built on posts but the materials used for floors, roofs and walls were diverse. If they were the traditional Muslim houses in the rural areas of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat, they were built with corrugated iron walls and tiled roofs. Also, there were houses with a unique style as in Ban Khok Sai (V.7) in Satun. These houses were built using

hardwood for floors, tiled roofs, and had higher posts than those in other provinces. There were a number of houses in the eight villages that were built with bamboo walls and thatch roofs. For example, the houses in such fishery villages as Ban Panare (V.3), Ta Lo Sai (V.8) and the rubber village of Ban Ta Nu Pu Yo (V.4) were mostly thatched huts. There were some renovated houses, which was originally made of bamboo but replaced by brick or corrugated iron walls and tiled roofs (Figure 7.7).



a. Before



b. After

Figure 7.7 A House in the Fishing Village, Ban Panare (V.3), Pattani Before And After Renovation with Money Earned from Working Overseas

In Ban Ta Lo Sai (V.8), there were many houses under construction and some houses that were built with bricks and concrete instead of the old thatched houses (see figure 7.8).



A. Houses that are under construction



B. A brick house that was built to replace an old thatched hut

Figure 7.8 Improvement of Housing in Ban Ta Lo Sai (V.8), Satun

The condition of houses in the eight survey villages clearly improved through the use of remittances from overseas. In addition female migrant households have electric appliances and other appliances which they brought back from overseas such as radios, stereo sets, televisions, irons, and sets of saucepan, for example.

There were numbers of female migrants who used money from working in Malaysia to set up small grocery stores and food stalls in the villages found in Ban Panare (V.3), Ban Ta No Pu Yo (V.4), and Ban Ta Lo Sai (V.8) (see Figure 7.9). In Ban Pa Da Do (V.6), a female migrant who worked as a sewing girl in Malaysia used her income to buy sewing machines. Those migrants still work for Malaysian employers but instead of migrating to work in Malaysia, they worked at home. Malaysian Employers brought the material and picked up the finished work in the village. It was good for female migrants as well as family since females could work and look after their family at the same time.



Figure 7.9 A Woman with Her Grocery Store Bought Using Money from Working Overseas in Ban Ta No Pu Yo, Yala

7.3.2.2 Impacts of Migration from Within

In order to investigate the impacts of migration within the villages, village headmen were asked about changes in the livelihood of their villages. The village heads were asked to compare the present situations of village with that five years ago, and Table 7.15 indicates that responses varied between the villagers.

Table 7.15 Headmen's Answers to the Interview Question regarding the Change of Livelihood in the Eight Villages

The Main Points About Change in the Quality of Life in the Villages	
Ban Ba Kong's Headman	"Just the quality of life of a group of migrant labour who work outside the area and overseas (Malaysia and Saudi Arabia) was better".
Ban Ya Mu Chalaem's headman	"There was an increase in the number of labour migrants since there was no work at home, production was low because of flood".
Ban Panare's headman	"The quality of life of villagers has become better, former villagers in this village were very poor".
Ban Ta No Pu Yo's headman	"The livelihood of villagers gets worse very year, the causes of this were unemployment, the price of agricultural product is lower while the prices of other consumption goods high. So income and expenditures were not balanced".
Ban Tu Ra's headman	"The education of people in the village has changed. Before most parents discouraged their children to go to ordinary school, but recently there were some even still a small number. Hoped that the number would gradually increase".
Ban Pa Da Do's headman	"No change"
Ban Khok Sai's headman	"No change"
Ban To Lo Sai's headman	"People in this village are extravagant. There are two-three wardrobes, each house has at least two motorcycles. They will not let their children wear school uniform that gave by government because it is not look nice".

Source: Interviews with heads of Sub-district, village headmen, and vice village headmen, 1999-2000.

Village headmen of Ban Pa Da Do and Ban Khok Sai said that the livelihood of villagers had not changed since there were still numbers of people in the villages migrating to work in Malaysia. The money from this work is mainly spent on family consumption, with only a little used for investment. Similarly, other studies on labour migration of people from the four southern border provinces to work in Malaysia (Thaweessit, 1986; Wittayapreechakul, 1990; Prasompong and Song Muang, 1990) found that money was spent predominantly on consumer goods and savings by buying jewellery and not invested in productive activities. In the cases of Ban Ya Mu Chalaem and Ban Ta No Pu Yo, where village headmen stated that the livelihood of villagers is getting poorer every year since there were problems in production in the agricultural sector. In addition, there were limited of employment opportunities in the villages, so villagers have to seek work outside and the numbers are increasing every year.

On the other hand, the village headman of Ban Panare said that the livelihood of his villagers was better than 5 years ago after the number of villagers who went to work overseas had increased. Villagers have much more money to spend on food, clothes, and housing. A similar situation applies in Ban Panare and Ban Ta Lo Sai where motorcycles were the popular things that migrant workers spent their money on. The village headman of Ban Ba Kong pointed out that only the households of international labour migrants have become better off. The reasons given by the village head were that the money of the migrants was mainly spent on improving housing, buying land or for educating family members. The money also was saved more than invested in the village. Investment in the agricultural sector or to set up business in the village was risky and uncertain while working overseas ensured that they would earn money.

7.4 Conclusion

The impacts of migration on the female migrants were positive from an economic point of view. However, international labour migration did not make female migrants gain more empowerment even though they earned money for their families. The roles and status of female migrants in the families were not changed and some of the females lost power.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In recent years women have played a more active role in migration. Previously they were generally considered, albeit incorrectly, as passive participants dependent on male migrants. Since 1990, the number of female migrants has continued to grow especially among Asian women (United Nations, 1998, p.39) and the evidence of increased independent migration among them is substantial. The feminisation of international labour migration in Asia has been prominent and dominates many types of international migration flow. Until recently, international labour migration studies in Thailand have focused on male migration. Little research has been conducted on female migration and studies have mostly focused on the North and Northeast regions of the country. Conditions and patterns of migration, however, are not constant across Thailand. There are only a few previous studies of international labour migration in the distinctly different four southern border provinces. Research into female international labour migration in this area has largely been neglected and is necessary if we are to develop a more accurate understanding of the complexity of Thai female migration. This present study was undertaken in order to provide information and understanding about the migration of female migrant workers out of the southern border provinces and to relate these patterns to the whole picture of Thailand.

In this chapter, the major findings of the study are distilled and summarised. The chapter also examines the relevance of theories explaining international labour migration to the case of female migrants from Thailand's southern border provinces.

Later, some limitations of this study are considered as well as some recommendations for further research.

8.2 Major Findings

The questions regarding international labour migration of females in the four southern border provinces investigated here focused on the scale and composition of female migration, the causes and impacts of that migration and the implications for policy. The main findings regarding the four chief objectives are addressed below.

The first objective was:

‘ to indicate the scale and composition of female international migration in the four southern border provinces of Thailand’

To achieve this objective, secondary data on female international labour migration was collected from several Thai government offices namely, the Overseas Employment Administration Office (OEAO), Provincial Employment Service Offices and Labour Controls. The data obtained from these sources showed that there are only a small number of female workers migrating from the four southern border provinces. However, these data sources are limited to those who are legal migrant workers or migrants who go through official channels. They do not include undocumented migrant workers or migrants who do not go through official channels and these are large in number. Because most of the people from the four southern border provinces use a border pass to get into, and work in, Malaysia, secondary sources were also collected from the Province Offices and the District Offices on the border with Malaysia which have the authority to issue the border passes. Data from one District

Office showed that in one month there were more than a thousand applicants. However, the official purpose of those who hold a border pass in order to leave the Kingdom is to visit a relative or visit the states of Malaysia. Thus it can not be assumed that all of them go to work in Malaysia although government officers estimate that 85-90 percent of them do go to work in Malaysia. In addition the study found that there are some females who go to work in Malaysia without any documents at all. The numbers of migrant workers from the four southern border provinces in government office documents are thus only partial and limited estimates. Hence this study was not able to produce accurate and comprehensive statistics for female migrant workers, legal and illegal, in the four southern border provinces and this situation is typical for the Southeast Asian region. However, in interviews with key informants in the study area there was consensus that the numbers of females who migrate to work in Malaysia has increased over the last two decades.

Through an extensive review of the existing literature and by interviewing officers in the field area whose work relates to female migrants, it has been clearly demonstrated that non-permanent migration is the predominant form of migration of migrant workers in the four southern border provinces. There is a long tradition of people in this area to migrating to work as seasonal labourers in rice fields in Kedah and Perlis, two proximate states of Malaysia. Unlike in previous times, at present there are three distinct patterns of labour migration among the workers who go to work in Malaysia: seasonal labour migration, commuting labour migration and circular labour migration and these are applicable for both men and women. For female migrants in particular, international labour migration patterns are very different from those in the rest of the country. In this area, female migrants tend to migrate to work overseas when they are of a young age, 15-24 years old. Female

migrants from this area are semi-skilled or unskilled workers who work in agricultural work, service work, factory work and trading. Their destination areas are predominantly to the four northern states: Kelantan, Perak, Kedah and Perlis but also include other states of Malaysia as well.

The second objective was:

‘to explore the causes of this movement and the extent to which existing migration theory is appropriate’

The empirical findings show that the lack of employment opportunities in the villages is the main reason given by males and females for migrating to work overseas. It was also found that gender relations in the family and the roles and status that are assigned differently to men and women by religion and social norms have a greater impact in shaping female, than male, migration. That is, in this Muslim context the husband is regarded as a leader and breadwinner who is responsible for earning wages for the family, while women’s main roles are reproductive duties and house work. Women can also engage in economic activity or migration to work if it is necessary to help the family where the income solely earned by the husband is not sufficient. Also in decision-making it is evident that women are not likely to make their decisions independently. Joint decisions with others in the family or approval from the husband or parents is required for the migration of female migrants from these southern border provinces. Thus, women’s status and the roles that women perform were found in this study to restrain women’s propensity to migrate. In addition, the reasons given by females for migrating to work in other countries are also related to their status and roles. These reasons show that these migrant women

are mainly responding to the needs of the family more than satisfying their own needs.

The theoretical framework of Grieco and Boyd (1998, p.3) argues that 'while the broader structure causes of migration appear gender neutral, the results of these forces are not'. Clearly the findings of this study support this conclusion and it is argued that the causes of female labour migration cannot be fully understood without incorporating gender into any migration theoretical framework.

The third objective was:

'to study the main impacts of international labour migration on the women involved and their home communities'.

While theoretical frameworks have been developed to explain the causes of migration, little has been theorised about the impacts. However, three outcomes of migration have been identified, negative, positive and neutral, and these were useful in assessing the impacts of migration in the study area.

As established, in Islam, women and men have different roles defined by the rules of their religion. For example it is of prime importance that a woman undertakes maintenance of a home, providing support to her husband, and the bearing, raising and teaching of children (Ali and Ali, 2002). Working outside the home, however, is an alternative for a woman so as long as her family obligations are met as pointed out by Ali and Ali (2002). Other local Muslim writers show that the roles of men and women are deeply embedded in the religion. In the Muslim society men must be responsible for looking after members of the family. Guardianship and primary financial provision are men's responsibility. Thus if women do not migrate to work

overseas to support their families no one can blame them. But if they migrate and then fail to look after the house and take care of their husband and children, which are among the most highly regarded roles for a woman, they are highly censured. However, a situation where the family cannot survive on the income earned by the male household head alone might encourage the migration of women if they can still meet their religious and social expectations.

This study has found that the impacts of migration on female migrants are different according to their role and status in the family. Single female migrants experience positive impacts in working overseas since in the destination area they are free from parent's control and meet freely with others while they are working. In contrast, the experiences of married women are neutral perhaps because in many cases home duties remain their responsibility, and paid work outside the house increases the labour they must perform.

In the origin areas it was found that there was little difference in relation to the impact of migration on the roles and status of single and married females. Single female migrants may be more valued by the family and community in their gratitude for the help to the family, but their status in the family has not changed at all. In cases of married female migrants, when they come back to their villages they still perform the same roles such as looking after the house and taking care of the husband and children as they performed before migration. They might bring back money to the family and help to increase its economic status, but their own status has not risen. Some married women stated that their children actually had less respect for them and their children did not do what they told them. This indicates they have lost some power in their family as a result of migrating to work.

With respect to the impact of female migration on the communities as a whole, outcomes are mixed. In interviews with the leaders of the survey villages regarding the impacts of migrating to work overseas of the villagers, it was found that the livelihood of migrant labourers is better after migration than before. Housing conditions are better. Some female migrants use money that they earn from working overseas to set up small shops that are found in Ban Panare and Ban Ta No Pu Yo. Some female migrants in Ban Pa Da Do have used money to buy sewing machines to work at home, receiving orders from their Malaysian employers. In Ban Tu Ra too, female migrants receive orders from Malaysia and also hired other women in the village to work for them. In contrast some village headmen mentioned problems resulting from migration. For example, there is the changing behaviour of teenagers who are left unsupervised when their parents migrate to work and there is drug-taking among teenager males in their villages. However, these problems have been found in others villages as well so they might not be direct impacts of migration.

This study found female migration has positive economic impacts on the communities but they may result in social problems which present these communities with specific challenges. However, to understand more clearly the impacts of migration on female migrant workers themselves and on their communities', a longitudinal study is needed because some impacts need a longer time to be recognised.

The last objective was

'to draw out the policy implications for the welfare of migrants and for economic development and social change in these provinces of Thailand'.

In the southern border provinces, most people are rural and are primarily engaged in the agricultural sector. The rural agricultural households in this area have been faced with problems relating to small land holdings, low efficiency in production, and high underemployment and unemployment. Job opportunities for unskilled and lower skilled labour in rural areas are limited locally. To make a living, people have had to migrate to work as hired labour in outside communities and also in other countries. This situation not only occurs in the southern region but also in other regions of Thailand. Most Southern Muslims, however, seek work in Malaysia rather than Thailand. This is not only because the wages for similar work in Malaysia is higher than in Thailand and there is more work available in Malaysia but there are the longstanding linkages and similarities with northwestern Malaysia. They also are influenced by religion. As Lanui, Chema and Lanui (1997, p.192) point out, Muslims do not choose their occupations by the incomes but they choose the occupations which are permitted by religion and convenient for religious practice. The Muslims in this area have religion, language and cultural practices more in common with their neighbours in Malaysia than with many others in Thailand. Moreover, the four southern border provinces of Thailand are located far from Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand, while they are just adjoining the Malaysian border. Clearly, the location of this area close to Malaysia make it easy and convenient for people to migrate to work in Malaysia.

Most of the people who migrate to work in Malaysia, leave and enter the two countries legally by using a border pass, but work illegally in Malaysia. Because they are illegal workers they have to hide while working or risk being fined or imprisoned by Malaysian police or Immigration officers, some get short changed in their wage or are cheated. Some of the migrants are miserable in migrating to work in Malaysia,

however, Thai government officers viewed these problems as not serious and affecting only a very small minority. However to minimise the costs to migrants it will be helpful if the Thai Government could negotiate with the Malaysian government to establish that people who hold a border pass can work legally in Malaysia. Moreover, the Thai government could adjust some regulations restricting international migration because they have been designed to address issues of migration in relation to the whole of Thailand and are not relevant or have a negative effect on people in the southern region. Migrant workers from South Thailand can get foreign jobs through their existing social networks and the nature of work is different from overseas migrants from other regions who go to work in Taiwan, Japan, Hong Kong or Singapore. The work in which migrants from the southern region are engaged in Malaysia is seasonal work for 45 days to 75 days, some are circular migrants who work in Malaysia for no longer than a year, while some are commuting migrants who travel to work in Malaysia everyday. The procedures for travelling to work overseas should be specific to this area. For example, people who hold a border pass issued by Provincial Offices or District Offices should be able to pass readily across the border, perhaps using a smart card system similar to those operating on the Singapore-Indonesia and Singapore-Malaysia borders for such regular movers. This would reduce the administrative costs and at the same time government can also record the number of migrant workers, and occupations that they are engaged in, in Malaysia.

There is also some scope for training people in Southern Thailand for work in Malaysia, especially since there are trends of reducing work in the rice field in Malaysia which most of the people from the four southern border provinces have practiced for a long time. There are a large number of female migrants found in Ban

Ya Mu Chalaem and Ban Khok Sai who used to work in rice field but had to stop migrating because there were no jobs available. Female migrant workers in the survey villages now mainly work in the service sector such as cooks, waitresses, or shop assistants. Training would open up the range of jobs open to them in Malaysia. Another area relates to security while across the border. There is little formal structure to protect Thai workers in Malaysia and this needs to be addressed.

8.3 Theoretical Significance

Most migration theory remains gender blind although this study, along with others in Asia has shown some important differences between male and female international labour migrants. Grieco and Boyd (1998) adopted a gender sensitive approach in developing 'a three stage analytical framework' which does address a broad range of gender issues and focuses specifically on women. Their approach has been successfully adopted for this study. However, the Grieco and Boyd model was designed largely in relation to Western migration patterns. One major limitation, which results from this for the Asian context, is that migration is represented by them as a three stage process being taken to be completed in the destination area. In the present study and in many others in Asia, however, female migration patterns most often involve temporary migration in which female migrants work in the destination area for a certain time and then come back to their home villages. There is a need to further develop the work of Grieco and Boyd to encompass a broader range of mobility types but their approach has a great deal of promise.

An issue which is particularly significant in the Asian context is the importance of social networks in understanding female migration. Perhaps because of the difference in social and cultural processes between Asian and Western societies,

the Grieco and Boyd model does not take account of these networks and therefore fails to recognise their influence on why women migrate. This study has extended the Grieco and Boyd model by including social networks and it has attempted to integrate a broader range of gender related issues which influence the causes of migration, focussing on women's experience throughout the full circle of the migration experience.

8.4 Limitations of This Study and Recommendations for Further Research

People in the four southern border provinces of Thailand have had a long relationship with the northern states of Malaysia. The local people are ethnically similar to native Malays, share religious and cultural practices and speak the same local language. These relationships have facilitated people in the southern provinces migrating to work in Malaysia with the help of their social networks. Clearly, it is a very specialised context and needs further study to provide more accurate information and understanding of female migration in the area to inform policy makers.

Since the study has established the importance of social networks in the process of migration, there is a need to examine how social networks play a role in female migration both in the origin and destination areas. How social networks begin and enlarge and what the functions of social networks are in migration are also important to investigate.

This study has demonstrated the positive impact of migration for female migrants and their communities from the money they bring back to the villages. The study found that the main use of remittances is for consumption and improving housing conditions. It also found that some female migrants use money to set up their business in the villages. There is a need however to investigate how much money

female migrants earn from their working overseas, how they decide to spend their money and how far such investment increases production and employment opportunities in areas of origin of migrants.

The impacts of migration on female migrants are studied only in the origin area of female migrants. It is suggested that in further study the impact of the migration on female migrants in the destination area should be examined. It is important to know why and what in circumstances female migrant workers gain positive impacts and are faced with negative impacts while they work overseas. Thus policy makers can prevent and solve the problems and maximise the benefits to the female migrants themselves.

Appendix I
Questionnaires

Interview No. _____

Questionnaire 1
Village headman interview

Name of a village headman _____

Name of village _____ Sub-district _____

District _____ Province _____

Population

1. Total population _____ and total number of households _____

2. Distribution by age/sex (other source, if available)

3. Distribution by religion

- Islam

-Buddhism

Geographical characteristics

4. Total area of this village (sq. km.) _____ (draw sketch map, showing boundaries with neighboring villages)

5. Altitude, topography, bodies of water, quantity of rainfall during year and seasonality, quality of land, land used in village (get some data from other secondary data)

Transportation-communication

6. What type of road does this village have? (observation of interviewer)

- asphalt.....good/ average/ bad
- dirt/ stone..... good/ average/ bad
- concrete..... good/ average/ bad

7. Does village have bus transport within community? Yes No

If yes, where does the bus go to? _____

8. Does village have other transport within community? If so, describe

9. Does village have public transport to other community? If so, indicate its frequency

10. Could you please give the following details of travel from this village

	District	Province
Distance from village to	_____ (km.)	_____ (km.)
Most common mode of transport	_____	_____
Time of travel using above	_____ (minutes)	_____ (minutes)
Cost of travel using above	_____ (Baht)	_____ (Baht)
Condition of road	good/ average/ bad	good/ average/ bad
Access limited in certain seasons?	Yes/ No	Yes/ No

11. From the village, are there direct commercial transportation linkages with foreign countries? : by water, or land?

By water Yes No

By land Yes No

12. How about distance/ time/ cost for using each type of transportation?

Village education facilities

13. Existence of education facility (mark with check if in village)

- pre-school
- primary school
- secondary school
- religion school

14. What level of education should male children obtain?

Why?

15. What level of education should female children obtain?

Why?

Other village facilities

16. Mark with check if in village

Time to get to, if not in village

- health clinic/ hospital
- post office
- bank
- police station
- street lights
- public telephone
- market for purchasing food
- movie theatre
- mosque

Situation in the village

17. In your opinion, what is/ are the main problem(s) this village is facing?

- Economic
- Social (drugs, crime, etc.)
- Education
- Health
- Other, specify: _____

17.1 What are the causes of these problems?

17.2 How can they be overcome?

18. In your opinion, is this village very prosperous/ prosperous/ average/ poor/ very poor?

Opportunity for working in village

19. What is the main occupation of people of this village?

-farm, raise crops

-fishing

-rubber

-orchard

-other, specify: _____

20. What is the distribution/ proportion of working men/ women in this village by main occupation?

21. Please give details of how they spend the time on their work

22. What do they do in the off season?

23. Has this village had public development projects in the past 5 years and have they had an effect on community employment, income, or migration?

If so, give details

24. Are there groups of villagers who create jobs during the off season of cultivation?

If so, give details

25. Compared to the previous 5 years, has there been any change in the quality of life of this village? Yes No

If so, what are these changes and how have these changes occurred?

26. Compared to the previous 5 years,

26.1 are there more/ the same/ or less unemployed people within the village?

26.2 is it more/ the same/ or less difficult to obtain work?

Opinion on migration

27. Have you worked outside the village?

27.1 In country

Where? _____

Please describe your job (s)

28. Attitude in this village toward overseas migrant workers: mainly favourable/ not favourable. Why?

29. Which groups of people in the village encourage going to work overseas? Why?

30. Which groups of people in the village discourage going to work overseas? Why?

31. What are the good effects of people going from this village to work overseas?

1.

2.

3.

32. What are the bad effects of people going from this village to work overseas?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

33. What is the livelihood of persons who have moved to work overseas compared to their livelihood in the village?

Much better/ better/ same/ worse/ much worse

34. Do people who move to work overseas change both socially and economically?

Yes No

How? For male

How? For female

35. In the village, are males with experience working abroad given more/ same/ less respect than if they would have stayed in the village?

Why?

36. In the village, are females with experience working abroad given more/ same/ less respect than if they would have stayed in the village?

Why?

37. Is the economic situation of males who go to work overseas generally improved/ same/ worse?

Why?

38. Do people who go to work overseas always/ often/ sometimes/ rarely/ never assist family...friends...other people in the village?

If yes, in what ways do they help them?

For family

For friends

Other people in village

39. Is it good for young single men to work overseas?

Why?

40. Is it good for married men to work overseas?

Why?

41. Is it good for young single women to work overseas?

Why?

42. Is it good for married women to work overseas?

Why?

43. In some families, women go to work overseas, while in others, they do not. Do you think a woman should work for pay in other countries?

Yes No

44. Under what circumstances should a woman work away from home?

- When family needs money
- When husband is sick, away, or dead
- When husband wants her to
- When woman is not yet married
- When women never married
- Other, specify: _____

Interview No. _____

**Questionnaire 2
Female Migrant Household**

Household Questionnaire

Place of residence: No. of house _____

Village _____ **Sub-district** _____

District _____ **Province** _____

Interviewer observation of the condition of the house

-What is the roof made of? _____

-What is the floor made of? _____

-What are the exterior walls made of? _____

The relationship of respondent with female migrant _____

Time of interview

From _____ to _____

Date _____

The result of interview

1. Completed
2. Uncompleted, next appointment is
3. No person in house
4. Not found person who can give information
5. Other, specify: _____

Interviewer _____

Demographic (household size and composition)

Please indicate the name of all the persons, who normally live in this dwelling and are named in the house register certificate, and persons who are usually household members but are currently away.

No.	1. Name	2. Relationship to head	3. Sex	4. Age	For persons over age 6 years		For persons over age 15 years	
					5. What is the highest level of education "x" completed?	6. Is "x" currently attending school?	7. What is the main occupation of "x"?	8. What is the current marital status of "x"?
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.								
11.								
12.								

Type and quality of migrant's dwelling

9. Is this house owned/ rented/ provided rent-free?

If rented, how much do you pay in rent each month? _____ Baht

10. What is your usual source of drinking water?

- Piped, in house
- Pumped, in house or yard
- Rainwater, roof storage
- Pumped or piped, public facility
- Open well
- River
- Purchased
- Other, specify: _____

How long does it take you to go to the place where you get your water?
 _____ minutes

11. What kind of toilet facilities do you have?

- Flush, inside house
- Flush, outside house
- None (open field, etc.)
- Other, specify: _____

Household assets

12. Do you have the following items in your house?

- electric fan
- television
- cassette player
- rice cooker
- electric iron
- video
- refrigerator
- other, specify: _____

13. Does your household have any of the following... (and if so, how many)?

- table/ chair
- bed
- sewing machine
- motorcycle
- iron buffalo (farming machine)
- sheep/ goat
- other, specify: _____
- cupboard
- clock/watch
- bicycle
- car/ truck
- cow
- poultry

Socio-economic characteristics

14. Does your family own land for farming? Yes No (skip to 17)

14.1 How much? _____

14.2 Do you have irrigation on your land? Yes _____ % No

15. Is the property operated by you or your household members? Yes No (skip to 16)

15.1 Do you use machinery? Yes No

15.2 Do you hire labour? Yes No

How much do you pay for hired labour? _____ Baht

16. Do you let other people rent your land? Yes _____ % No

How much do you get paid? _____ Baht

17. Do you rent land for farming? Yes No (skip to 18)

17.1 Do you pay rent or pay a percentage of production to owner?

How?

18. Do you raise the following animals? How many?

- Sheep _____
- Goat _____
- Duck _____
- Chicken _____
- Cattle _____

Occupations of household members

Could you give me the details regarding your work and that of other members in your household over the last year? (for persons over age 15 years)

	No.1 (name)	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4
19.1 What is the main occupation of "x"?				
19.2 Where is the place of "x" main occupation?				
19.3 How many months did "x" work in his/her main occupation?				
19.4 How much did "x" get paid?				
19.5 Did "x" have additional jobs?				
19.6 Where is the place of "x" additional jobs?				
19.7 How many months did "x" work in his/her additional job?				
19.8 How much did "x" get paid?				

20. Could you please give the following details for all other sources of income to the household in the last year?

Source of income	Total value
------------------	-------------

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Labour migrants in household

21. Please give the details of member(s) in your house that used to work overseas.

Labour migrant	No.1	No.2	No.3
Name			
Sex			
Age			
Relationship to head of household			
Where did "x" go to work?			
What kind of job did "x" have there?			
When was the first time "x" went to work overseas?			
When did "x" stop working overseas?			
Why did "x" stop working overseas?			

22. Please give the details of member(s) in your house that currently work overseas.

Labour migrant	No.1	No.2	No.3
Name			
Sex			
Age			
Relationship to head of household			
Where did "x" go to work?			
What kind of job did "x" have there?			
When was the first time "x" went to work overseas?			
Why did "x" go to work overseas?			

Opinion toward migration

23. Do you think a married woman should be able to work for pay away from home?

Yes No

Why?

24. Under what circumstances should a married woman work away from home?

1.

2.

3.

25. Do you think young single women should be able to work for pay away from home?

Yes No

Why?

26. Under what circumstances should young single women work away from home?

1.

2.

3.

27. Attitude in this village toward overseas migrant workers: mainly favorable, not favorable?

Why?

28. Which groups of people in the village encourage going to work overseas?

Why?

29. Which groups of people in the village discourage going to work overseas?

Why?

30. Is it good for young single men to work overseas? Why?

31. Is it good for young single women to work overseas? Why?

32. Is it good for married men to work overseas? Why?

33. Is it good for married women to work overseas? Why?

34. What are the good effects that (name of female migrant) has brought to your family as a result of working overseas?

35. What are the bad effects that (name of female migrant) has brought to your family as a result of working overseas?

Questionnaire No. _____

Questionnaire 3

Male/female migrants

Place of residence: No. of house _____
Village _____ **Sub-district** _____
District _____ **Province** _____

Migration history

Labour migrant	No.
Name	
Sex	
Age	
Marital status	
1. What is the year of “x” first time going to work overseas?	
2. Where did “x” go to work?	
3. What kind of job did “x” have there?	
4. How much “x” got pay for this job?	
5. At the first time of migration 5.1 how old was “x”? 5.2 what level of education had “x” achieved? 5.3 what was “x” marital status? 5.4 who did accompany “x” going to work? 5.5 for what reason(s) did “x” go to work? 5.6 for what reason(s) did “x” select your destination?	
6. How long was “x” away to work overseas for each time?	

For female migrants who used to work overseas but now returned

7. When did you return?

8. Why did you return?

9. Do you intend to work overseas again?

Yes

No



When will you go? _____

Pre-migration (last time)

Decision making

Please explain how the decision was made for you to go to work overseas.

10. Who was involved in the decision for you to go to work overseas?

- Myself

- Spouse

- Parent(s)

- Other relative, specify: _____

- Other, specify: _____

11. Did you want to go to work overseas or were you forced to go to work?

Wanted/ Forced

If you wanted to, why did you want to go to work overseas?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

If you were forced to, who forced you to go to work?

Why did you have to go to work overseas?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Social network

12. Before you went to work overseas, did you have any information about

- cost of recruitment/ travel Yes/ No
- type of work at destination Yes/ No
- salary at destination Yes/ No
- conditions at destination Yes/ No

13. What was the main source of this information?

- relative/friends living in destination
- relative/friends living in origin
- visited destination earlier
- labour recruiter, contractor
- private employment agencies in origin
- government employment agencies in origin
- newspaper/ radio/ TV
- other, specify: _____

14. What was the source of information that you most trust?

- relative/friends living in destination
- relative/friends living in origin
- visited destination earlier
- labour recruiter, contractor
- private employment agencies in origin
- government employment agencies in origin
- newspaper/ radio/ TV
- other, specify: _____

15. Before you left to go overseas, did you have a job waiting for you?

- Yes No

16. Who helped you in getting a job?

- No one
- Relative
- Friend
- Employer
- Business contract
- Other, specify: _____

17. (a) How much did it cost you in total to travel overseas to work? _____

(b) From where did you get the money to be able to travel overseas?

- self
- family
- friends
- money lender
- recruiters
- other, specify: _____

The act of migration

In going to work in the destination areas.....

18. What kind of documents did you have with you when you go to work overseas?

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------|----|
| - Passport | Yes | No |
| - Border pass | Yes | No |
| - Work permits | Yes | No |
| - Other, specify: | _____ | |

19. Did you have any problems getting any of these documents?

Yes No

Please explain

20. Did you have to meet any requirements set by the government officer to be able to leave the country?

Yes No

What were those requirements?

Did you have to pay for those requirements? If yes how much?

Did you have trouble meeting them?

Yes No

Please describe

21. Did you have any (other) difficulties or did you have to make any special payment to anyone to leave country?

Yes No

What were those difficulties or payments?

Please explain what you did or paid:

22. Did you have difficulties with border control, customs clearance, health inspection, medical examination and other type of checks when you entered/ departed Thailand and other countries?

Yes No

Please explain, and what was done to resolve them:

23. Did you go through labour/border control?

Yes No



24. Why didn't you undergo to labour/border control?

Please describe the problem, how it was resolved and how did you get into the other country:

25. Have you ever had contact with a recruitment agent?

Yes

No



What type of recruitment?	How did they help you?	Are you satisfied with the recruitment agent?	Yes	No
Government				
Private recruitment agent				
Directly by employer				
Self-placement				
A labor recruiter				
Contractor recruiting people it work in another country				

Post-migration (in destination societies)

26. (a) What is the language of country that you went to work? _____

(b) Can you speak and understand the language of the country?

- Yes, native tongue
- Yes, well
- Yes, but not well
- No

(c) Which languages do you speak at work? _____

27. What type of work did you do at the destination on your last trip?

28. Could you give details of the conditions at the place that you worked?

(a) Working conditions

(b) Accommodation/food

29. Were you treated the same as other labourers that work at the same workplace?

Yes No How was it different?

30. Are you satisfied with the following?

-Income Yes No

Please give details

-Employer Yes No

Please give details

-Co-workers Yes No

Please give details

-Environment Yes No

Please give details

31. Did you work with the same employer/ company while you were there?

Yes No
 ↓

Please give details

32. How did you get paid? How much did you get paid?

- Daily _____

-Weekly _____

-Monthly _____

-Term contract _____

-other, specify: _____

33. How much was your total earned in a year?

34. How much money did you send back home per year?

35. What methods or channels have you used to send money?

Methods

Total in past 12 months

- Bank transfers (cheques, drafts, etc.)

- Post office (money order, ect.)

- Agent/courier

- Brought personally

- Through friends/relatives

- Others, specify: _____

36. Who received this money?

37. How much money did you bring back last time you returned to the village?

38. While overseas were you subject to any exploitation/abuse?

Yes

No

If yes, please give details

39. What living arrangements did you have at the destination?

- lived in barracks

-rented a room with fellow migrants

-rented a room alone

-rented a dwelling

-own a dwelling

-other, please state: _____

40. Are the people you worked with

-mostly other migrants from Thailand?

-mostly people from the destination country?

41. What type of information would you have appreciated having more of before you migrated?

-recruiting procedures and costs

-travel costs

-conditions at destination

-work at destination

-protection at destination

Post-migration (in origin societies)

42. Considering the money received in the past 12 months, for what purpose has it been used? (Give up to three uses, in order of importance)

- Daily needs(food, clothing, etc.)
- Buy other household goods
- Pay for schooling of myself/household members
- Pay for wedding, funeral or other social function
- Buy house
- Improve house, repairs
- Buy land
- Rent land
- Improve land
- Buy farm inputs or implements
- Invest in non-farm business
- Save money
- Other, specify: _____

43. With respect to your situation compare before and after going to work overseas.

Please give details.

Roles	Before	After
Parental (mother/father) Bearing, providing care and socializing your children Decision making about children		
Occupational (worker)		

<p>Working in village, other villages or city.</p> <p>Decision making about working, migration and using money from working</p>		
<p>Conjugal (spouse)</p> <p>Taking care of husband/wife</p> <p>Sharing the decision making in family</p>		
<p>Domestic (housewife/husband)</p> <p>Doing housework</p> <p>Negotiation about housework</p>		
<p>Kin (kinswomen/men)</p> <p>Helping/support other kin</p>		
<p>Community (citizen)</p> <p>Join the activities of village (religion, social, development)</p> <p>Have been a head of group/ helping, or giving suggestion for village</p>		
<p>Individual (a self-actualizing)</p> <p>Activities in household</p> <p>Autonomy in decision making (migration, education, married)</p>		

44. Could you tell me 3 or 4 things that is enjoyable about working abroad?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

45. Could you tell me 3 or 4 things that are bad about working abroad?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

46. Could you tell me 3 or 4 things that are enjoyable about working in the village?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

47. Could you tell me 3 or 4 things that are bad about working in the village?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

48. What are the good effects on yourself after going to work overseas?

49. What are the bad effects on yourself after going to work overseas?

Interview No. _____

Questionnaire 4
Non- migrants in the village

Name of village _____ Sub-district _____
District _____ Province _____

Name of Interviewee _____

Sex _____ Age _____ years

Main occupation _____

Situation in the village

1. In your opinion, what is/ are the main problem (s) this village is facing?

- Economic
- Social (drugs, crime, etc.)
- Education
- Health
- Other, specify: _____

1.1 What are the causes of these problems?

1.2 How can these problems be overcome?

Attitude to migration

2. Compared to the previous 5 years,

2.1 are there more/ same/ less people in this village seeking work?

2.2 is it much more difficult/ more difficult/ same/ less/ much less difficult to find work?

Why?

3. Have you ever worked outside the village? Yes No

Where _____

Please describe your job (s)

4. Have you thought about working overseas?

Yes Why have you not yet gone there?

No Why?

5. Could you tell me 3 or 4 things that are enjoyable about working in the village?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

6. Could you tell me 3 or 4 things that you dislike about working in the village?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

7. Could you tell me 3 or 4 things that are enjoyable about working abroad?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

8. Could you tell me 3 or 4 things that you dislike about working abroad?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

9. Is it good for single young men to work overseas? Yes No

Why?

10. Is it good for married men to work overseas? Yes No

Why?

11. Is it good for single young women to work overseas? Yes No

Why?

12. Is it good for married women to work overseas? Yes No

Why?

13. In some families, women go to work overseas, while in others they do not. Do you think a woman should be able to work for pay in other countries?

Yes No

14. Under what circumstances should a woman work away from home?

- When family needs money
- When husband is sick, away, or dead
- When husband wants her to
- When woman is not yet married
- When woman never yet married
- Other, specify:

Opinion on female migrants

15. In your opinion, is the livelihood of female migrants much better/ better/ same/ worse/ much worse than before they go to work overseas? How?

16. Is the economic situation of women who go to work overseas generally improved/ same/ worse than before? Why?

17. In your opinion, does the social status of females who go to work overseas change?

How?

18. Are migrants much more/ more/ same/ less/ much less religious than people in the village?

19. In the village, are women who have experience working abroad given more/ same/ less respect than if they would have stayed in the village? Why?

20. Do women who go to work overseas always/ often/ sometimes/ rarely/ never assist family... friends... other people in the village?

Yes No

If yes, in what ways do they help them?

Family

Friends

Other people in the village

21. Have you ever asked for help from them?

Yes No

If yes, what was it about?

-What is the roof of house made of? _____

-What is the floor of the house made of? _____

-What are the exterior walls of the house made of? _____

The relationship of respondent with female migrant _____

Time of interview

From _____ to _____

Date _____

The result of the interview

1. Completed
2. uncompleted next appointment is
3. None person in a house
4. Not found person who can give information
5. Other, specify: _____

Interviewer _____

Demographic (household size and composition)

Please indicate the name of all the persons, who normally live in this dwelling and have the named in the house register certificate, and persons who are usually household members but are currently away.

No.	1. Name	2. Relationship to head	3. Sex	4. Age	For persons over age 6 years		For persons over age 15 years	
					5. What is the highest level of education "x" completed?	6. Is "x" currently attending school?	7. What is the main occupation of "x"?	8. What is the current marital status of "x"?
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.								
11.								
12.								

Type and quality of migrant's dwelling

9. Is this house owned/ rented/ provided rent-free?

If rented, how much do you pay in rent each month? _____ Baht

10. What is your usual source of drinking water?

- Piped, in house
- Pumped, in house or yard
- Rainwater, roof storage
- Pumped or piped, public facility
- Open well
- River
- Purchased
- Other, specify: _____

How long does it take you to go to this place where you get your water?
_____ minutes

11. What kind of toilet facilities do you have?

- Flush, inside house
- Flush, outside house
- None (open field, etc.)
- Other, specify: _____

Household assets

12. Do you have the following items in your house?

- electric fan
- television
- cassette player
- rice cooker
- electric iron
- video
- refrigerator
- other, specify: _____

13. Does your household have any of the following... (and if so, how many)?

- table/ chair
- bed
- sewing machine
- motorcycle
- iron buffalo (farming machine)
- sheep/ goat
- other, specify: _____
- cupboard
- clock/watch
- bicycle
- car/ truck
- cow
- poultry

Socio-economic characteristics

14. Does your family own land for farming? Yes No (skip to 17)

14.1 How much? _____

14.2 Do you have irrigation on your land? Yes _____ % No

15. Is the farm operated by you or your household's members? Yes No (skip to 16)

15.1 Do you use machine? Yes No

15.2 Do you hire labour? Yes No

How much do you pay for hired labour? _____ Baht

16. Do you let other people rent your land? Yes _____ % No

How much do you get paid? _____ Baht

17. Do you rent land for farming? Yes No (skip to 18)

17.1 Do you pay rent or pay a percentage of production to the owner?

How?

18. Do you raise any of the following animals? How many?

- Sheep _____
- Goat _____
- Duck _____
- Chicken _____
- Cattle _____

Occupation of memberships in household

Could you give the following details regarding to your work and that of the other members of your household over the last year? (for persons aged 15 years and over)

	No.1 (name)	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4
19.1 What is the main occupation of "x"?				
19.2 Where is the place of "x" main occupation?				
19.3 How many months did "x" work in his/her main occupation?				
19.4 How much "x" get pay?				
19.5 Did "x" have additional jobs?				
19.6 Where is the place of "x" additional jobs?				
19.7 How many months did "x" work in his/her additional job?				
19.8 How much "x" get pay?				

20. Could you please give the following details for all other sources of income to the household over the last year?

Source of in come

Total value

1.

2.

3.

Labour migrants in household

21. Please give details of member(s) in your house that have previously worked overseas.

Labour migrant	No.1	No.2	No.3
Name			
Sex			
Age			
Relationship to head of household			
Where did "x" go to work?			
What kind of job did "x" have there?			
When did the first time "x" go to work?			
When did "x" stop to go to work overseas?			
Why did "x" stop to go to work overseas?			

22. Please give details of member(s) in your house that currently work overseas.

Labour migrant	No.1	No.2	No.3
Name			
Sex			
Age			
Relationship to head of household			
Where did "x" go to work?			
What kind of job did "x" have there?			
When did the first time "x" go to work overseas?			
Why did "x" go to work overseas?			

Opinion toward migration

23. Do you think a married woman should be able to work for pay away from home?

Yes No

Why?

24. Under what circumstances should a married woman work away from home?

1.

2.

3.

25. Do you think a young single woman should be able to work for pay away from home?

Yes No

Why?

26. Under what circumstances should young single woman work away from home?

1.

2.

3.

27. Attitude in this village towards overseas migrant workers: mainly **favorable, not favorable?**

Why?

28. Which groups of people in the village encourage going to work overseas?

Why?

29. Which groups of people in the village discourage going to work overseas?

Why?

30. Is it good for young single men to work overseas? Why?

31. Is it good for young single women to work overseas? Why?

32. Is it good for married men to work overseas? Why?

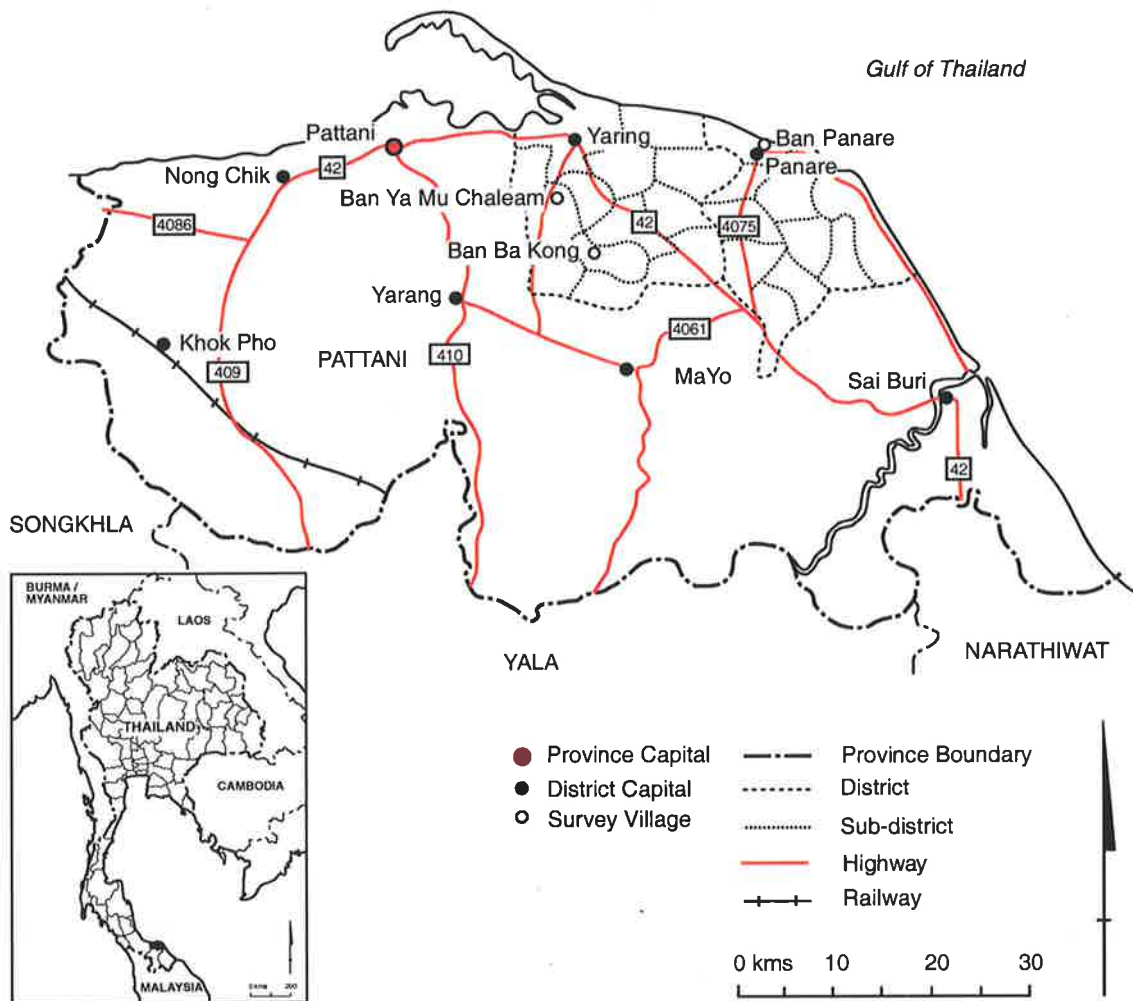
33. Is it good for married women to work overseas? Why?

34. What are the good effects that (name of female migrant) has brought to your family as a result of working overseas?

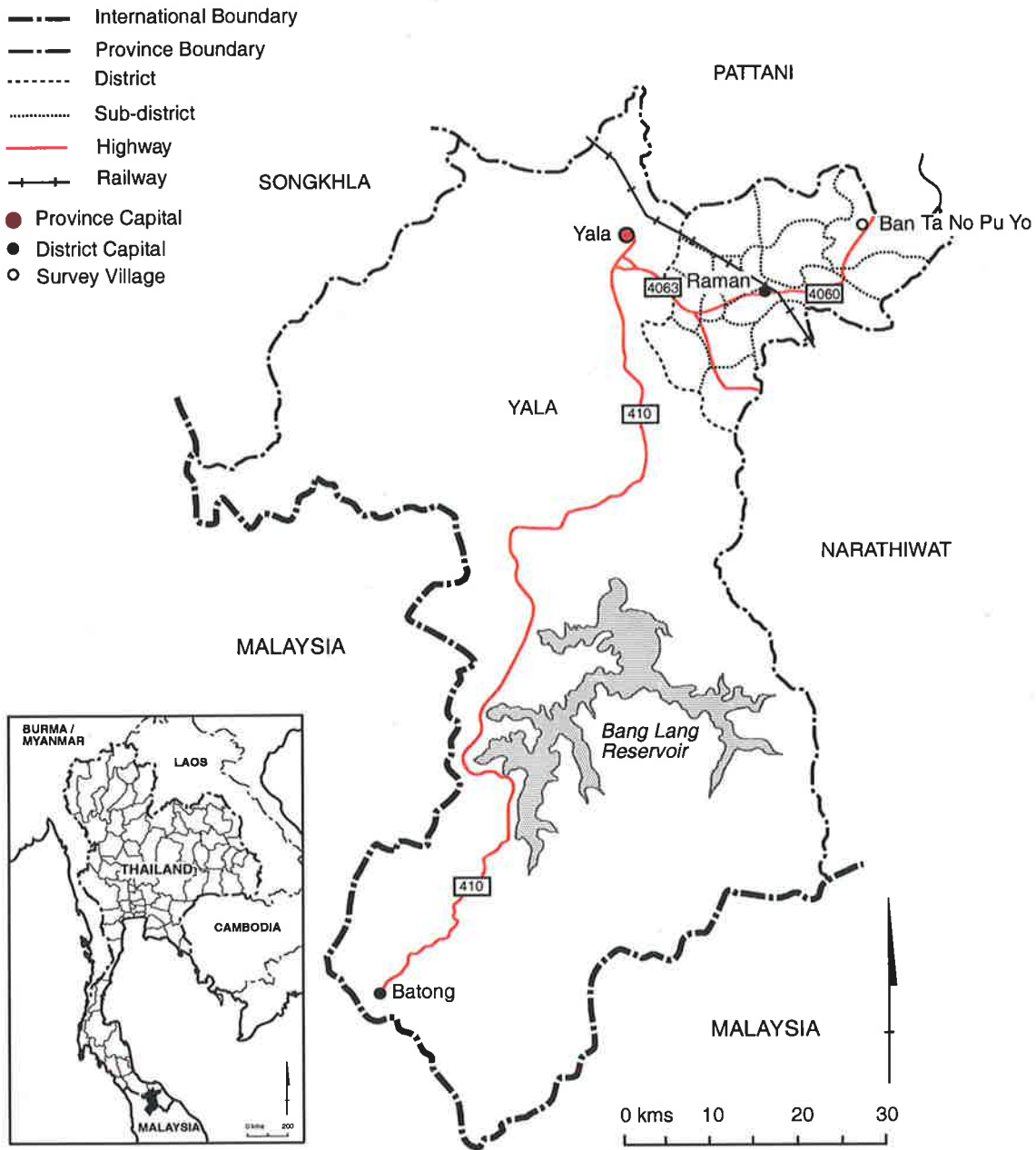
35. What are the bad effects that (name of female migrant) has brought to your family as a result of working overseas?

Appendix II

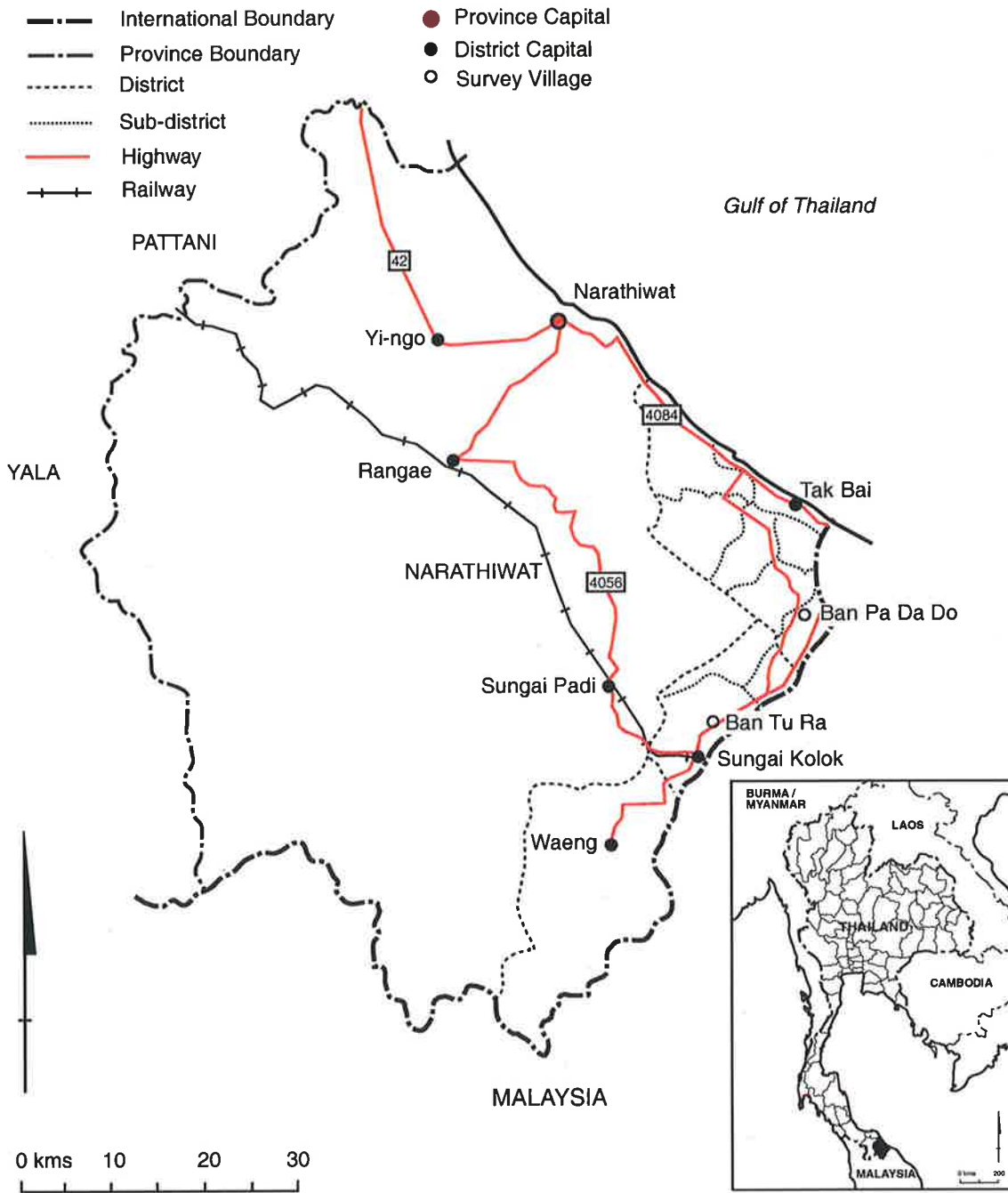
Roads in the Survey Villages that link to Local Roads and Provincial Highways.



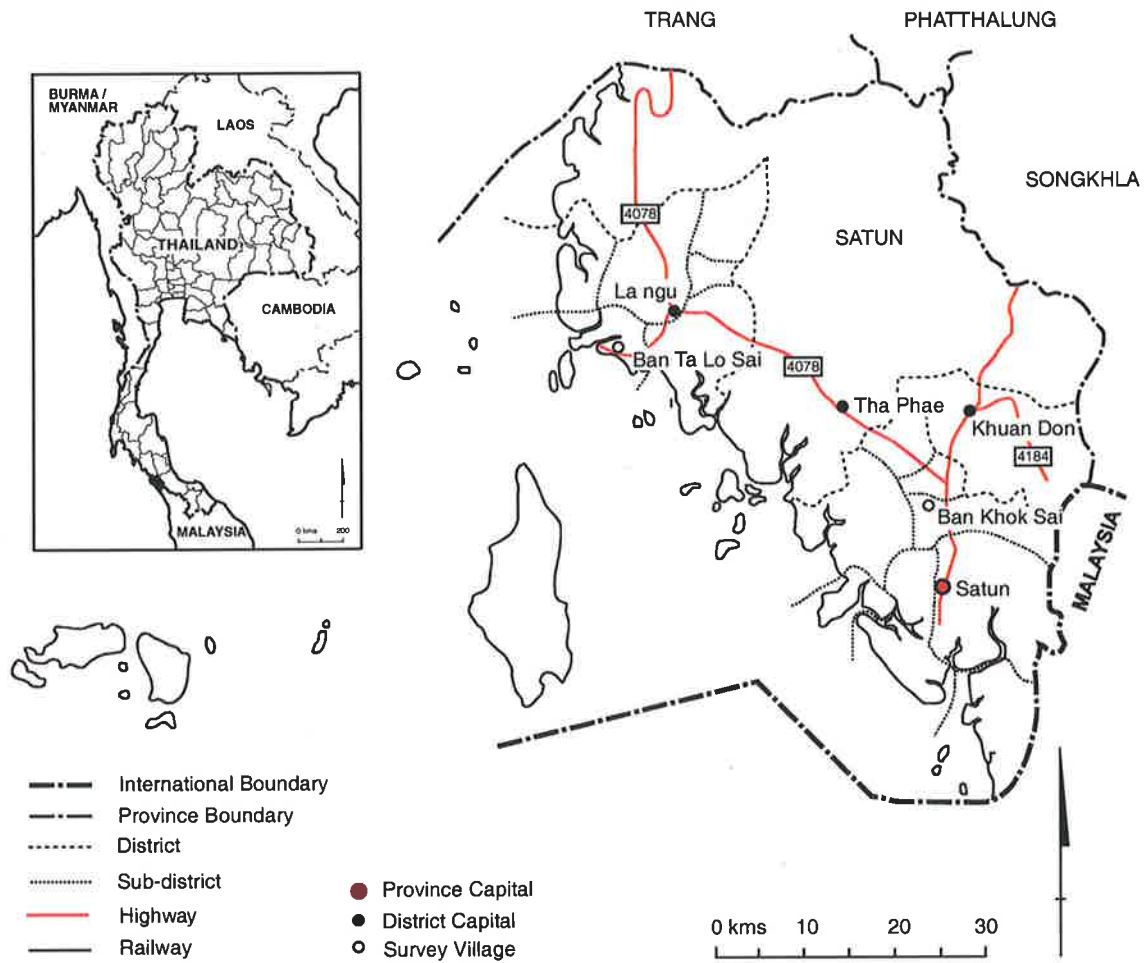
Roads in Ban Ba Kong, Ban Ya Mu Chaleam and Ban Panare, Pattani



Roads in Ban Ta No Pu Yo, Yala



Roads in Ban Tu Ra and Ban Pa Da Do, Narathiwat



Road in Ban Khok Sai and Ban Ta Lo Sai, Satun

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